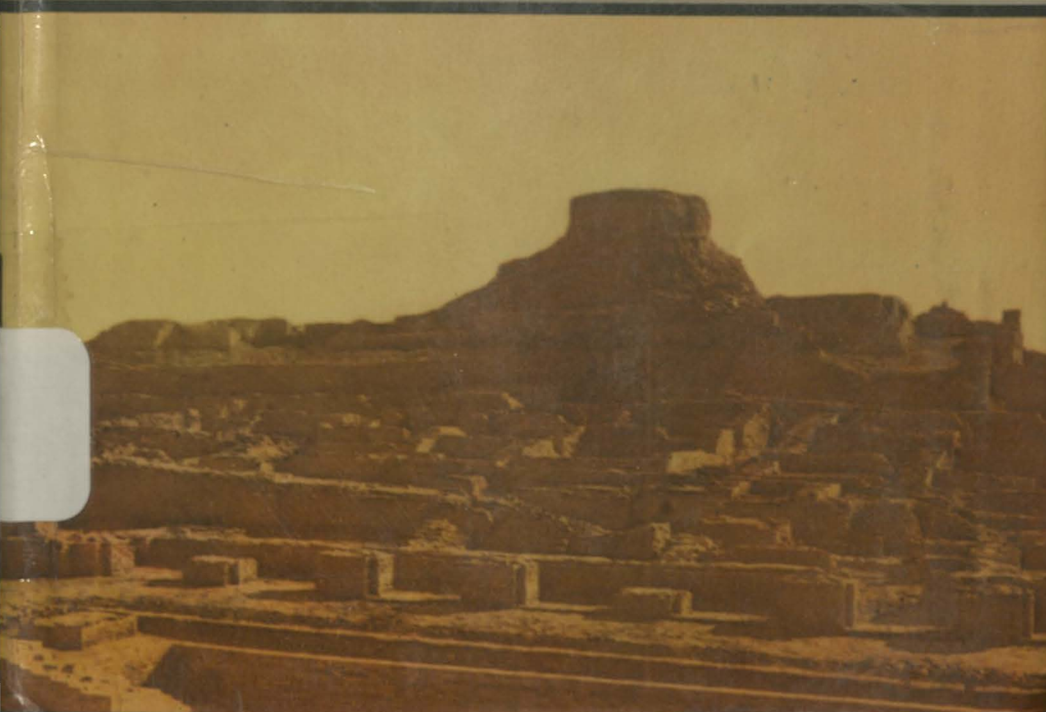




The Mihran of Sind

H.G.RAVERTY



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AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

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MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY

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INTRODUCTION

Major Henry George Reverty died at Grampound Road, between St. Austel and Truro, on October 20, 1906, at the ripe age of 81. He was of Irish parentage, his grandfather having been an O'Raverty, and his father Peter Raverty of Tyrone and a surgeon in the Royal Navy. Major Raverty was born on May 31st, 1825, and was educated at Falmouth and Penzance. In 1843 he entered the East India Company's 3rd Bombay Infantry. He served in the Panjab campaign of 1849-50, and in the campaign against the tribes on the Swat border. He was also in civil employ, and was as Assistant Commissioner in the Panjab (1852-59). His service in Afghanistan drew his attention to the language of the country, and in 1855 he published a Pushto grammar. This was followed in 1860 by his Pushto dictionary (2nd edition, 1867). Major Raverty led a somewhat stormy life, for he was at feud with Professors Blochmann and Dowson as well as with other scholars, but he did good work and is entitled to honourable remembrance. Lord Strangford, a severe critic of Raverty's works, wrote that the credit undoubtedly belonged to Major Raverty of having been the first scholar to combine a mastery of Pushto with a thorough knowledge of its literature. Similarly,

Colonel Biddulph, a well-known scholar of his period, wrote that Major Raverty might indeed be styled the father of the study of the Pushto language and literature, and that for more than thirty years he devoted himself to placing at the disposal of the public his unique stores of information. "Raverty's Grammar, Raverty's Dictionary, Raverty's Gulshan-i-Roh will ever be lasting memorials of his conscientious and disinterested labours."One of Raverty's most laborious works was his " Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan" (reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1976) in which he described three-and-twenty routes in that country.

Major Raverty translated for the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj (reprinted from Lahore, 1977), and furnished very ample and learned footnotes. He also wrote a most full account of the Indus under the title of "The Mibran of Sind", which has been published now for the first time in the book form.

Major Raverty resided at one time near Ottery St. Mary (Coleridge's birthplace), but latterly he lived in Cornwall. He retired from the Army in 1864, and in 1865 married at Falmouth the only daughter of Commander George Pooley. His wife survived him, but there were no children. His "History of Herat and Annals of Khurasan" was completed in 1905 and is yet to be printed. He worked up to the end of his life, and was at his death engaged on the " History

of the Afghans", for which he had collected a great quantity of material. Besides, he was also preparing a translation of the "Tarikh-i-Alfi", the famous history of a thousand years which was projected by Akbar.

In spite of the above-mentioned works Major Raverty also wrote: an account of the District of Peshawar, 1849 - 50; a thesaurus of Urdu - English technical terms, 1859; Pushto prose and poetical selections; Afghan poetry, 16th to 19th country, with English translation; Aesop's Fables in Pushto; several articles on geography, history and ethnology of various regions now included in Pakistan in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" (Calcutta).

Muhammad Ikram Chaghatai

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MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY

The identification of the routes taken by Alexander the Macedonian, and the countries, towns, and rivers mentioned in his campaigns, extending from the mountains of Hindú-Kush to the Persian Sea, included in the present Afg̲h̲án state, the territory of the Panj-áb, and Sind, has exercised the ingenuity of many oriental scholars, and also of many students of oriental subjects.[1] Later on come the travels of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, of whom the former visited India about seven hundred, and the latter nearly one thousand years, after the time of Alexander; and these also exercise the ingenuity of scholars and students, and exercise it very greatly too, particularly the travels of the last named pilgrim, who enters into much greater detail. He remained many years in India, and is said to have been "well-versed in the Turkí and Indian languages," but he chose to write all the names of places and persons in the Chinese.

Most of the writers on these subjects, if we exclude their "identifications" in the Afghán state, appear to have based their theories chiefly upon the *present courses* of the rivers of Northern and Western India, which, probably, have altered their courses a hundred times over, and to have expected to find places on their banks *now* as they stood

[1] I make a difference between the two, as between those who can refer to the native writers for themselves, and those who have to depend upon Dow's and Briggs's 'Ferishta,' and the like.

more than two thousand years ago.[2] I am not going to attempt, in the present paper, to improve upon these interesting researches, although I cannot help, farther on, pointing out two or three palpable errors. What I propose to do here is to notice some of the numerous fluctuations in the courses of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus,[3] and of the rivers of the Panj-áb. The changes in the courses of two of these rivers, together with the drying up of the Hakṛá, Wáhindah, or Bahindah were so considerable that they reduced a vast extent of once fruitful country to a howling wilderness, and thus several flourishing cities and towns became ruined or deserted by their inhabitants.

At page 1150 of my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," there is an account of the despatch of armies into different parts on the accession of Kyuk Kh̲án as ruler over the Mugh̲al empire founded by his grandfather, the Chingiz, or Great Kh̲án.

One of these armies was detailed for the invasion of Hindústán; and the Nú-ín or Nú-yán (both modes of writing this title being correct), Mangútah, who was at the head of the Mugh̲al *mings* or *hazárahs* occupying, or located in, the territories of Tukh̲áristán, Kh̲atl-án,[4] and Gh̲aznih,[5] was appointed leader of the forces in question. He was an aged man, and had been one of the Chingiz Kh̲án's favourite officers.

In the year 643 H., which commenced on the 28th May, 1245 A. D., he invaded the Dihlí Kingdom by way of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, and the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, keeping along its western frontier, and entering the province dependent on Multán. His object was first to assail the frontier strongholds of Multán and U'ch̲ch̲ah or U'ch̲ch̲h, both then situated in one and the same Do ábah, the Sind-Ságar above mentioned. He began with U'ch̲ch̲h, which, at the period in

[2] See note farther on.

[3] I need scarcely mention that the name Indus was, and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanized, if I may say so, by the Greeks ont of Sindhu, or they may have called it the Indus as being *the* river separating Hind from Í-rán-Zamín, their "Ariana," and not intending it to be understood that Indus was the proper name of the river; for it was known to the Hindús as 'Sindhu' or '*the* River,' and 'Ab-i-Sind' by the early Muḥammadan writers, and sometimes 'Nahr-i-Mihrán.

[4] Incorrectly styled "*Khotlán*" in the "essay" by Yule, in Wood's "Oxus" and other books of travels: the first vowel is short 'a.' This district or territory was famous for its horses, which, from the country, were known as Kh̲atli horses.

[5] The name of this famous city is thus written by the oldest authors, *nih* being the Tájzik for city. The other forms of the word are merely vitiated forms of the above. "Ghazna," as some European authors write it, is totally wrong. The other forms of the word are Gh̲az-nín, and Gh̲az-ní, but the first is the correct one.

question, was under the charge of the Khwájah (Eunuch) Ṣáliḥ, the Koṫ-wál, who was acting as the Deputy of the feudatory of the district, Mu-ayyid-ud-Dín, Hindú Khán, the Treasurer of the Dihlí kingdom.[6] At this period, Multán and its territory was in the possession of Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, Ḳarlugh, Ḳárlúḳ, or Ḳarluḳ Turk, who was not a vassal of the Dihlí kingdom,[7] and who had lately been dispossessed of his own territories beyond the Indus by the Mughals, and had recently seized upon Multán.

In due course the Nú-ín Mangútah, reached the banks of the Sind near Uchchh—it must have been about the middle of October of that year, as the news reached *Dihlí* in the following month, in Rajab—and Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, speedily abandoned Multán, and, embarking on the Áb-i Sind, started down that river in order to gain Sindú-stán, as the city of Síw-istán and its territory, since known as Sihwáṇ, was then called, to gain the port of Dewal or Debal ('*b*' and '*w*' being interchangeable) on the sea coast of Sind.[8]

[6] See under "Shamsíah Maliks," no. ix, page 744 of the "Ṭabaḳát" Translation, and also page 809. There it says the Mughals "invested the fortress of Uchchh, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and the territory of Manṣúrah"; and, that, "Within that fortress, a Khwájah-Saráe [Eunuch], one of the servants of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Abú-Bikr, named Mukhliṣ-ud-Dín, was the Koṫ-wál Bak [Seneschal], and a slave of Kabír Khán, Áḳ-Sunḳar, by name, was the Amír-i-Dád [Lord Justiciary].

[7] He was independent, and coined money in his own name. At the period referred to, after having previously submitted to the Mughals, he found their yoke so unbearable that he abandoned Ghaznih, Karmán, and the territory north of, and including, the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, and occupied Multán. Some of the coins of this same Ḳárlúgh Malik have recently been found near the village of Chittah in that very Koh-i-Júd. The tribe of Ḳárlúgh, Ḳarlugh, Ḳárlúḳ, or Ḳarluḳ Turks gave name to the tract of country in the Panj-áb, miscalled by us "Hazara" but in history, called the country or district of the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh, that is, where the *ming*, or *hazárah*, or legion, consisting of Ḳárlúgh Turks, was located when the Khwárazm Sháhs dominated over those parts. See the Society's "Transactions" for November, 1889, where the coins of Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, are noticed under the designation of "Qurlagh." In Thomas's "*Pathán Kings of Dehli*," he is called "a rebel" at page 97, but, as he was never subject to the Dihlí rulers, he was not a rebel. He was a feudatory under the Khwárazm Sháhs who held those parts, and, after their fall, had to submit to the Mughals. More respecting him and his son will be found in my Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. See notes on page 175, and page 177. His son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was neither "a powerful monarch," nor did he ever hold dominions in Sind. See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 781, 859, 877, and 1154.

[8] If Multán had then another broad and unfordable river immediately on its west side, as the Chin-áb *now* flows, Malik Ḥasan would scarcely have needed to evacuate Multán, and probably would not have done so, and, certainly, not with

Mangútah having made his preparations, proceeded to invest Ūchchh. The author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí says, that he first destroyed the environs and neighbourhood round about the city. "The people of the fortress put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, and used immense endeavours in defending the place, and despatched great numbers of the Mughals to hell." Having failed in all their endeavours to take the place, and, in the last assault, having lost one of their principal leaders, and hearing of the near approach of the forces of the Dihlí kingdom under Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, in person, they began to give up hopes of taking the fortress. To continue in the words of the author: "When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bíáh, the army moved along its banks[9] towards Ūchchh, as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islám, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [dependent on Ūchchh], they did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Ūchchh, and went away; and that stronghold, through the power of the sovereign of Islám, and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones."

This detailed account of the investment of Ūchchh is kept by the author for the last part of the Ṭabaḳát, but he also refers to the event in two earlier passages. Under the reign of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, page 667, he says: "In the month of Rajab of this same year, news was received from the upper provinces, of an army of infidel Mughals having advanced towards Ūchchh, of which force the accursed Mangútah was the leader. Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, for the

such precipitation as he used on the occasion in question. At that period, however, *no river* intervened between Multán and the Ấb-i-Sind or Indus, which was almost as close to it then as the Chin-áb is now, and, consequently, Malik Ḥasan's retreat might have been cut off. He, accordingly, embarked on the combined rivers Chin-áb (including the Bihat) and Ráwí, which then ran north and *east* of Multán, and united with the Bíáh some miles farther south, and so, placing a river between himself and the Mughals, he was enabled to get down into Sind, without danger of molestation, by the Bíáh and Hakṛá, or Wahindah, into Lár, or Debal.

What afterwards became of him has never been mentioned in history, and it is not improbable that he may have reached the Dakhan, and have taken service there, and there ended his days. An account of the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳarlugh Turks will be found in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 877, and note to page 1130.

[9] This was after the combined Bihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí had united with it and below the point of junction indicated in the map showing the ancient courses of these rivers at the period in question which will be given later on.

purpose of repelling the Mug͟hal forces, assembled the troops of Islám from various parts. On their arrival on the banks of the Bíáh, the infidels withdrew from before Uc͟hc͟hh, and that success was gained. The writer of this work was in attendance on the sublime Court on that expedition; and persons of understanding and men of judgment agreed, that no one could point out to view anything of an army like that host and gathering in years gone by. When information of the numbers and efficiency of the victorious forces of Islám reached the infidels, they decamped, and retired towards K͟hurásán again."

In his account of Malik G͟hiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban,[10] who, before he succeeded to the throne, bore the title of Ulug͟h K͟hán-i-A'ẓam, the author says: "In this same year [643 H.], Mangútáh, the accursed, who was one of the Mug͟hal leaders,[11] and of the Maliks of Turkistán, led an army from the borders of Ṭáe-ḳán and Ḳunduz, into the territories of Sind, and invested the fortress of Uc͟hc͟hh, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and of (*i. e.*, included in) the territory of Manṣúrah. * * * While every one of the [other] Amírs and Maliks was showing indecision about this undertaking, Ulug͟h K͟hán-i-A'ẓam showed determination in carrying it out; and, when the royal standards moved forwards towards that [threatened] quarter, Ulug͟h K͟hán-i-A'ẓam—Be his power prolonged!—despatched guides in advance on the line of route, so that [the troops] used to get over the marches with rapidity. He was wont to represent to the troops that the [next] halting place would be about eight *kuroh* off, and [consequently] about twelve *kuroh*, and even more than that, they used to march, until the troops reached the banks of the Bíáh, and passed over that river; and he conducted them to the banks of the Ráwah [Ráwí] of Láhor.[12]

10 See the S͟hamsíáh Maliks, No. XXV, page 809.

11 This same leader had been one of the commanders with the Bahádur, Ṭá-ír, who, in the sixth month of 639 H. (December, 1241 A. D.), had attacked and sacked Láhor, the whole of the inhabitants of which were either massacred or carried off captive. See "Translation," pages 727, and 1132-1136.

12 As the Bíáh and Ráwí then flowed, centuries before either the Sutlaj or the Bíáh deserted its bed, the Dihlí forces would be in the fork between the Ráwí and the Bíáh, in the Bárí Do-ábah, near their junction, with their flanks protected by the rivers, and in a position to threaten the Mug͟hal line of retreat. Having crossed the Ráwí above the junction, or below the junction of the three rivers, they could have marched down the Do-ábah to Uc͟hc͟hh without having any other river to cross, and reinforcements from Multán could have joined them. On the other hand, they would have caught the Mug͟hals in the fork between the Ắb-i-Sind or Indus, which flowed near Uc͟hc͟hh on the west, and the Sind Rúd, described further on, on the east, both unfordable rivers, and, in case of defeat, the Mug͟hals would have been

"In this manner used he to show such-like determination on this expedition, and such lion-heartedness, and was wont to stimulate the Sultán and Maliks to repel the infidel Mughals, until Monday, the 25th of the month Sha'bán, 643 H. (about the last week in January, 1246 A. D.), when intimation reached the royal camp that the army of infidel Mughals had raised the investment of Uchchh. The cause of it was, that, on reaching the vicinity of the river Bíáh, Ulugh Khán i-A'zam appointed couriers, and directed so that they wrote letters from the sublime presence to the garrison of the fort of Uchchh, and announced to them the approach of the royal standards, the vast number of the array and elephants, the host of cavalry with the army, and the courage of the soldiery in attendance at the august stirrup, and despatched them towards the fortress of Uchchh. A division of the army was moved on in front, to act as a reconnoitring force and form the advanced guard.

"When the couriers reached the vicinity of Uchchh,[13] a few of these letters fell into the hands of the host of the accursed,[14] and some reached the people of the fortress. On the drum of joy being beaten in the fort, and the subject of the letters, the advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangútah, and the cavalry of the advanced guard approaching the banks of the river Bíáh of Láhor, near to the frontiers of the territory of Sind, fear and terror became manifest in the heart of the Mughal [leader].

"When Mangútah became aware of the advance of this great army," the author continues, "and that it moved towards the river Bíáh,[15] near the skirts of the mountains, and from thence, in the same manner, was marching downward along the banks of that river,[16] he made inquiry of

caught in a trap and annihilated. Such being the case, the Mughals retired by three divisions, up the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by the route they had come, keeping close to the east bank, before any of the Dihlí troops, beyond the detachment referred to, had crossed the Ráwí.

13 It is probable, nay, almost certain, that these couriers came down the right bank of the Bíáh the whole way, leaving the great army when it crossed the Bíáh and the Ráwah or Ráwí on the way to Láhor. A glance at the map indicating the former course of the Bíáh and the other rivers will show why they did so.

14 The author had good reason for calling the Mughals "accursed." They had ruined and depopulated his native country and the parts adjacent, the tracts between Hirát and Kábul and Ghaznín, exceedingly populous and flourishing before the invasion of the Mughals, from whose devastations they have not recovered to this day.

15 Thus showing that it still flowed in its old bed; for, after it left it, it lost its name, and that was only in the last century.

16 Below the junction with the others previously mentioned as uniting with it near Multán to the south.

some persons what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islám towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarastí and Márúṭ was nearer. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks of the river,[17] there might not be a road for the army of Islám. Mangútah remarked: "This is a vast army: we have not the power to resist it: it is necessary to retire;" and fear overcame him and his army, lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off.[18] Their army was formed into three divisions, and routed, they fled, and numerous captives, both Musalmán and Hindú, obtained their liberty."

Before I proceed to adduce my authorities and information on this subject, I had better refer, as briefly as possible, to an article which appeared in a late number of the *Calcutta Review*, entitled "The Lost River of the Indian Desert."[19]

The writer of the article in question, in support of his arguments respecting the period at which he supposes the Hakṛá to have disappeared, or, more correctly, the period at which its waters ceased to flow, quotes the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" as his authority, from *a portion only* of that work contained in Elliot's "Indian Historians," Vol. II, p. 363, which was translated by the late Mr. J. Dowson, Hindústání Professor

17 To this the following note was appended. "Long, narrow banks of sand, probably extending, in places, for several miles, and sometimes, of some height, are doubtless meant here, such as are found after the annual inundations, with water, sometimes of considerable depths between; and to the effects of the past inundation, the people no doubt referred. These would have caused great obstruction, and have taken much time to cross, as well as have entailed great trouble, therefore, the forces of Dihlí kept farther north, and made their march a flank movement at the same time, which may have been the original intention. In what direction they went may be seen farther on." Here it has been already related.

18 I wish this last expression to be particularly noticed. See also, and compare, this passage with that in Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 363-64.

19 I may mention that part of the present paper was originally intended as a note to the investment of Uchchh in my "Translation" [See page 1155], but, on after consideration, on account of its length, I thought it would be more advisable to publish it as a separate article in the "*Journal*," after completing the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. I unfortunately mislaid the rough draft, which our lamented friend, Mr. Arthur Grote, saw and read over; and he agreed with me, that it was better adapted for publication in a separate form. In March 1887 I found the MS. quite unexpectedly, among some maps, after I had given up all hope of seeing it again, as I feared I had burnt it, by mistake, along with some old proofs of the "Translation." The appearance of another article on the same subject, by Mr. R. D. Oldham, in the Society's "*Journal*," No. IV of 1886, determined me no longer to delay its publication. What I have here stated will explain my reference to "a late number of the *Calcutta Review*."

at the Staff College, previously alluded to, from the incorrect Persian text of the original published at Calcutta; but, from that translated portion contained in Elliot's work, the *detailed* account of the investment of Uchchh is omitted altogether. Thus it will be seen, that the observations contained in the *Calcutta Review* article, are based entirely upon this single extract in Elliot's "Historians."[20] The writer, consequently, has been *partly* misled by the rendering of an incorrect passage in the Calcutta printed text, as stated in a note to my "Translation," and *partly* by his *own* errors in reading "*drought*" where "*fissures*" are mentioned in Elliot, and in losing sight occasionally of the old course of the Biáh, or "Bias" previous to its junction with the Sutlaj, when both rivers lost their names and became the Hariárí, Nílí or Gharah.

The passage quoted from Elliot occurs in the account of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẕam, under the events of the year 643 H., and is as follows. "In this year the accursed Mankútí (Mangú Khán)[21] marched from the neighbourhood of Tálikán and Ḳunduz into Sindh. * * * The Dihlí army arrived on the banks of the Biyáh, made the transit of the river, and reached Láhor on the banks of the Rávi. * * * Trusty men record that when Mankútí heard of the approach of the army of Islám, under the royal standard, that it proceeded by the river Biyáh, near the skirts of the hills, and that it was advancing along the banks of the river, he

[20] My translation of this particular portion of it, perhaps, had not reached India at the time.

[21] The late Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Historians of India," and translator of some, and reviser of all the extracts from the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí contained in that work, turned the old, one-eyed leader of the time of the Chingiz Khán into Mangú Khán, his grandson, and called him *Mankútí* instead of Mangútah. The Great Ḳá'án, Mangú, was the son of the Chingiz Khán's youngest son, and did not succeed to the sovereignty until *five years after* this investment of Uchchh, which happened during the reign of Kayuk, and, moreover, he was never near the Indus in his life, nor within hundreds of miles of it. See "Ṭabaḳát," Translation, note to page 1180. Blochmann, in his printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, where this investment is briefly referred to, has منلوية, the shoulder of the ك being left out, made that letter '*l*' instead of '*g*,' and the letter ة—'*t*'—has been turned upside-down and made ي—'*y*.' These are probably printer's errors, because in the MSS. of the work the name is correctly written. The author of the "*Notes on the Lost River*," presently to be noticed, also has "Mangú Khán," but "Mankútí" *is left out altogether!*

It is wonderful how people will jump at impossible conclusions; and because one of the Mughal sovereigns was called منگو—Mangú—which name they may have read of, immediately they see the word منگوته—Mangútah—they at once assume that the former must be meant, and this, too, when the author in another place had stated, that Mangútah was an aged man, with dog-like eyes—[some copies have 'one-eyed'], and that he had been one of the Chingiz Khán's favourites.

See "Ṭabaḳát," Translation, note to page 1180.

made inquiry of a party (of prisoners)[22] why the army of Islám marched along the bases of the mountains, for the route was long, and the way by Sarsutí and Marút (Mírat?)[23] was nearer? He was answered that *the numerous fissures on the banks of the river* rendered the way impossible for the army."[24]

The writer of the *Calcutta Review* article on the "Lost River," might have noticed, that, in a foot-note, the editor and translator says, "*The text*—از کثرت جر[25] بر کنار آب راه نباشد *is far from intelligible and apparently contradictory. The royal forces are said to have marched along the banks of the river, although that route is declared to have been impracticable. The whole passage is omitted in Sir H. Elliot's MS.*"

The translator and editor appears to have been much puzzled, certainly, and seems to have forgotten that he took the army "*across the river* "*Ráví*," as far as Láhor, just before, because it was doubtful whether it could proceed along the banks of the "Biyáh." He has confused one river with the other; and, if the route along the left or east bank of the Bíáh was *supposed to be* impracticable, it did not follow that there was no way along the right or west bank. As previously stated, there were other reasons for not following the course of the Bíáh direct to Uc̲h̲c̲h̲h, even if the route had been practicable on the other or on both sides of "the river," which referred to the Hakṛá, which flowed past Márúṭ, and not to the Bíáh at all.

The "Review" writer, further says: "In the same volume, page

[22] There is not a word about "prisoners" in the original.

[23] Here it will be seen, that, in two places where the author was perfectly right as to the names Mangútah and Márúṭ, Mr. Dowson thought he knew better, and turned the first into "*Mangú Khán*," and the latter into "*Mírat*," and has thereby shown the extent of his historical and geographical knowledge. Míraṭ is just *five degrees east* of Márúṭ, and, more than that, lies north-east of Dihlí, in a totally opposite direction.

[24] See Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, page 364.

[25] I have noticed in my "Translation," in note 3, page 812, that the word جر supposed to mean "*fissures*," is but part of the plural form of جزیره namely جزایر, part of the word being left out in the Calcutta text, signifying 'islands,' etc. Under any circumstance, جر—*jar*—does not mean either a fissure or fissures, but the Hindí چر—*char*—means, 'a bank,' 'an island.' This word is used in the Panj-áb for such shoals, banks, or islands as are found on, and near the banks of rivers after the subsidence of the annual inundations, and this local word *may have* been used by the people of whom Mangútah made inquiry.

See the large scale map of the Baháwal-púr territory, and some idea may be formed respecting such 'islands' or 'banks' as the author refers to, still to be seen in the ancient channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and also the notice of that channel which will be found farther on.

344, the same expedition is referred to, but there it is merely stated that when Sultán 'Aláu-d-dín arrived on the banks of the Biyáh, the infidels raised the siege of Uch."

From the correct version of this identical passage, as it occurs in the Persian text of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," given at page 812 of my "Translation," it will be noticed, that, as usual with its author, he has not mentioned the details therein, but retained them for his account of the invasion of the Mughals, which I have given at the beginning of this article.[26]

What are the facts respecting this investment of Uchchh? The Dihlí forces having first crossed the Bíáh, coming from Dihlí in the direction of Láhor by the direct route between the two places, Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, afterwards raised to the title of Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam,[27] who was the Sulṭán's chief of the staff, so to speak, or rather, the real commander, conducted the army of Hind towards the Ráwah, as it is called, as well as Ráwí, of Láhor. We also learn from the passage in the account of Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, which has just been discussed, what determined the Mughal commander to raise the investment of Uchchh. It was not only that one of the most famous of the Mughal leaders had perished in the recent assault, and that the invaders had been repulsed in making it, as stated in the detailed account, but, on reaching the banks of the Bíáh on the way from Dihlí to Láhor—I am referring to it as it flowed in its old bed, not as it and the Sutlaj flow now under the names of Haríárí and Ghárah—Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, despatched couriers to Uchchh[28] with letters for the defenders, some of which were purposely allowed to fall into the ene-

[26] At page 1150 of my "Translation."

[27] Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, who was set up as ruler of Dihlí in the following year, after Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh had been imprisoned, married the daughter of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam. After the decease of his son-in-law, who died childless, he succeeded to the throne under the title of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban. He was a *Turk* of the Ilbarí tribe, but compilers of Indian Histories and Gazetteers, and archæological experts, turn him, like many other Turks, Tájzíks, Jaṭs, and Sayyids, into "*Paṭháns*," which is synonymous with Afghán, it being the vitiated Hindí equivalent of Pushtún, the name by which the people generally known as Afgháns call themselves, in their own language.

A specimen of this "Paṭhán" fallacy appears in the "Transactions" of the *Society* for November, 1889, page 226. Referring to a find of coins from the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, they are described as "all of one kind, *viz.*, coins of the Paṭhán Sulṭán of Dehlí, Ghaiáṣu-d-Dín Balban." Now this very personage is no other than the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam mentioned above, who was an Ilbarí Turk, not an Afghán or "Paṭhán." If the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" were more studied, such great errors would not occur. It is quite time to give up Dow and Briggs' "Ferishta."

[28] See note 13, page 160.

my's hands, intimating, in somewhat exaggerated terms, the advance, and near approach, of a vast army with numerous elephants: and, in truth, it was said to have been the most formidable army that had been assembled for a very long period. Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, immediately after the army had passed the Biáh on the route to Láhor, had also pushed forward a considerable body of cavalry towards the frontier of Sind, and this force, at least, went by the right or west bank of the Biáh, through the Bári Do-ábah, between it and the Ráwí. On the couriers reaching Uchchh, the drums and other so-called musical instruments announced to the Mughals that the defenders were aware that succour was at hand, and that they would speedily be relieved; and what with their own recent, unsuccessful assault, and the loss of one of their famous leaders, it became clear to the Mughals that Uchchh was not to be taken as easily as they had expected.

Another important point to be considered is, that this march from Dihlí towards Láhor and the Ráwí was a flank movement, to cover, and succour Multán[29] if necessary, and threaten the line of the Mughals' retreat towards the Júd Hills—the Namak-Sár or Salt Range—the route by which they had come against Uchchh.[30]

It will also be noticed that the Nú-ín Mangútah was quite alive to this flank movement, when, on hearing of the route taken by the Musalmán forces, he said it was "time to retire," and the author adds, "lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off."

Another reason for the advance of the Dihlí army towards Láhor, instead of going direct from Dihlí to Uchchh through the *now* desert waste, was, that the Bíáh and Ráwí, which did not flow then as they do now, were more easily crossed higher up at the season in question—the months of December and January[31]—when these operations took place,

[29] Multán and Uchchh, as before mentioned (see note 8, page 157, and note 12, page 159) were then situated in the same Do-ábah, no great river intervening between them, but a cutting from the river Chin-áb, called the Lolí Wá'-han, flowed past the fortifications of Multán, and filled its ditch, or formed a wet ditch around it, which, in the cold season, could be filled at pleasure. There were likewise several canals about, at lesser or greater distances.

The Áb-i-Sind or Indus, at this period united with the Bíáh and its tributaries near Uchchh on the west, as confirmed by tradition mentioned in note farther on, and continued so to do down to modern times.

[30] The Ránah, Jas-Pál, Síhrá or Sehrá, and his Khokhar tribes, acted as the Mughal guides, for which they were severely chastised in the following year, 644 H., the first of the reign of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh. See pages 678 and 815 of my "Translation."

[31] The Mughals raised the investment of Uchchh on the 25th of the month Sha'bán, about the end of January, 1246 A. D.

and lay through the most populous parts of the country, on the main route from Dihlí through the north-western provinces, where facilities for crossing this vast army were ready at hand, where supplies were abundant, and where some of the great feudatories of those parts would join the Sulṭán's army *en route* with their contingents.[82]

At this period the Bíáh flowed in its old bed past Debál-púr and the Wihat or Bihat, the Chin-áb or Chin-áo, and the Ráwah or Ráwí, having united into one stream to the north-east of Multán, flowed near it on the east side, and united with the Bíáh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that city, and east of U'chchh, instead of west of it, as the united rivers of the Panj-áb now flow. This movement enabled the Dihlí forces to threaten the Mughal's line of retreat northwards, consequently, there would have been no road open to them except down stream or across the A'b-i-Sind or Indus, and these alternatives were, evidently, not approved of by Mangútah.[83] As stated by the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," who was present in attendance on the Sulṭán and his army in his ecclesiastical capacity, as soon as the Mughal Nú-ín became aware that the army of Islám was marching down the east bank of the Ráwí (which was generally fordable) through the Bárí Do-ábah, near the junction of the rivers, in order to reach U'chchh, he immediately found it necessary to retire; and, as the author of the above work[84] states, "The advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangútah, and the cavalry of the advance force approaching the frontier of Sind [below the

Even if the Dihlí forces had taken the direct route by Márúṭ, they would still have had the Hakṛá and the Bíáh below the junction of its tributaries to cross, both deep, broad, and unfordable rivers, in order to reach Uchchh, which then lay between the Sind Rúd or the Bíáh and its tributaries, and the A'b-i-Sind or Indus. Moreover, the Mughals before U'chchh might then have been in a position to oppose their crossing the former river.

82 In crossing higher up stream, the Sulṭán of Dihlí merely did as Alexander the Great is said to have done before. Strabo, in his Geography (B. XV), says: "He resolved therefore to get possession of that part of India first which had been well spoken of, considering at the same time that the rivers which it was necessary to pass, and which flowed transversely through the country which he intended to attack, *would be crossed with more facility near their sources.* He heard also that many of the rivers united and formed one stream, and that this more frequently occurred the farther they advanced into the country, so that from want of boats it would be more difficult to traverse."

83 He probably had no means of crossing the A'b-i-Sind, consequently he had to beat a hasty retreat up the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, by the same route as he came down against U'chchh.

84 See pages 812, and 1156.

junction of the Ráwí and other rivers with the Bíáh south-south-east of Multán], * * * he made inquiry of some persons [natives of the country, without doubt], what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islám towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarastí and Márúṭ was near. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks [of the river],[35] there might not be a road for the army of Islám."

The writer in the *Calcutta Review*, misquoting, as it will be seen, his own authority, says: "It is said in the Tabakát-i-Nasirí that, when Uchh was besieged by the Mughals in H. 643 (A. D. 1245), the army *sent* [the Sulṭán, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, commanded it in person] *was unable to march by Sarsutí and Marot, in consequence of the* DROUGHT *on the bank of the river*"! What river he does not say; but, in Elliot's "Historians," which he quotes, there is not one word about "*drought*," and in the author's text there is not one word to indicate that "the numerous *fissures* rendered the way impassable," as Mr. Dowson translated the words راه نباشد—*ráh na-báshad*—which means that there *might not be* a road—a doubt, not a certainty. Consequently, as far as the authority of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" is concerned, there is not the least reason for supposing that either the Ráwí or the Bíáh had then changed their courses, or that the Hakṛá had dried up.

"Marot," the writer continues, "is now in the heart of the desert, but then the high road from Dehlí to Multán passed under its walls, and followed the course of the Hakra from Sarsutí to within a few marches of Uchh. After this period, armies marching from Dehli to Multán *always* took the road by Abohar and Ajohdan; but the more direct way by Marot *was occasionally taken by travellers for some time later*."[36]

All this, like the "*drought*," is mere *surmise*. That there was a route by Márúṭ is certain, but no scrap of *evidence* can be produced to show that armies, going from Dihlí to Multán "always" took the route by Márúṭ, nor would the writer be able to point out any place where it is stated that the route by Márúṭ was the "high road between Dehli and Multán," or any authority for the statement, that armies marching

[35] As I have before noticed, which of the rivers is not mentioned, and in coming from Dihlí by way of Márúṭ the Hakṛá would have had to be crossed, under any circumstances, unless the troops crossed the Ghag-ghar at Sarastí or near it, and after that had been crossed, the Bíáh and its tributaries, forming the Sind Rúd, would have to be crossed likewise.

[36] Yet, at page 3 of his article in the *Calcutta Review*, the writer says: "Our knowledge of the condition of this tract of country previous to the time of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh in the fourteenth century is *very vague*."

from Dihlí to Multán, "after this time *always* took the road by Abohar," or to name a single instance of an army taking that route in preference. The Márúṭ road was taken both by bodies of troops and travellers long after, and was taken by an English traveller—Arthur Conolly—in company with a caravan of that branch of the Tarín Afgháns commonly known as the Sayyids of Pushang, as late as 1830.

As to the route being "closed at this period and after" because of the disappearance of the "western branch of the Naiwal," which "was the last of the channels connected with the Hakra which, therefore, at this time (about A. D. 1220) finally ceased to flow," the writer of the article in the "*Review*," himself says, that "a great part of the Indian Desert has undergone little change since pre-historic times," and, that "its ancient name of Marusthali (region of death) proves this." Does the "seige of Uch" belong to pre-historic times? The writer attributes the movement of the Dihlí army towards Láhor, instead of following the route by "Marot," to the drying up of the Hakṛá; while, in other places he says, that, "the downfall of the Sumras must have occurred between A. D. 1223," and, that that year had "been preceded by the disappearance of the Hakṛa river." Now the year 1220 A. D. is equivalent to the year 617 H., which commenced on the 7th of March of the above year, or twenty-six years *before* the investment of Uchchh; and the year 1223 A. D., is equivalent to 620 H., which began on the 3rd of February, or just three years *less.* This is certainly very contradictory.

"If the "Hakṛá river" had dried up in 1220 A. D. or in 1223, the route by "Abohar" between twenty-three and twenty-six years *after*, would have been no better than that by "Marot." Both routes would have lain through much the same description of country; for Uboh-har[37] was situated on one of its tributaries, and we know from Ibn Baṭúṭah that there was no want of water in that part *eighty years after the investment* of Uchchh.

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah the Turk,[38] who ruled over the territories of Sind and Multán, on the sudden death of Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, I'-bak-i-Shil, from the effects of the accident which befell him when playing at the game of *changhán* at Láhor in 607 H. (1210-11 A. D.), annexed all the country east of Multán and Uchchh, as far as Tabarhindah (the old name of Bhaṭindah), Kuhṛám, and Sarastí.[39] This fact

37 The derivation of this name, which in error is written Abúhar generally by the Muḥammadan historians, will be found farther on.

38 He is one of those turned into a "Paṭhán" by the experts.

39 Sarastí is the ancient name of Sirsá: Sursutí is the name of a river, the ancient Saraswatí.

clearly shows, that, at this period, the Kájí Wá-hah, Hakṛá, or Wahindah, by which two latter names it is best known in the annals of Sind and Multán, had not ceased to flow, and that Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, annexed all the intervening territory between the banks of the Hakṛá, which bounded the then dependencies of Sind and Multan on the east, up to, and including, those districts abovenamed, which its tributary, the Chitang, bounded on the south. It is beyond question that he would not have annexed a howling wilderness or "a region of death." It has also been proved beyond all doubt, that Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, set out from Dihlí by way of Tabarhindah for Uchchh with his forces in 625 H. (1228 A. D.) to oust Ḳabá-jah therefrom, and take possession of Sind and Multán, and came through this present desert tract; that the Bíáh and its tributaries, or Sind Rúd, flowed near to Uchchh on the east at that time; for the latter's fleet was moored in front of the *ḳaṣbah* of اهراوت—Ihráwat[40]—and that one of the Amírs of I-yal-timish, Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, who commanded the advanced troops of his army, had been placed in charge of the district of Wanjh-rúṭ on the Hakṛá, a place which is known to this day, and which then gave its name to the district.[41] It is very evident that the Malik abovenamed would not have been placed in charge of a desert, as Wanjh-rúṭ would have been, if the Hakṛá had disappeared in either 1220 A. D. or 1223 A. D., because these events happened *five years after the last named date*, in 625 H. (1228 A. D.).

The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," himself proceeded by way of Hánsí[42] and Abúhar [Uboh-har] to Multán on the 24th of Ẕí-Ḥijjah, 647 H. (the end of April, 1248 A. D.), four years *after* the investment of Uchchh

[40] This place has disappeared, and its site is now unknown, as far as I can discover, which is not surprising, considering the vast changes which have taken place in this part.

[41] Perhaps it will not be forgotten, that there were a number of flourishing *maḥálls* or sub-districts of the Bakhar and Multán *sarkárs* of the Multán *ṣúbah*—three of the former *sarkar* and seven of the latter—east of the present bank of the Indus and Ghárah near Uchchh, and extending to the Hakṛá, and probably beyond, of which one is Dirávar on the very bank of the Hakṛá, which are still well-known. These alone paid no less than 78,01,510 *dáms* of revenue, equal to 1 *lakh* and 9,537 *rúpís*, or £10,953, per annum, not including free grants, and furnished 1,370 horsemen, and 8,600 foot for militia purposes, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh.

[42] He mentions why he went by Hánsí and Uboh-har. He says (page 687): "When he reached the Hánsí district [it was the fief of his patron, the Ulugh Khán], the author took possession of the village conferred upon him by Ulugh Khán, and opportunity offered to proceed to Multán by way of Abúhar; and, on Sunday, the 11th of the month, Ṣafar, 648 H., an interview was obtained with Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar on the banks of the Bíáh."

by the Mughal Nú-ín, Mangútah (at which time also he accompanied the relieving army from Dihlí as already mentioned), and returned from Multán by way of the fort of Márúṭ and Sarastí to Hánsí again, in Jamádí-us-Sání of the following year, about the middle of October, 1248 A. D. He had gone to Multán for the purpose of despatching forty head of Indian captives—male slaves[43]—to be turned into money, "to his dear sister in Khurásán"; and, although he set out in the hot season—the end of April—he says nothing about any "impossibility" in the route, "drought," or "fissures," nor does he mention any difficulty or obstruction whatever. Besides all this, he had an interview with Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, one of the greatest Amírs and feudatories of the Dihlí kingdom, "*on the banks of the Biáh*, after leaving Abúhar [Uboh-har], and this would have been simply impossible if the Biáh had left its old bed and had united with the Sutlaj. Moreover, if one great river [the Hakṛá] had recently dried up, or disappeared, and if another river nearly as large [the Biáh], on the banks of which his interview with Malik Sher Khán actually took place, had abandoned its old bed to meet another [the Sutlaj], halfway, which must have also similarly abandoned its channel, so that a vast tract of territory previously populous and fruitful had been turned into a desert, can it be conceived for a moment, that, if such vast changes had really taken place he would not even have hinted at them? Besides, it would have been physically impossible for him to have held an interview on the banks of the Biáh with Sher Khán, if any change had taken place, because, when it deserted its bed, *it ceased to be the Biáh.* In going by this route he must have crossed both the Hakṛá, and its tributaries, including the Sutlaj as well as the Biáh, to reach Multán by Uboh-har, and the Biáh and the Hakṛá again on his return by way of Márúṭ.

In another place (page 782), he says, he went to Multán on the occasion in question, and reached it in Rabí'-ul Awwal, 648 H. (June, 1250 A. D.), a journey which few would have attempted at that season, *if* all the rivers had dried up; and, that two days before his arrival, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán (not Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, but a totally different person) had reached Multán from Uchchh, and was then investing it; that he, the author, remained at Multán for two months—July and August—during which time Malik Balban relinquished the investment and retired to Uchchh again; and that he himself returned to Dihlí by nearly the same route as he had come.[44]

43 Turned into "100 beasts of burden," by Mr. Dowson, See Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, page 350, and "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 686, 783, and 822.

44 At page 822 of the "Translation" he says he set out from Dihlí for Multán

At pages 787-88, under Malik Badr-ud-Dín, Sunḳar-i-Ṣúfí, entitled Nuṣrat Khán, it is stated, that, "in 657 A. H. [which began on the 28th of December, 1258 A. D.] he was placed in charge of the then western frontier districts of the Dihlí kingdom, namely, the city of Tabarhindah [subsequently called Bhaṭindah], Sunám, Jhajhar, and Lak-wál [Lakhhí-wál],[45] and the frontiers as far as the ferries over the river Bíáh," which shows that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed, and also tends to prove that the parts between the places mentioned above and the Bíáh were not then deserted by the rivers, and not reduced to a desert. Had they been so, of what use was it defending the line of a dried-up Bíáh and its "ferries" from the waterless desert side? The Mughals, or their vassals and tributaries, including Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, were then in the possession of the tracts on, and west of, the Bíáh, consisting of the provinces of Uchchh, Multán, and Láhor. The author adds, that, "up to the date of this book being written [his history], he [Nuṣrat Khán] is still stationed on that frontier, with ample military resources and a large army."[46]

In several other places in his work, the author throws considerable light on this subject. At page 723, he says, that, after he first came to Uchchh from Ghaznín by Banián, in Ṣafar, 625 H., he went to the camp of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, at the time Sulṭán I-yal-timish was about to invest Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, in that stronghold, Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar, having lately been put in possession of the district of Wanj-rúṭ (properly, Wanjh-rúṭ)[47] of Multán. This place

in Zí-Ḳa'dah [the eleventh month], 647 H., by way of Hánsí and Uboh-har, right across the present desert tract. He adds: "When the rainy season set in, and the rains of compassion fell, on the 26th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal [the fifth month of the following year], he set out on his return by way of the fort of Márúṭ, Sarastí, and Hánsí [page 688], and reached the capital in the following month. See also note to page 823 of that work.

[45] Now generally known as the Lakhhí Jangal. It is described farther on.

[46] Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar appears to have again been placed in charge of the western frontiers after his kinsman, the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, became Sulṭán. The author of the Táríkh-i-Fírúz Sháh-í (who follows the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí after a lapse of ninety-five years, however, but there is no contemporary writer between them), states, that, "Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, who was the brother's son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, held charge of all the western frontier in the beginning of his reign, and held it up to the time of his own death, four or five years after. He says: "This Sher Khán held charge of all the western frontier, Sunám, Lohowar [Láhor], Debál-púr, and other fiefs exposed to the Mughal inroads. See note farther on.

[47] Miscalled "Beejnot," in the maps. There is another place called Wanjh-rúṭ, in Upper Sind, near the western channel of the Haḳrá and the old bed of the Bíáh.

is now in the midst of the desert, in the Baháwal-púr state, but, at the period referred to, it was the chief place of a district on the banks of the Hakṛá, extending upwards towards U'chchh, but, chiefly, along its right or east banks. Multán had been already taken possession of by one of the Sulṭán's Maliks, the feudatory of Sarastí, who had marched down the Bárí Do-ábah from the direction of Láhor.

The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" repeatedly mentions the river Bíáh up to the time when his history closes, and, perhaps, it will not be amiss to state briefly what he says.

I have mentioned that Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán had attempted to recover Multán from Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar,[48] when the author was there in 648 H. (1250 A. D.). The latter had, some time before, wrested Multán out of the hands of the Ḳárlúgh Turks, who had compelled Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, to surrender it to them. After Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban had withdrawn from Multán, Malik Sher Khán marched against U'chchh. At this time Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, was absent at Nág-awr, or "Nágor," and he at once hastened from thence towards U'chchh to endeavour to save it; and, thinking that Malik Sher Khán would take into consideration that they were both servants of the same sovereign, and would abandon his designs upon U'chchh, he presented himself in his camp; but Malik Sher Khán, who appears to have known that he was a traitor at heart, detained him as a prisoner until he consented to surrender the place. This he did, and had to retire to Nág-awr again. The author says that, with U'chchh given up to him, all Sind came under Malik Sher Khán's sway. Now, the route from Nág-awr to U'chchh led across the Hakṛá, and through the vast tract at present chiefly desert; but Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban and his following do not appear to have had any difficulty, either in going or coming, with regard to water or forage.[49]

and which was included in the same district, which extended from the Bikánír border to the banks of the Hakṛá, and the first named place appears to have been its chief town.

48 In the "Mujmal-i-Faṣíḥ-í," under the events of the year 648 H. (1250 A. D.) it is stated, that, in that same year, Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar retook Multán from the Mughals, and ousted a rival Malik of the Dihlí Court, who was disaffected, and intriguing with the Mughals, from U'chchh; and that, soon after, he had himself to retire to the urdú of Mangú Ḳá'án, while his rival went to Hulákú. Multán was retaken from the Ḳárlúghs, who were for some time vassals of the Mughals. The "disaffected Malik," of course, refers to 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán.

The year 648 H. commenced on the 4th April, 1250 A. D.

49 Nág-awr then formed an important fief and province of the Dihlí empire, which Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán was allowed to hold, as well as Sind and Multán. Its dependencies adjoined those of U'chchh and Multán on the

In Shawwál, 650 H. (January, 1253 A. D.), Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, set out from Dihlí with his forces in the direction of Láhor, with the intention of marching to Multán and U'chchh, in order to recover them from Malik Sher Khán, and restore them to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban. Malik Sher Khán was the kinsman of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, and this movement against him was the first step in a plot which was then on foot, to overthrow the power of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, and remove him from the court. The forces marched from Dihlí by Kaiṭhal, because the feudatories of Budá'ún, Bhíánah, and other parts, were to join with their contingents. The troops reached the banks of the Bíáh, but, as the conspirators had succeeded in getting the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam banished to his fiefs of Hánsí and the Siwálikh territory, the Sultán, who was a mere tool in their hands, marched back with them to Dihlí in the first month of the following year.

Towards the close of that year the Sultán again put his forces in motion for the purpose of securing U'chchh and Multán. On reaching the banks of the Bíáh, a force was despatched towards Tabarhindah, another of Malik Sher Khán's fiefs; but he, leaving those places in the hands of his dependents, had retired towards Turkistán, to proceed to the presence of the Great Ḳá'án, Mangú Khán; and those provinces were taken from Malik Sher Khán's dependents, and entrusted to the charge of Malik Arsalán Khán, Sanjar-i-Chast; and the Sultán again retired from the banks of the Bíáh, beyond which the forces did not move, and returned to Dihlí.

About 653 A. H., the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, (1255 A. D.), was again placed in charge of U'chchh and Multán, apparently,

west. Can any one imagine it would have been possible or desirable to have held Multán, U'chchh, and Nág-awr, with a howling waterless desert between, and those districts also half a desert, with the principal river dried up, and two others merged into one, and thus rendering another vast tract desolate?

Nág-awr, at the period in question, was generally held by a separate feudatory, but 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, possessed great interest with the rulers of the Shamsí dynasty, to whom he was related by marriage, having espoused a lady of the family of Sultán I-yal-timish. He rebelled several times, and yet his conduct was passed over, and he was again and again restored to favour, as may be seen from the "Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí."

In Akbar Bádsháh's reign, Nág-awr was one of the two western *sarkárs* of the Ajmír *súbah*; and Bikánír, of which Jasal-mír was only a *maḥáll* or sub-district, was another *sarkár* of Ajmír. Even in that day, when some of the rivers had greatly changed, and a great deal of desert intervened between Nág-awr and the Multán *súbah*, it contained thirty-one *maḥálls*, and yielded a revenue of 40,389,830 *dáms*, equal to 1,009,743 *rúpís*, or upwards of ten *lakhs*. It is now a dependency of Jodhpúr in the territory of Máṛ-wáṛ.

to counteract the designs of Malik Sher Khán in going to the presence of Mangú Ḳá'án, the supreme ruler of the Mughal empire. With the assistance of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Kurat, who held the fief of Hirát, and other parts adjacent, as a vassal of the Mughals—and heavy was their yoke—and through him, he tendered allegiance to Hulákú Khán,[60] then in I'-rán-Zamín on the part of his brother Mangú Ḳá'án, and requested that a Shaḥnah or Commissioner should be sent to U'chchh. This was done, and the Nú-ín, Sálí, or Sálín, also written Sárí,[61] was sent thither at the head of a body of Mughal troops in 654 A. H. (1256 A. D.).

In 655 H. (1257 A. D.)[62] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, who, with the troops of U'chchh and Multán,[63] was then on the banks of the Bíáh, advanced up the *do-ábah* in order to effect a junction with other disaffected Maliks of the Dihlí kingdom.[64] Having united, they pushed on to Manṣúr-púr, Kuhṛám, and Samánah, their object being to seize upon Dihlí if they could.[65] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, who had again regained the greatest power in the state, moved against them at

[60] See preceding note, and "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 786 and 860.

[61] In this word, as in many others, the letters '*r*' and '*l*' are interchangeable.

[62] According to some other writers, in the preceding year.

[63] The reason why Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán was able to hold these places, although at the same time in open rebellion against his sovereign, the Sulṭán of Dihlí, was, because U'chchh and Multán, and their dependencies, chiefly, lay *west* of the Bíáh and Hakṛá, and *between* the latter and the A'b-i-Sind or Indus, which then flowed much nearer to Multán, and farther west and beyond the Ráwí and Chin-áb. Both strongholds, likewise, lay in the same *do-ábah* or delta, the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and this rendered them liable to attack from the Mughals coming downwards from the direction of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, in the same *do-ábah*, which was in the possession of the Mughals. The fact that Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, evacuated Multán immediately on the Mughals approaching the banks of the A'b-i-Sind to attack U'chchh in 643 H., and retired precipitately into Sind, to Síw-istán and the sea coast, confirms this. To do so, he did not take boat, on the A'b-i-Sind, or he might have been captured, but he embarked on the Bíáh or Sínd Rúd, below the confluence of the three other rivers of the Panj-áb with it, and from it got into the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and by it reached the neighbourhood of Bakhar, and subsequently Lower Sind.

When Abú-l-Faẓl wrote, Multán was in the Bárí Do-ábah, and U'chchh in the district known as Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-A'b or Panch Nad, that is, lying on either side of the united five rivers below their junction.

[64] Including Malik Ḳutlugh Khán, who had married the mother of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, who had rebelled against that Sulṭán in 653 H. (1255 A. D.), and coined money in his own name, hence he is not allowed to appear in the list of the Sulṭán's Maliks. He, too, was a *Turk*, not a "Paṭhán." See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" pages 673 and 703. Also the *Society's* "Transactions," for 1889, page 226.

[65] See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 785.

the head of the Sultán's forces. They managed, however, to give him the slip when within ten *kuroh* of them; for, having fellow traitors within the walls of the capital, who offered to open the gates to them, they made a forced march of one hundred *kuroh* in the space of two days and a half, and reached it on the evening of the Thursday. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam had, in the meantime, received intimation of these doings, and he set out in pursuit of them. In the interim the traitors within had been secured; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, and his confederates found the walls manned and gates closed ready for a vigorous defence when they perambulated the place on the evening in question. On the Friday morning, the Sultán's forces under the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam having appeared upon the scene, the insurgents took to flight; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, being deserted by the troops of Uchchh and Multán in their precipitate flight, was left with only about 200 or 300 followers. He, however, succeeded in effecting his escape. This was in Jamádí-ul-Ákhir of the year above mentioned (July, 1257 A. D.).

At this time, the Nú-ín Sálí or Sálín or Sárí, having entered the territory east of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, reached Uchchh, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, had to join his camp. After this the Mughal leader despatched the Kurat Malik, Shams-ud-Dín, Muhammad, who had to accompany him on this expedition whether he liked it or not, to occupy Multán;[56] and the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Bahá-ul-Hakk-wa-d-Dín, Zakaríyá, who appears, in the absence of a settled government, to have been the chief authority there, or, at least, the person possessing the most influence, had to pay down 100,000 *dínárs* to save the place from being sacked. The fortifications are said to have been dismantled by Sálí's command, and a Turk *mamlúk* or slave of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muhammad, the Tájzík Kurat feudatory of Hirát and Ghúr, Chingiz Khán, by name, was made Hákim of Multán.[57]

Both Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, and Malik Jalál-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, brother of Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Mahmúd Sháh, ruler of Dihlí,

[56] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, was probably ashamed to accompany those infidels thither to the presence of the Shaikh, therefore, the Tájzík Kurat Malik of Hirát and Ghúr was made the means of communication.

[57] I hope this Chingiz Khán will not be mistaken by the archæological experts for Timur-chí, the Mughal, the Chingiz or Great Khán, because history states that he did not coin money; while the coins, if they may be so called, of his immediate successors were *bálights* or ingots. Many of those petty Musalmán rulers, who were reduced to vassalage by the Mughals, like Malik Hasan, the Kárlúgh, and Shams-ud-Dín, Muhammad, the Kurat, *had to put the names* of these "infidels" *on their coins.* See Thomas's "Pathán Kings of Dehlí," pages 91—98. Neither Hasan, nor his son, Násir-ud-Dín, Muhammad were very" powerful monarchs." See also "Tabakát-i-Násirí," Translation, pages 781, 859—863, and 1128—1132 for an account of them.

who had gone to the presence of Mangú Ḳá'án, and had been honourably received, were also permitted to return; and the latter was allowed to hold the province of Láhor, independent of Dihlí, as a vassal of the Mug͟hals, but he did not long retain it.

It is stated in another history[58], that, after settling the affairs of Uchchh and Multán, Sálí marched towards Láhor, which was then in the possession of Kuret K͟hán, or K͟hwán as it is written in the original, and that Sálí entered into an accommodation with this person, on the payment of 30,000 *dínárs*, 30 *k͟harwárs* of soft fabrics, and 100 captives; and that, after this, the Kurat Malik of Hirát and G͟húr, S͟hams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who, as the vassal of the Mug͟hals, had to accompany the Nú-ín with his contingent and was probably quite weary of acting against his co-religionists on the side of the Mug͟hal infidels, left the Nú-ín, Sálí, and retired towards G͟húr.

This person, Kuret K͟hán, who was in possession of Láhor, does not appear, however, to have been a feudatory of the Dihlí kingdom;[59] and the city of Láhor was in ruins, or in a very ruinous state, it having been sacked and depopulated and destroyed by the Mug͟hals in 639 H. (1241–42 A. D.). After that time, the ruins were occupied by the Khokhars, a powerful Jaṭ tribe. These people have always been mistaken for Gakhaṛs (by those who knew no difference between them), and the Gakhaṛs for Khokhars.

A great army was assembled at the capital for the purpose of moving against the Mug͟hal invaders and the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, but serious disturbances broke out in the hill tracts of Mewát and parts adjacent, that had first to be quelled. Respecting this, the author of the "Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" says, at page 850: "Nevertheless, it was impossible to chastize that sedition by reason of anxiety consequent on the appearance of the Mug͟hal army, which continued to harass the frontier tracts of the dominions of Islám, namely, the territory of Sind, Láhor, and *the line of the Biáh*;[60] until, at this period, emissaries of K͟hurásán, coming from the side of 'Iráḳ, from Huláú [or Hulákú], the Mug͟hal, had arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital."

These emissaries had not come on Hulákú's part, but respecting a matrimonial alliance mentioned at page 859 of the "Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who then ruled over the *k͟hiṯṯah* of

58 "The Mujmal-i-Faṣiḥ-í."

59 There is a Malik named Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Kuret K͟hán, among the feudatories of Dihlí, but he had never been in charge of Láhor according to the "Ṯabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." See page 756.

60 Ḥad the Biáh been dry, they could easily have passed the frontier, but it was an unfordable river in the direction here referred to.

Banián in the Koh-i-Júd,[61] was desirous of giving a daughter of his in marriage to the son of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, and an agent had been sent to him by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam agreeing to his request. As Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was a vassal of the Mughals, at that time, and as Hulákú Khán, the ruler of Í-rán Zamín on behalf of his brother, the Great Ká'án, Mangú, was therefore the Malik's immediate superior, the Malik had deemed it necessary to send the agent of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam to Hulákú Khán to obtain his sanction for the proposed alliance. It was this Ḳárlúgh emissary who had arrived along with the agent of the Ulugh Khán at this juncture, and with him had come a Mughal Shaḥnah, or Commissioner, resident in Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad's territory, probably to spy out the nakedness of the land. Advantage was taken of the arrival of these emissaries, who were detained for a time at some distance from the capital.[62] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam set out at the head of the troops,[63] and making forced marches, suddenly and unexpectedly entered the hill tracts of Mewát, and attacked the rebels with vigour and effect. The rebellion was crushed, the rebels severely punished, and the forces returned to Dihlí. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam advised the Sulṭán to give these emissaries a public reception; and so they were conducted with great pomp and parade to the Sulṭán's presence, and 200,000 footmen well armed, and 50,000 cavalry fully equipped in defensive armour, besides numerous war elephants, were assembled for them to behold and report on when they returned into Khurásán. This stroke of policy had the desired effect; and the author says: "Huláú [Hulákú] sent orders to the Mughal forces under the standard of Sárí [Sálí], the Nú-ín, saying: 'If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the dominions of the Sulṭán,[64] the command unto you is this, that all four feet of such

[61] He was the son of the late Malik, Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlúgh, who had possessed himself of Multán shortly before the Mughals invested Úchchh in 643 H.

[62] At a place called Bárútah. See "Translation," page 851, note 8.

[63] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam had a body of 3,000 Afgháns, horse and foot, along with him in this expedition, *the first time* they are mentioned by a contemporary historian as in the service of any of the feudatories of the Dihlí kingdom. They were only now become sufficiently numerous to take service under the Muḥammadan nobles of the Dihlí state. The territories north, west, and south of their mountain home—I am referring to "*the* Afghánistán," as described in my "NOTES" on those parts, not to the *Afghán state*—were either in the possession of the Mughals, who were infidels, or their vassals, who groaned under their yoke, like Náṣir-ud-Dín, the Ḳárlúgh, above referred to.

[64] This, of course, only refers to the country *east* of the Bíáh, for the Mughals or their vassals were in possession of all *west* of that river at the period in question, and had been for some time, a fact which Indian history compilers (up to date), do not appear to have been cognizant of.

horse be lopped off.' Such like security did the Most High God miraculously vouchsafe unto the kingdom of Hindústán through the felicity attending the rectitude of the Ulugh-Khání counsels."

All these facts show, that, at the period in question, the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, and that the Sutlaj river had not united with it. The writer of the article on the "Lost River" in the Calcutta Review, however, again quoting the "Tabakát-i-Násiri" from Elliot's "Historians," in reference to the investment of Uchchh, says, that, "when he [Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh] arrived on the banks of the Biyáh the infidels raised the siege of Uchh," and that, "here the allusion is to the united streams. The Satlej is not mentioned although the writer was with the army, that river having become merged into the Biyáh."[65] Here again the "Tabakát-i-Násiri" is not correctly quoted, and the writer contradicts what he mentioned before from that work. It was only *after* the Dihlí troops had crossed the Biáh, and moved towards the Ráwah or Ráwí of Láhor, and were marching down the left or east bank of the latter river, in the Bárí Do-ábah, between that river and the Biáh, and the troops were approaching Uchchh from the northwards, that the Mughals, who had been repulsed in a recent assault, in which they had lost one of their famous leaders, finding their line of retreat threatened, raised the investment and "retired in three divisions." In no instance throughout the "Tabakát-i-Násiri" is such a river as the Sutlaj referred to; and I totally fail to see what proof the writer of the article has to show that the author "makes allusion to the united streams," when no such river as the Sutlaj is mentioned in his work,[66] nor in any history of that period.

65 Mr. R. D. Oldham, too, in his recent paper previously alluded to, appears to have been unaware that the Biáh flowed near to Multán at this period, or at least he does not refer to it as if he had been aware of the fact; and at this period no Haríárí or Ghárah, miscalled the Satlaj, existed. The Satlaj was then a tributary of the Hakrá, and flowed much farther to the east. See note 67.

66 What "*we* call it now" is no criterion of its correctness; and the writer in the Calcutta Review (page 11) himself says, that, "The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans." The "*modern term*," too, is at least as *old* as the A'ín-i-Akbarí.

It will perhaps be well to state, to make the subject clear, that, as long as the Sutlaj or Shattluj flowed in its own separate bed, that is, before it and the Biáh both left their respective channels and united into one river, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah. After the junction of the two rivers for a time, they both lost their old names, but, having again soon after separated, the Sutlaj returning to its old channel, they flowed apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, equal to about one hundred and seventy-five miles, and again took their old names of Biáh and Sutlaj. After this, in the last century only, they again united, and lost their old names once more, and from that time have flowed in one channel, both having deserted their

When the Bíáh and Sutlaj finally united their waters, it was not that the Sutlaj flowed in the bed of the Bíáh, but both left their old beds and united midway, as their deserted channels remain to show. Moreover, after their junction, both rivers lost their names, and thenceforward they were known as the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah.[67] If the Bíáh had left its old bed, and had moved from thirty-five to forty miles further eastwards, thus still more reducing the Dihlí territory, the author would certainly have mentioned such a fact, but, as the Sutlaj did not then exist in that part, being then a tributary of the Hakṛá, it is by no means strange that it is never mentioned in his work. The author does not mention the Hakṛá, nor the Chitáng, nor the Chin-áb, nor the Ghagghar, but that, too, is no proof that they did not exist, for we know that they did.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban's march upwards along the banks of the Bíáh in 655 H, is also considered a proof that the two rivers, the "Biyáh," and the "Satlej," had united, or rather that the "Satlej had merged into the Biyáh;" but I have already mentioned, at page 174, why Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, took the route in question. The extracts I have given from the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" clearly show, that, up to the period its author wrote, namely, up to 658 H. (1259 A. D.), the Bíáh had not left its old bed; and, furthermore, it is certain that it still continued to flow in its old bed for more than one hundred and fifty-seven years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, up to the time of the invasion of India by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in 801 H. (1397-98 A. D.), as I shall presently show; and, moreover, there are people still living,[68]

ancient beds. The names of the river while united were Machhú-Wáh, Hariárí, Ḍanḍ, Núrní, Nílí, Ghallú-Ghárah, and Ghárah, the two last being only applied to the lower part of the stream, after the final junction. See the account of the Sutlaj farther on.

About the only writer who describes the Hariárí or Ghárah correctly and in a few words is Elphinstone, who says (Vol. 1, p. 32), respecting Baháwalpúr: "The river winds much at this place, and is very muddy, but the water, when cleared, is excellent. It is here called the Gharra, and is formed by the joint streams of the Hyphasis or Beyah, and Hysudrus or Sutledge."

67 Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, calls it Ghárah, Hariárí, or Núrní. The Ḍanḍ or Ḍanḍah refers to a minor branch described further on, but not to be confounded with the high bank of the old channel of the Sutlaj further east, which in the dialect of the people of that part is called *ḍanḍah*.

68 There lately died in the village of Dhokí in the Montgomery (the old "Googaria") district, an old Jaṭ named Bagh Mall, who, according to a Láhor paper, which gave an account of him a little while before, had reached the advanced age of 118 years, having been born in A. D. 1770. The account says:—"Though so old, Bagh Mall can still walk about, and goes as far as the village well, about 100 yards or so, and also to the village *dharmsala* every day. His vision is a good deal impaired, and

who remember the time when the Biáh *first* deserted its ancient bed, and the Sutlaj finally left its last independent channel, now known to the people as the "Great Ḍanḍah," and the two united and formed the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah as they now flow.

I certainly fail to see that because "the Tartar chief, Kadar" [a Mughal, I presume, and Mughals are not Tartars, although both are branches of the Turks] "came with an army from the Jud mountain in 695 A. H (A. D. 1296) and crossed the Jhelam, Beyah, *and* Satladar (Satlej)" [which the writer just before said had "merged into the Biyáh" fifty-two years previously, when the army marched from Dihlí to relieve Uchchh] and was "defeated near Jhalandar," therefore "he must have crossed them above their junction" [the two latter, I presume, are meant, but *three* are named], The "must" here is merely to support the previous theory that the Sutlaj had united with the Biáh and flowed in the latter's bed, which it never did do. This "Tartar chief" could not have crossed the Sutlaj at all, to have been defeated near Jalhandar,[69] even after the Biáh and Sutlaj had united into one stream and ran as it runs to this day, because, if he had crossed the Sutlaj from the west to the east bank, he would have *passed out of* the Jalhandar Do-ábah, and have *left* Jalhandar some twenty-eight miles to the northward. That *Do-ábah* refers to the tract of country lying *between* the Bíáh and the Sutlaj (in whatever direction they flowed, and may flow), which latter river now bounds it on the south. To reach that *Do-ábah* from the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, the Chin-áb and the Ráwí would have to be crossed as well as the "Jhelam" and "Beyah," but not the "Satladar (Satlej)"; and if it is a proof, because the Sutlaj is "not mentioned" by the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" on the occasion of the investment of Uchchh, that it must have "merged into the Biyáh," we might just as well say that it is a proof that the Chin-áb and Ráwí had merged into the Jhilam, or some other river,

he is rather deaf, but otherwise seems in wonderful health for his wonderful age. * * * His descendants number eighty persons—children, grandchildren, and great-grand children,—who take great care of him. The old man's memory is, of course, somewhat gone; but as a proof of his age *he says he can remember the drying up of the Bias* [Bíáh], which is supposed to have occurred some hundred years ago" "*Allen's Indian Mail*," January 21st, 1889.

When Wilford wrote his remarkable "Essays," showing that he was far in advance of his time, and Rennell published his "Memoir on a Map of Hindoostan," in 1788, the Bíáh and Sutlaj had not yet united and formed the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, but they did so very shortly after.

69 Abú-l-Faẓl always writes it Jálandhar. The Survey account I shall presently refer to has the name as above. The correct name of this *do-ábah* is Bist-Jalhandar, and it was also known as Sehiṛ-Wál.

since they are not mentioned in the case of this "Tartar" invasion, which was one of the numerous inroads of the Mughals into the Panj-áb territory.

I may mention here, that, when the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, son of Jahán-gír, son of Amír Tímúr, in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 800 H. (December, 1397 A. D.), crossed the Áb-i-Sind or Indus and invested Úchchh as the Nú-ín, Mangútah had done in 643 H., reinforcements under Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ná'ib of Sárang Khán, who was then governor of the provinces of Láhor and Multán, were despatched to the succour of Úchchh. Pír Muḥammad, obtaining information of this, raised the investment of that place, and marched to meet Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, whom he fell upon on the banks of the Bíáh, and overthrew him. He, with difficulty, re-crossed the river, but, in so doing, lost a number of his men, who, in their hurry to escape, threw themselves into the Bíáh and were drowned. Having effected the passage, Táj-ud-Dín Muḥammad retired precipitately towards Multán, which he succeeded in reaching, but was closely followed by the Mughals, who invested him therein. To effect these movements, if the Bíáh and Sutlaj had united, both pursuer and pursued would have had to cross the *Ghárah*, but they had not yet united. The Ráwí still flowed east of Multán and united with the Bíáh, which still flowed in its own bed; but, the Chin-áb, having separated from the Ráwí and Bíáh, and altered its course more towards the west, passed Multán on the west instead of the east, and thus Multán was in the Rachan-áb Do-ábah, and Úchchh in the Bíst-Jalhandar, instead of the Sind Ságar, while at present, consequent on other changes in the courses of the rivers, Multán is in the Bárí Do-ábah, and Úchchh has long since been shut out of the Do-ábahs altogether.

So much for the Bíáh and Sutlaj having merged into one *before* the investment of Úchchh in 643 H.

The old bed of the Hakṛá can be traced much farther south-west than "Kururwalla, in Lat. 29°, 53′, Long. 73°, 53′." It can be traced down to the sea coast of Sind, as I have here traced it.

The writer of the article in the "Calcutta Review" has also stated, that the upper part of the Hakṛá "is called *Sotra*, which is probably a corruption of *Satroda* or *Satruda*, the old name of the Satlej[70] [in the "Tartar invasion" he called it the "*Satladar*"]. "Hakrá," he continues, appears to be the modified form of *Sagara*, the letter S being pronounced H in Rajputana and Sindh." It might have been added, that this inveterate propensity likewise prevails in Káṭhiáwáṛ.[71] But,

[70] Only the Sutlaj *was not* the Hakṛá, but merely one of its tributaries. See the notice of the Hakṛá farther on.

[71] Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers, in his

how comes it that the '*k*' in Hakṛá is changed into '*g*'? The name Ságarah (or Shágarah in some MSS.) is as old as the time when Al-Mas'údí wrote, as will appear farther on.[73]

He also says that "the Satlej when it abandoned the western Naiwal [Ná'e Wálí, the eastern and western, are names of old channels in which, in ancient times, the Sutlaj flowed] entered the valley of the Biyas. * * * At this time [the siege of Uchchh in 643 H.] therefore, took place the first junction between the rivers, and their combined streams were henceforth known as the Beyah." What is the difference? and what name may it have previously borne if it was only *henceforth* called the "Beyah"?

This, however, is nothing less than a contradiction on the writer's part of his own previous and succeeding statements. He must have meant to say, or ought to have said, that, *after* their junction, whenever and wherever that might have happened, they lost their respective names, and were henceforth called Hariárí, Nílí, or Gharah; and, in any case, the Sutlaj never entered the valley of the Biáh, nor did the Biáh enter the valley of the Sutlaj, because the tracts through which the Biáh flows after leaving the hills, and a goodly portion of which I have myself traversed, and that through which the united streams now flow, is perfectly flat from their point of junction. The right or western bank of the old bed of the Biáh, like that of other rivers of this part, is much the highest, and forms the eastern side of the great central plateau separating the valley in which it flowed from the valley of the Ráwí, and forms the greater part of the Ganjí Báṛ, described in the account of the two rivers farther on; and beyond this high bank the Biáh could not possibly pass, unless it had risen some forty feet to do so. The old bed of the latter river lies some thirty miles on the average farther west than the united stream, the Hariárí, Nílí, or Gharah. The Sutlaj and Biáh met half way, so to speak, *both leaving their old beds*, and formed a new one for a short distance, but they soon separated, and did not unite again until low down in the south-west part of the Multán district, as will be described in its proper

"Personal Narrative" says, that "the Bhatee borderers substitute a guttural *kh* in place of *s*, as "*bukhtee*" for "*bustee;*" *o* for *a* [for '*ah*" as a final letter, as in Sind]; and *sh* for *s*," etc. Tod, on the other hand (as in the extract above, which is really from him), says the natives of these parts cannot pronounce the sibilant, so that '*s*' is commuted into '*h*'."

73 *Ságar* is the Sanskrit for 'ocean,' 'sea,' etc., and it is still known as the Sind-Ságar near the sea coast. Tod calls it the "Sankra," which is another form of the name; and it is called the Sankrah in the treaty entered into by Nádir Sháh, and Muḥammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí, when ceding all the territory west of it to the Persians. The substance of that treaty is given farther on.

place. It was only towards the close of the last century that they again united, again lost their respective names, formed a new river and a fresh bed, and commenced to flow as at present.

The writer also states that, "the application of the name Satlej to the stream below its confluence is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings, Hindú or Mohammedan." In this he is perfectly correct. It was stated by Abú-l-Fazl in the A'ín-i-Akbarí nearly three centuries ago, that, "after the junction of the two rivers *they both lose their names*, and the united streams are known as the Ḍanḍ, or Ḍanḍah, Hariárí, and Núrní, and lower down, as the Ghárah or Ghárá (both modes of writing being correct)." Then quoting Tod, the Review writer says, "Tod, in his "Annals of Rajast'han," says, that the Bhatti traditions say the *Garrah* is always called *Beah*. To this day, the river below Fírozpur is known to the boatmen as Bíyáh [sic] or Garrah. The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans."[73]

I may add that the boatmen never call it "Satlej," nor Sutlaj *below* the confluence of the two rivers, and that, more correctly speaking, we might say that the Sutlaj unites with the Bíáh, instead of the Bíáh uniting with the Sutlaj. The Sutlaj was the interloper, and its entering the channel of the Bíáh at Loh or Loh-Wál temporarily, caused the Bíáh to desert its ancient channel altogether.

Before closing these remarks upon the article in the "Calcutta Review," I would point out what appears so very contradictory in the writer's statements. At page 10 he says, that, "when the Sultán ('Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh), reached the banks of the *Beyah*, the Mughals raised the siege of Uchh," and that "the allusion is to the united streams, the Satlej having become merged into the *Beyah*." Now, after stating that "the Satlej is an interloper,' and the *Beyáh* the original stream," which last statement is undoubtedly correct, he says that "the Satlej is no other than the Hakra or Naewal"; that "the Abohar" was the last which deserted its bed in the first half of the thirteenth century; that, although they *met* at Hariki Pattan [Harí ke Paṭan—The Ferry of Hari] in 1593, they have only flowed in the same bed since

[73] Tod in his "Rajast'han," says, note page 262, Vol II, that "The Garah is invariably called the *Behah* in the chronicle [which he is supposed to be quoting]. Gharah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Gharah is composed of the waters of the *Behah* and *Sutlej*."

Gárá (گارا), not "*gar*" is mud in Hindí, but *kneaded* and *prepared* for pottery or building, but the name of the river is Ghallú-Ghárah (گهلو گهاره) and Ghárah. See notes 66 and 67.

1796"; and that "since then the lands on the banks of the old *Bíyás* became waste."[74]

If these last statements are correct, then the former one, that, when the Mughals raised the siege of Uchchh in 1245 A. D., "*the allusion is to the united streams, the* SATLEJ *having become merged into the Biyáh,*" is incorrect; as must likewise be the statements, that, after this siege of Uchchh, "*armies marching from Dehli to Multán were obliged to abandon the direct route by Marot, in consequence of the disappearance of the Hakra,*" which we are now told "*is no other than the* SATLEJ *or Naewal;*" and that afterwards, they "*always took the road by Abohar and Ajodhan,*" must be equally wrong, since the writer adds, that "*the*

[74] Mírzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, after gaining possession of Uchchh in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.), and destroying its defences, marched from thence towards Multán, and reached the banks of the Ghárah; and the Langáh Jaṭs of Multán took post on the banks, and there awaited his attack.

This clearly shows that the Bíáh and Sutlaj had then, in Mírzá Sháh Husain's day, already united above Fírúz-púr, and become the Hariárí, Ḍanḍah, or Núrní, as afterwards described by Abú-l-Faẓl. But they soon separated again, and each resumed its former name, the only difference being that an intermediate, but very minor branch remained, called the Ḍanḍah. After flowing apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, they again united and formed the Ghárah, as described in note 66, page 178, and in the notice of the rivers farther on; for, until they again united in the south-western part of the then Multán territory of the Langáh Jaṭs, there was no Ghárah. The latter, however, was not then as it subsequently became, and now is, because it then passed some miles east of the site on which Baháwal-púr now stands, and also east of Uchchh, to unite with the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus.

Mírzá Sháh Husain, moreover, is stated to have made peace with the Langáh ruler of Multán, on the stipulation, that the Ghárah, in future, should form the boundary between the Multán territory and Sind, and that all to the southwards of the Ghárah should belong to Sind. The point where the two rivers again united after flowing apart, will be found in the account of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá's capture farther on.

It is further mentioned that Mírzá Sháh Husain attacked the fortress of Dir-áwar (since become the chief stronghold of the Dá'úd-putrah chiefs of Baháwal-púr), which through '*l*' and '*r*' being interchangable in these parts, is also called at times Dil-áwar and Dir-áwal, and that he had to take a month's supply of grain and *water* sufficient for his forces along with him, because it was "situated in a desert tract, so that even the birds of the air were afraid to glance at it." This place is close to the west bank of the deserted Hakṛá or Wahindah, about fifty miles south-south-west of Baháwal-púr. This statement also shows that the Sutlaj had then ceased to be a tributary of the Hakṛá as it had hitherto been, and that by the Sutlaj uniting with the Bíáh, both rivers, under the new names of Ghárah, etc., had become tributaries of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus.

The above information I may mention is from Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, who wrote as far back as near the close of the reign of Akbar Bádsháh.

western branch of the Naewal was the LAST *of the channels connected with the Hakra which, at this time (about* 1220 *A. D.) finally ceased to flow*"; for the investment of U'chchh occurred twenty-five years *after* this last channel according to that statement, finally ceased to flow ![75]

My geographical and historical information concerning the Bíáh, the Sutlaj, and the ancient Hakṛá or Wahindah, and its tributaries, and concerning the other rivers of the Panj-áb, differs considerably from that contained in the article in the "Calcutta Review," but it agrees generally as to the "Lost River" itself; and, in justice to the writer, it must be allowed that he was one of the first,[76] in the present day, to call prominent attention to the fact that the Hakṛá did once run through the so-called "Indian desert," which appeared almost to have been forgotten.

A good deal of my information is taken from a geographical work, the result of a personal survey, by a well read and very intelligent native of India of foreign descent, made *previous* to 1790 A. D., which was the year in which his work was completed, or just six years *before* the time the writer in the Review above mentioned, in his last statement just quoted, says, that the Bíáh and Sutlaj "first flowed in one bed." Farther on I shall give some extracts from his admirable Survey record.

Before attempting to describe the changes which have taken place in the courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, and the Sindhu, A'b-i-Sind, or Indus, and the disappearance of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, it will be well to give a few extracts from the old Musalmán geographers and historians; and although some part of what they say, is, seemingly, mere nonsense, we must allow for the conjectural spelling of translators (in cases where we have not the original works to refer to), who have attempted to render names, which, in the MSS. translated, have often no vowel points whatever. Indeed, for geographical purposes, and recording proper names in general, the 'Arabic character is, from the carelessness of copyists, and the nature of the characters themselves, an unfortunate one.

[75] Thus far I had written twelve years since, as a note to the investment of U'chchh at page 1155 of my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." I have allowed it to stand just as it was then written.

[76] The Report of Lieut. J. G. Fife, of the Bombay Engineers, to the Government of that Presidency on the project of "restoring water to the ancient channel of the Indus called the Eastern Narra," in which the Hakṛá is referred to, as having once flowed through these parts, is dated as far back as September 1852, and Burton also refers to it in his work on Sind, published in 1851.

The geographers and geographical works I propose to quote are the following. Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, son of Jábir-al-Baláẓirí, who wrote his "Futúḥ-al-Baladán" about 270 H. (883–84 A. D.).[77] Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-'Ubaid-ulláh, known as Ibn Khurdád-bih, who wrote about 275 H. (888–89 A. D.), or, certainly, before 300 H. (912 A. D.). Abú-Zaid-al-Ḥasan, a native of Síráf, who appears to have written shortly after Ibn Khurdád-bih; for the writer who follows, met him at Baṣrah in 303 H. (9:6 A. D.), and seems to have compared notes with him. Abú-Ḥasan, surnamed Al-Mas'údí, who wrote his "Murúj-uẓ-Ẓahab wa Ma'ádin-ul-Jauáhir" in 332 H. (943–44 A. D.); Abú-Isḥáḳ-al-Istakharí,[78] who wrote between 340 and 350 H. (951–52 and 961 A. D.). The "Kitáb-ul-Masálik wa Mamálik," written a few years after the preceding, and nearly about the time that Muḥammad, Abú-l-Ḳásim, son of Ḥauḳal, hence, chiefly known as Ibn Ḥauḳal, wrote his "Ashkál-ul-Bilád," whose work bears a considerable resemblance to the "Masálik wa Mamálik" in many places. Ibn Ḥauḳal completed his work in 366 H. (976 A. D.). He appears to have met Al-Istakharí in his travels somewhere in Sind, or in the Multán territory. The next in point of date is the celebrated Abú-Riḥán, Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, familiarly known as the *Ustád* or Master, Bú-Riḥán, surnamed Al-Berúní, who wrote about the year 420 H. (1028 A. D.),[79] or soon

77 He died in the year 279 H. (892–93 A. D.).

78 He is not called "*Istakhrí*," because he was a native of that famons Persian city called Istakhar or Persepolis. The word means a pond, lake, or sheet of water. 'Arabs write the name Iṣṭakhar.

79 He finished his work, the Taḥḳíḳ (not "*Táríkh*," as in Elliot and Sachau) -ul-Hind by the first day of the year 423 H., which commenced on the 18th of December, 1031 A. D. In the year preceding, in several places in his work, he styles it "our year," because it was that in which his great patron, Sulṭán Mas'úd, obtained the restitution of his rights as the eldest son and heir of his father, and assumed the throne at Hirát in the fifth month of that year. He did not compose it in "*Afghanistan*," nor in "*the Afghan-Indian empire*," as Prof. E. Sachau, the editor of the text and translator of the same, assumes, because Ghazní, or Ghaz-nín or correctly, Ghaz-nih, but never "*Ghaz-na*," although included in the modern Afghán *state*, is not, and never was, included within "*the* Afghánistán," or 'native country of the Afgháns. What that means and constitutes may be seen from my work entitled "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 453 to 470; and the world has not yet seen an "*Afghan-Indian Empire*," and Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a *Turk*, not an Afghán.

Some errors of a similar kind will be found in the English Preface to the 'Arabic text, and also in the Preface to its translation by the same learned Professor.

Abú-Riḥán was not brought to Ghaznih, under any compulsion, nor was he detained against his will by Sulṭán Maḥmúd in his dominions; for his contemporary and admirer, Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳí, tells us, that he first came to the Sulṭán's court, in the suite of the Khwárazmí ruler, the son-in-law of the Sulṭán, and that *of his own accord* he entered Sulṭán Maḥmúd's service. It was in the train of that conqueror, and that of his chief patron, Sulṭán Mas'úd, that Bú-Riḥán had the opportunity of

after. He is extensively quoted by the author of the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, and by the Fanákatí, but honestly so; for they both acknowledge what they have extracted from his "Taḥḳíḳ-ul-Hind. After him comes Abú-'Abdullah, Muḥammad, surnamed Al-Idrísí, who wrote his work "Nuzhat-ul-Mushtáḳ," about the middle of the twelfth century of our era, about 545 H. (1150–51 A. D.). The next is Zakaríyá, the Ḳazwíní, who wrote his "Aṣár-ul-Bilád" a century or more after Al-Idrísí, about 661 H. (1263 A. D.), a short time only after the siege of Uchchh by the Mughals, before noticed. He, however, quotes chiefly from the "'Ajá'íb-ul-Baladán" of Muṣ'ir,[80] son of Muhalhil, the 'Arab, who travelled into India and China in 331 H. (942–43 A. D.), and these quotations may really be considered to refer to the places noticed as they existed when the latter wrote. Lastly, the work of Ibn-al-Wardí-al-Ḳarshí, who wrote between 668 and 684 H. (1269–1285 A. D.), or about twenty years after the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" was completed.

Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, al-Baláẕirí,[81] states in his "Futúḥ-ul-Baladán," that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after his conquest of Sind, advanced to Multán, and, that "the Muḥammadans discovered there, beneath the idol-temple a *Bait* [بيت], ten cubits in length and eight in breadth, containing a considerable quantity of gold." The 'Arabic word "*bait*" here used does not mean "a house" only, as some appear to have assumed, but it signifies also "a vault," "a chamber," "receptacle," "repository," and many other meanings of a similar kind, and here refers to a receptacle or repository for the treasure, such as was not

visiting Hind, and instituting his inquiries respecting that country. He may have visited parts farther east along with the troops of those Sulṭáns in their expeditions, but he appears not to have dwelt any time in those parts, except at Multán, and Láhor—at that period the seat of Government of the Muḥammadan territories recently conquered from the Hindús—and here he was enabled to institute his inquiries (taḥḳíḳát, hence the title "Taḥḳíḳ-ul-Hind") respecting Hind and its people. He is neither called "*Bírúní*," as in Elliot, nor "*Alberuni*," as in Sachau, but was entitled *Al-Berúní*. He is not so entitled because of any place so called; for he was a native of Khwárazm, and there was no place so called in that country. Being a foreigner, or rather a stranger—for, when he wrote, Khwárazm was an integral part of the Ghazníwí empire—when mentioned as Abú-Riḥán, that being not an uncommon name by any means, by way of distinction, he was styled Abú-Riḥán or Bú-Riḥán, the Berúní, that is, the outsider—the stranger or alien.

80 This name in 'Arabic signifies, 'one who notices any novelty,' 'a spectator,' 'observer,' 'spy,' etc. Mis'ar, as in Elliot, Vol. I, page 95, is meaningless.

81 He is so called because he was addicted to the use of a mixture—some say intoxicating—made from the *baláẕir*, or Malacca bean, which is used in medicine. The word is an 'Arabic one, and written with the letter ذ. He is incorrectly called "Al Biláduri," "Beládsorí," "Biladori," and the like, anything but by the correct name.

unusually, but generally, contained in Hindú idol-temples, *beneath* where the idol stood, and such as Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín discovered beneath the idol in the templ of Som-náth.[82] The Balázirí continues: "There was an aperture from above into this receptacle through which the gold was poured in; and it is from this circumstance that Multán is called 'the *Farkh* [فرخ] or Temple containing the *Bait* or Receptacle for Gold.' The idol-temple of Multán received rich offerings from the people of Sind, and others who made pilgrimages thereto."

This writer details the history, rather than the geography, of Sind and Multán.

Ibn Khurdád-bih, whose work does not contain much on the subjects here discussed, says: "Multán is called 'the *Farkh* [فرخ] or Temple of the *Bait* or Receptacle of Gold,' because Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind, and lieutenant [of his uncle and father-in-law], Al-Ḥajjáj, acquired forty *buhárs*[83] of gold in a depository or receptacle in that place, which was henceforth called 'the *Bait* or Receptacle of gold.' * * * From the Mihrán to سمر [*sic* in MSS. and in the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard], which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four day's journey."[84]

Abú-Zaid-al-Ḥasan of Síráf states, that "the idol [temple] called Múltán or Multán lies on the frontiers of Manṣúriyah;[85] and people come a distance of many months' journey, and make pilgrimages thereunto. They bring thither the *'úd-i-ḳumárí* [the sweet-smelling wood

82 The depositing of treasure in a vault or chamber in the midst of idol-temples was not peculiar to Multán, as shown from the fact here related, under or beneath the idol, and not in its "belly," as some of the "Firishta" translations have. Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar also states, that, when Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, early in 94 H., captured Asal Kandah or Askandah, north of the Biáh, and a considerable distance above Uchchh for which it has been "identified" (see note further on), its idol temple was destroyed, and in the midst thereof, deposited, an immense treasure was found.

At this very time (1889 A. D.), the *Mahant*, or religious superior of the idol temple of Tripátí, in the Madras Presidency, has been convicted of robbing the vault or chamber under the idol, and appropriating the treasure contained therein. See also page 191, and note 97.

83 See page and note just referred to respecting this word and its meaning.

84 Elliot (Historians, Vol. I, page 15) actually makes *Bakar* out of this, by which he of course means Bakhar on the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. The word, as it now stands, is unintelligible, but might *possibly* refer to Basmid [بسمد]. Besides, the author says "*on the borders of Sind*," while Bakhar is, and always has been, since its foundation, *in Sind*, but, at the period in question it was unknown. The place referred to lay, no doubt, east of Multán.

85 The territory dependent on it, at that period, all Sind, of which Manṣúriyah was the capital.

brought from Ḳámrún], so-called from the country where it grows. * * * This *'úd* is presented to the attendants of the temple, who use it as incense. * * * It is valuable, fetching, at times, as much as two hundred *dínárs* the *mann*. * * * The merchants purchase the wood from the attendants." * * * This is all he says either respecting Multán or Manṣúriyah.

AL-MAS'ÚDÍ says: "Respecting the rule over Múltán, we have already said that it belongs to the descendants of Usámah, son of Luwaí, son of Gh̲álib, [one copy has "descendants of 'Us̲man" *i. e.*, the Baní 'Us̲mán], a Ḳuresh̲, who has a powerful army. Múltán is one of the frontier territories of the Musalmáns,[86] which they compute to contain within its limits of about 120,000 villages and estates [one copy has "towns and villages," which is absurd][87] We have already mentioned the *bud* or idol of Múltán, which is also known as Múltán. * * * At the time of my arrival in that city, after the year 300 H. [912-13 A. D.], the Malik then ruling was named Abú-l-Liháb-al-Munnabih, son of Asad-al-Ḳuresh̲í [in one copy, Abú Dilahát, son of Asad-ul-Munabbih-us-Sámí-ul-Ḳuresh̲í]. It was at the same time that I visited Manṣúriyah. Abú-l-Munẓir, 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ullah, then ruled over that territory. I also saw his Wazír, Riyáḥá [رياحا], also his two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alí. I also met an 'Arab, one of the Sayyids, among the Maliks [there], who was noted under the name of Ḥamzah. A great number of the posterity of 'Alí [the Kh̲alífah], son of Abú-Ṭálib, and of 'Umar, son of 'Alí, the offspring of Muḥammad, son of 'Alí, had taken up their residence there.[88] Between the Maliks of Manṣúriyah, and the family of the Ḳáẓí, Abí-ush̲-Sh̲awárib, there was close relationship, and a common origin. In fact, the Maliks who, at present, rule over that territory are

[86] What at that period was considered the frontiers of Kh̲urásán, not as it is known at present. The territory dependent on Multán extended to the skirts of the mountains west of the Indus, as far up as the southern boundary of Bannú.

[87] What are known as *mauẓa's* and *chaks*, and might be termed villages and hamlets, consisting of tracts of land containing a few inhabitants.

One of the "Gazetteers" I have referred to, tells us, that, "*Al Mazúdi* [sic] describes Mooltán as *surrounded* by 120,000 hamlets—an evident exaggeration, but one which gives an idea of general prosperity."

The territory dependent on Multán was about two hundred and fifty-six miles in breadth from S. E. to N. W., and rather more in length from N. E. to S. W., narrowing to about one hundred and eight.

[88] This was written about two centuries after it was founded, and it is referred to centuries after, consequently, Manṣúriyah was not so "short lived" as some have imagined, nor was it such a small fortress, seeing that in Al-Istakh̲rí's time it was twice the size of Multán. See "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" for 1884, page 282.

descended from Habbár, the son of Al-Aswad, and are known under the designation of Baní 'Umar, from 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the Ḳuresh. This 'Umar must not be confounded with 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, son of Marwán, the Umaiyah [Khalífah]."[89]

"From Múltán to Manṣúriyah is seventy-five *farsangs* of Sind, that is to say, the *farsang* of eight *míl.*" At eight miles to each, as here given in the text, the distance would be just six hundred miles from Manṣúriyah.[90]

In another place he says: "This territory (Múltán) obeys a Ḳureshí of the Baní-us-Sámah, the son of Lawí, son of Ghálib; and this place is the general rendezvous of the *ḳáfilahs* which proceed into Khurásán."

"The Kitáb-ul-Masálik wa Mamálik says: "Múltán is a city about half that of Manṣúriyah, and is called 'the *Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab* [The Temple of the Receptacle or Vault of Gold]." Múltán has a strong *ḥiṣár*, but Manṣúriyah is more populous. The reason why Múltán is called the *Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab* is, that, when the Musalmáns captured it, they were poor and needy. They there found much gold, and they supplied their wants, and acquired strength.

"About half a *farsang* outside Múltán there are *kúshks* [lofty edifices], and there the Amír of Multán has his residence. * * * He is a Ḳuresh of the descendants of Sám [سام][91] son of Luwai [لوی], who seized upon Múltán. He does not pay obedience to the Khudáwand [Master, Possessor, Lord, etc.] of Manṣúriyah, but reads the *khuṭbah* for the Khalífah."

Ibn Ḥauḳal's statements agree with the preceding pretty well so far, but here he states, that, "About half a *farsang* from Múltán are lofty edifices called Chandráwar, the residence of the Amír, who never enters Multán except on Fridays [to say his prayers in public]. He is a Ḳuresh, of the sons of Sám, son of Núḥ,[92] who first occupied this part; and he reads the *khuṭbah* for the Khalífah."

Abú Riḥán-al-Berúní says "there was a famous temple at Múltán

89 See note farther on.

90 The direct distance, as the crow flies, is about three hundred and fifty miles or about one hundred and ten ordinary *farsangs*. Eight miles to the *farsang* cannot be correct: it is about three. The *yojánah* was eight *míl*, and this, I expect, is how the distance became confused. However, in any case, the distance is not correct. See Bú-Riḥán's computation of the *farsang* at page 191, and also note 118, page 209.

91 The "Baní Usámah" of Al-Mas'údí above.

92 This word نوح—Núḥ—which was without a point, is, without doubt, meant for لوی—Luwai—as mentioned by Al-Mas'údí, and in the Masálik wa Mamálik. Both works concur in the first name—Sám. Respecting this word, and these Amírs, a strange mistake has been made. See farther on.

dedicated to the sun, and, consequently, styled آدت [Áditya]. * * * When the Karámiṭahs [descended from this Sám, son of Luwaí, just named] took possession of Múltán, the subduer thereof Jalam,[93] son of Shaibán, destroyed the idol and broke it to pieces, and slew the priests. The *kaṣr* [the 'Arabic of *kúshak* previously mentioned] which was constructed of kiln burnt bricks on an elevated position,[94] he made the Masjid-i-Jámi' [Friday Masjid] instead of the old one, which he commanded should be shut up, out of hatred towards every thing that had been done previously under the governors on the part of the Baní Umaiyah."

In another place he says, with reference to the changes in the names of cities, that Múltán was originally called Kasht-púr [کشت پور —Káshya-púr ?], then Hans-púr [هنس پور], then Bag-púr [بگ پور], then Sánb or Sánab-púr [سانب پور], and, at length, Múlistán [مولستان], *múl* signifying, 'root,' 'origin,' 'lineage,' etc. (also 'the nineteenth lunar mansion') and *istán*, a place.[95]

He also refers, but not expressly, with reference to the *Farkh* of the Receptacle or Repository of Gold, to the weight known as *bhár*, which, he says, is mentioned in the annals of the conquest of Sind, and states, that it is equal to the weight of two thousand *fuls* or *puls* [*fulús*—small copper coins about the weight of an Indian *paisah*], which absurd statement makes it equivalent to the weight of an ox."[96] In another place he computes the *farsakh* or *farsang* as equivalent to four *míl* or 16,000 cubits [ذرع], not yards.

Then comes Al-Idrísí, who states, that, "Multán is close to Hind; indeed, some writers place it in that country. It equals Manṣúriyah in size, and is called 'the *Bait* or Receptacle of Gold.' * * * Multán is a large city, which is commanded by a fortress having four gates, and

[93] See page 189 what Al-Mas'údí says about the rulers, and the preceding paragraph. Mas'údí wrote a century before Bú-Riḥán, and knew more about the rulers of Multán than that writer, who evidently is mistaken in the name, or the text is wrong. The Amír who is referred to is the one who, on the part of the 'Ab-básís, ousted the Amír on the part of the Umaiyahs, named Músá, son of Ka'ab-uṭ-Tamímmí, from this territory.

[94] There are no elevated positions there now, except the position on which the fortress stands, and the Mandí-Áwá, which, at the siege of Multán, was captured and occupied by the Bombay column, on the day of the attack on the suburbs the 26th January, 1849. I am inclined to believe that that is the spot indicated.

[95] Shahámat 'Alí, author of the "Sikhs and Afgháns," who served in political employ for many years in this vicinity, in his abbreviation of the "Annals of the Dá'úd-putrah Nawwábs," says, that Multán at different periods was known as Hest-púr, Bakhar-púr, etc.

[96] See following note.

surrounded by a wet ditch. * * * It [Multán] is called 'the *Far**kh*** [فرخ] or Temple of the Chamber or Receptacle of Gold,' because Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, found forty *buhárs* of gold concealed in a *bait* [vault, chamber, repository, receptacle, and the like] there. *Far**kh*** and *Bihár* [or Wihár, '*b*' and '*w*' being interchangable, and miscalled vulgarly "Vihár"] have the same signification.[97] The environs of this

[97] It must be remembered, that Abú Zaid-al-Ḥasan, and also Al-Mas'údí, just quoted, state, that *the idol* and its temple also were called Multán: the city which sprung up around it was so called after the idol. Consequently, the finding of so much gold "in Multán," does not refer to the city or town, but *the temple of the idol, Multán.*

Elliot, in the first volume of his "Indian Historians," page 14, quoting from a French translation of Ibn Khurdád-bih's work, has translated the name applied to this temple as follows:—

"Multán is called "the *farj* of the house of gold," because Muhammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Hajjáj found forty *bahárs* of gold *in one house of that city*, which was henceforth called "House of Gold." *Farj* (split) has here the sense of a "frontier." A *bahár* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* is two *ratls*."

As to this very strange translation, he makes no comment; and, in other places, although the correct word is given by him, and its correct meaning also (which has thus been turned into *farj*) clearly shown, it was not perceived by him or his Editor apparently.

At page 35 of the same volume, in his extracts from Ibn Ḥauḳal, Elliot has: "Multán is half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the *boundary* of the house of gold." To this is appended the following footnote:—"The Ashkálu-l-Bilád says "*burj*" or bastion [this in the original character would be برج without points; so it will be seen how this fearful blunder has arisen], which, at first sight, would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "*farj*" are so strong [!!] as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ* (p. 67), that we are *not entitled* [!!] to consider "*burj*" as the correct reading. (Quatremére concurs in reading "*farj*." *Jour. des Sav.* See also Ibn Khurdádba and the account given in the Chachnáma)."

The letters of this word, in the originals generally, are فرح, without points, the scribes deeming it unnecessary to point so well known a word. Some ignorant scribe mistook it for برح, and so made برج—*burj*—a bastion of it, and another took it for مرح, and so made مرج—*marj*—a meadow of it, and never guessed what the correct word was; but they very properly, did not think themselves "entitled" to write it '*farj*.' Three words can be made of this فرح, namely:—1. فرج—*farj*, which I am certain *will not be found so pointed in any MS. copy of any of the works quoted* by Elliot; 2. فرح—*faraḥ*—which signifies 'joy,' 'gladness,' 'cheerfulnes,' etc.; and 3. فرخ—*far**kh***—which signifies, as described in the Muḥammadan dictionaries, 'a pagan temple,' and also 'an idol,' the plural form of which is فرخار—*far**kh**ár*—signifying 'idol temples' in general, and likewise idols; and, in this sense, the word will be found mentioned in Abú-Riḥán-al-Berúní's "*Aṣár-ul-Báḳiyát*," a translation of which was lately published by Prof. C. E. Sachau, in which

city are watered by a little river [a canal or water-cut, no doubt] which unites with the Mihrán of Sind. At one *míl* from Multán

the author uses the word *farkhár* with another, plainly showing (as Al-Idrísí also shows), their significations; namely, *bihár* or *wihár* thus—"FARKHÁR WO BIHÁR"—the first referring to Hindú temples, and the latter to Budhist convents or monasteries.

Certainly, *our* dictionaries, among other meanings, describe "*farj*" as "the confines of a hostile country," "a dangerous place," "splitting," "separating," and the like, but the more general and universally applied and understood meaning is, "*pudenda tum maris tum feminæ;*" but why on earth this latter word, "*farj*," bearing such a meaning, should have been chosen instead of "*farkh*" is inexplicable, unless the French translator was quite ignorant of its existence, or of its correct signification and application. Besides, there was no plausible reason for *selecting* the word "*farj*" in preference to the two other words which the unpointed letters فرج are capable of representing.

In his extracts from Idrísí's geography, (p. 82) Elliot himself renders the word "*farkh*"; and the reason why Multán was called "the *farkh* of the *bait* of gold" is clearly mentioned by the 'Arab author. In his extract from the Balázirí's work he has also "*farkh*," and yet he failed to perceive that his previous rendering from the French translation was wholly unsuitable, and must be wrong, and that *bait* had other meanings than simply "a house." Had he given it a moment's thought, he certainly would have rejected "*farj*."

Again, in his extracts from the "Chach-Náma," on the very same subject, he has (Vol. I., p. 205): "I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jíbawín, and was a descendant of the Rái of Kashmír. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a *reservoir* on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built *a temple* fifty yards square, and he made there *a chamber in which he deposited forty copper jars* each of which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was deposited there. *Over it* there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir."

This is not quite what the Chach Námah states, which is literally to the following effect:—

"It was thus ascertained from the elders of Multán, that, in ancient days, and in times long past, in this city there was a Rá'e, Jas-want [جسوين—Jas-wín?] by name, of the posterity of the Rá'e of Kash-mír. He was a Bráhman and a priest, and in the observance of his religion strict and zealous. He was constantly occupied in the adoration of idols. When his treasures exceeded the bounds of computation and calculation, he constructed a reservoir of water, 106 *gaz* long, by 106 *gaz* broad; and in the midst of the reservoir he erected an idol-temple, 50 *gaz* by 50 *gaz*, and therein made a receptacle [دوكاني], and there deposited forty copper jars or vessels, each of which was filled with fragments of African gold, amounting to 300 *manns* of buried treasure. Over the receptacle was the place for an idol, and there an idol was set up, formed of red gold. Round about the reservoir trees were planted." Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, having obtained information of this from the priests,

is Jand-úr [جندور—Chand-úr? the Chandráwar of Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Jand Rúd of some others], a collection of fortifications[98] strongly built, lofty, and well supplied with fresh water. The Amír of Multán passes the spring and his leisure time here. Ibn Ḥauḳal states, that, in his time, the Amír used to proceed every Friday from these fortifications to Multán, mounted on an elephant, according to an ancient custom."

had the place opened and the treasure was found. "On being weighed, the gold dust contained in those forty vessels or jars was found to amount to 13,200 *mans* of gold." This, together with the gems and pearls obtained in the sack of Multán, was deposited in the treasury. I may mention that the lowest computation of the *mann* is 2 lbs of 12 oz. each, but, according to some, 6 lbs; and, by the lowest computation, would amount to the enormous weight of 26,400 lbs, or 316,800 ounces of gold. No wonder the place was called "temple of the depository of gold."

It is quite time that this "*farj*" error should be corrected and washed out. What more can be required to do so than these accounts?

Al-Idrísí says above, that "*farkh* and *bihár* have the same signification," considering, it seems, that, where idols are worshipped. must be an idol-temple, but the word "*buhár*," written with short '*u*' for the first vowel, and not '*i*,' as in the word signifying a Buddhist temple, refers to a weight, said to be equal to about 400 lbs English, and it also means," a vessel in shape like an ewer.' The Sanskrit word भार, written in 'Arabic characters بهار, pronounced *bhár*, means 'weight,' 'weight of gold,' etc., but, as the Chach Námah says, he deposited forty *jars* or *vessels*, the Persian word of that meaning just referred to is doubtless correct.

98 To the eastward of the fortress of Multán, facing the tomb and shrine of Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa-d-Dín, Zakaríyá (*vul.* "Bahawul Hak"), at about the distance of a mile and a half or little more, and extending a considerable distance either way, are—or were, for they may have been demolished by the railway Vandals for railway ballast *now*—the remains of many stone and brick-built buildings (as near as I can recollect after the lapse of some thirty-five years), which bore the marks of considerable antiquity, and among them was a good size *masjid*. I have often ridden to them of an evening, but never thought of instituting any inquiries respecting the ruins, and much regret now that I did not. I certainly wondered what could have been the object of building such structures in a perfectly waterless position; for there were no traces of wells near by, as far as I can remember. The ruins were bounded farther east, I *now* find, by the bed of a stream, a small branch of the Ráwí, possibly, which had been utilized as a canal; and this may have been the "little river" mentioned above. That the Ráwí and all the other rivers of the Panj-áb flowed east of Multán at the period these buildings were inhabited there is no doubt whatever. The Lolí Wá-han (which is a mere canal or cutting from the Chin-áb) ran nearer to the fort walls on the north-east, and passed, and still passes, near the east side of it, but it is now a very petty stream. It is noteworthy that the lands immediately south-east of the city of Multán are styled Ṭaraf Ráwí—the Ráwí Side—to this day.

It is possible that the ruins I have mentioned were connected with, or were included in, "the collection of forts referred to in the text above. At the time the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣiri" was at Multán there was a standing camp hereabouts.

Zakaríyá, the Kazwíní, says very little respecting Multán in his "Ásár-ul-Bilád," but refers to what he had previously written from the "'Ajá'ib-ul-Buldán," which agrees generally with what others have written about it and its idol-temple.

Ibn Al-Wardí-al-Karshí, who wrote between the years 668 H. and 684 H. (1269 and 1285 A. D.), mentions Multán very briefly, but, like all others, he says it is called the "*Farkh* [فرخ]-*i-Bait-uz-Zaháb*"— The Temple containing the Receptacle or Vault of Gold."

Having related what the old writers say about Multán and its '*Farkh*,' I will now turn to Manṣúriyah as the next most important place connected with the courses of the rivers, and having completed that, I shall be better able to mention what they say respecting the rivers themselves, and the places lying along or near their banks.

Ibn Khurdád-bih gives no particulars respecting it, and Al-Mas'údí says but little. He states that Multán is seventy-five *farsangs* of Sind, each *farsang* being eight *míl* [miles], distant from Manṣúriyah.[99] The villages and inhabited places dependent on Manṣúriyah [the territory] amount to 300,000. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields.[100] It is constantly at war with a nation called Med, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontier thereof. Like Multán it is on the frontiers of Sind,[101] and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Manṣúriyah is so called from Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, the Amír on the part of the Baní Umaiyah."[102]

[99] How then is it possible that Manṣúriyah could refer to Bakhar as Abú-l-Faẓl (and those who follow him) erroneously supposed? This is the greatest error ever made by Abú-l-Faẓl. See note 90, page 190.

The Multán territory extended south as far as Alor or Aror; while the territory of Manṣúriyah extended from and included Alor or Aror and its district southwards to the sea-coast.

[100] This may be somewhat highly coloured, but the lands along the course of the Mihrán, and farther east along the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, were remarkable for their fertility. See the "Report on the Eastern Narra," page 34, paragraph 3; 39, 7; and 40, 17.

[101] Others, more correctly, state, that it is in Sind, of which there is no possible doubt.

[102] It is strange that such discrepancy should exist respecting the foundation of this place. The Manṣúr here referred to is Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, who was the last Amír of Sind on the part of the Baní Umaiyah, who was defeated by Músá, the son of Ka'ab-ut-Tamímí, who was despatched from Marw by Abú Muslim into Sind soon after he declared for the accession of the Baní 'Abbás to the Khiláfat. See farther on.

The Baláẕirí states (see farther on), that Ḥakam, Amír of Sind, about the year 120 H. (738 A. D.), built Maḥfúẓah, and that 'Amro ('Amr) son of Muḥammad, the unfortunate conqueror of Sind, who served under Ḥakam, founded Manṣúriyah; while

The ISTAKHARÍ says, "Manşúriyah which is a city of Sind, is about a *mil* [mile] long and a *mil* broad, and is surrounded [part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the Mihrán [as shown in the map taken from the Masálik wa Mamálik]. The inhabitants are Musalmáns."

The MASÁLIK WA MAMÁLIK, with which work that of Ibn Ḥauḳal very nearly, but not altogether, agrees, states that, "Manşúriyah which they call Sindiyah,[103] is a city of Sind, about a mile long and a mile broad, and surrounded [*i. e.*, part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island. The people of Manşúriyah are Ḳureshís, the descendants of Habbár, son of Al-Aswad, who seized upon it; and, up to this time it is in the hands of his descendants. * * * The people in their dress and habits are like the people of 'Iráḳ, but their Bádsháhs[104] are like Hindús in appearance, and have rings in their ears."

BÚ-RIḤÁN-AL-BERÚNÍ enters into no particulars respecting this place, in this part of Rashíd-ud-Dín's history, but, in his account of the rulers of Dilhí, in another part, he says (as quoted by Rashíd-ud-Dín), that, "previous to the time of the Sámánís, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, marched from the side of Sijis-stán into Sind, and subdued Bahman-no [بهمنو], to which he gave the name of Manşúriyah,[105] and to Multán, Ma'múriyah."

Al-Idrísí says, on the contrary, that Manşúriyah was founded in the beginning of the Khiláfat of Al-Manşúr [Abú-Ja'far-al-Manşúr], the 'Abbásí, the second Khalífah of that family, who did not succeed to the Khiláfat until 136 H. (754 A. D.), some sixteen years after the time of Ḥakam and 'Amro ('Amr) and some four years after the overthrow of Manşúr, son of Jamhúr, the last Umaiyah Amír.

It would appear from this, if all three writers are correct, that Manşúriyah was founded in Ḥakam's time, finished in the time of Manşúr, son of Jamhúr, and the name merely continued by Abú-Ja'far-al-Manşúr. Bahman-ábád, or Bahman-nih, the Bahman-no of the Sindís, was founded centuries before, by Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, in the reign of Gushtásib, sovereign of Í-rán-Zamín, who made conquests in the valley of the Indus, and western Hind, which were retained up to within a few years of the fall of the Í-rání empire. See the following note 105, see also my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. pages 318 and 509.

103 That seems to mean the Sindí Manşúriyah, or Manşúriyah of Sind, to distinguish it from the other Manşúriyah.

104 This word does not refer to sovereigns here, but to chiefs. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 154.

105 See the extract from Bú-Riḥán, page 219. This place, Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, notwithstanding that more than one old author distinctly states by whom it was founded, European writers persist in calling "Brahmanábád," because it is incorrect, seemingly.

A specimen of this dangerous system appears in Professor E. Sachau's edition of the text of Bú-Riḥán's work, printed at the expense of the India Office. At pages

In the printed text lately issued, this paragraph appears somewhat different from the above. It states that Muḥammad, ibn Al-Ḳásim, ibn Al-Munabbih, conquered Sind from the side of Sigistán, and subdued

11, 82, 100, and 162, the printed text has بهمنوا, and this word is, actually, indexed and transliterated *Bráhmanâbâd* ! In the same way بهروج is indexed and transliterated "*Barygaza*"; and the words پنج نَد—*panch nad* are rendered "*Páncanada*" !! In this way, the words of an author are changed by persons who fancy they know better than he did; and those who have to trust to translations are thus led astray, and the author is often condemned for the conceited errors of his editor. The latter might, at least, say, that he had thought fit to substitute what *he* thought correct, and then the student could choose between them. The Zain-ul-Akhbár of the Gardaizí, written in the reign of Sulṭán Furrukh-zád of Ghaznih, about 445 H. (1052-53 A. D.), a rare and highly esteemed chronicle, states, that, "Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, who used to be styled Ard-shír-i-*Daráz Bázú*, or of the long arm," and respecting whom, in connection with the tracts on the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, many traditions are related (and to some of which I have referred in my "Notes' above-quoted respecting Bannú), "founded a city in the *zamín* of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, and which they call [when he wrote] Manṣúriyah." The author of the Mujmal-ut-Tawáríkh, who wrote his work about 525 H. (1131 A. D.), quoting an old work from the Hindí language, translated in the year 417 H. (1026 A. D.), the year in which Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznih or Ghaznín undertook the expedition against Som-náth, says—"In the time of Gushtásib, ruler of Í-rán-Zamín, Bahman, his grandson, surnamed Ard-shír, son of Isfandiyár, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it. No member of the family of the ruler, named Sunágh, retained any power therein. Bahman founded a city between the frontiers or borders of the Hindús and Turks [the "Indo-Scythians," as they are styled] to which he gave the name of Ḳand-á'íl, and, in another part, which they call Búdah, he founded a city which he named Bahman-ábád; and, according to one statement, this is Manṣúriyah." As to Ḳand á'íl, see page 217.

According to Tod (Vol. II, p. 44), the Ráná of Odeypoor is descended from Bahman.

This statement, I find, is confirmed by the chronicler, Muḥammad, son of Jarír, uṭ-Ṭabarí, whose statements may be considered indisputable, considering the sources of information which he possessed. He informs us, that the Malik of Hind who had been reduced to subjection by Bahman, threw off his allegiance, and that Bahman despatched the 'Álim, or Sage, Akhtúnúsh, one of the three sages who had accompanied Bukht-un-Naṣṣar against Jerusalem, with forces against the Malik of Hind, whom he encountered in battle, overthrew, and slew. Bahman conferred that territory on Akhtúnúsh. When the second of the three sages (the third had previously died), Dáríúsh or Dáryúsh, who held the government of the provinces of 'Iráḳ and Bábal died, Bahman conferred them upon Akhtúnúsh, and directed him to leave a Khalífah or Deputy to administer the affairs of Sind and Hind [the Biáh and its tributaries, it will be remembered, is called "the River of Sind and Hind"], as his presence in 'Iráḳ and Bábal was the most requisite. He, therefore, leaving a Deputy in Sind and Hind, returned as commanded. Akhtúnúsh had put his wife [Queen Vashti] to death on account of some misbehaviour, after which he married a woman

the cities of بهمنوا and مورستان, the first-named of which *he called* [sic] Al-Manṣúriyah, and the latter, Al-Ma'múriyah. This word بهمنوا appears in three places with this additional letter at the end, but, in another

of the Baní Isrá'íl, whose name was Hadassah (Esther). He greatly favoured the Baní Isrá'íl, and released them from captivity. By his Isrá'ílí wife he had a son Kyrush (کيرش) by name, who succeeded his father as ruler of 'Irák and Bábal.

This 'Álim or Sage, Akhtúnúsh, which name is also written Akhtúrnúsh—in Hebrew, Akhshhúirús—who was made ruler over those territories, is the Ahasuerus of Holy Writ, and Artaxerxes of the Greeks.

We also know from Aṭ-Ṭabarí, as well as from many others, that Núshírwán, the Just, held extensive tracts of territory in the direction of Sind, if not in Sind itself. As to the influence of the sovereigns of Í-rán-Zamín in that direction, Al-Mas'údí states, that Kai-Ká-ús founded a city in Kash-mír, and that his son, Síáwakhs [سياوخس—Síáwash?], during his father's lifetime, founded a city in Sind, called *Mihr-ján*. Al-Mas'údí also states, that the kings of Sind and Hind, and of all the countries to the north and south, sent ambassadors to Núshírwán with rich presents, and to enter into terms of peace with him, because of the greatness of his power, the strength of his armies, the extent of his dominions, his rapid conquests, and the vengeance he had exercised upon so many kings and rulers, and also because of the justice of his rule.

In another place, the author of the Muj-mal-ut-Tawáríkh, in his account of "Kafand," a Hindú king contemporary with Alexander, the Macedonian, says: "It is stated that he, Kafand, sent a Bráhman to Sámid, his brother, directing him "to go to Manṣúriyah, expel the Í-ránís from the places which Bahman had conquered, and erect idol temples in the place of fire temples." The author, of course, does not mean that this city was then called Manṣúriyah, but Bahman-ábád which they called Manṣúriyah when he wrote.

Strabo, in his Fourteenth Book, referring to the account of India given by Eratosthenes, which he considers to be the most credible account of that country, says that at the time of the Greek invasion, the Indus was the boundary of India and of Ariana, and in the possession of the Persians, and that, afterwards, the Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they received from the Macedonians.

There is no doubt whatever, that the rulers of Í-rán-Zamín, from time to time, held a considerable portion of the valley of the Indus, and that, up to the end of the reign of Núshírwán, the rulers of the western most parts of Hind, including the ancient Turk rulers of Kábul of the Budhist faith, were tributary to him. Subsequently, when the Í-rání empire began to decay, some of these rulers began to regain their independence, and thus we find one dynasty of them, Hindús, under the title of "the Raṇ-Ṭhel," in possession of Sind and Mukrán in one direction, and Kábul in the other, and opposing the 'Arab forces in their advance eastwards. See my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 567.

The Gardaizí relates how Bahrám-i-Gor, the Í-rání sovereign, came into Hind in disguise, and that Shermah its ruler, thinking he was merely a person of a noble Í-rání family, gave him his daughter in marriage, and conferred upon him, as her dower, Sind and Mukrán.

place, it appears as رهمناباد, the extra ر, of course, being added by some one else to make it suit the "Bráhman" theory. Where the extra ا came from in the first word it is hard to say; but, as both Rashíd-ud-Dín,

When Sultán Muhammad-i-Sabuk-Tigín in 417 H. (1026 A. D.), marched against Som-náth by way of Jasal-mír and Nahar-Wálah, he, on his return, took another route from thence towards Multán by way of Manṣúriyah and the banks of the Jihún [of Sind—the Hakrá or Wahindah], and expelled its Karámiṭah ruler. See farther on. What with the aridity of the desert near the coast, and the annoyances of the Jaṭs of Multán and Bhátiah on the side of Jihún [*i e.*, the "great river"—the Mihrán of Sind] and other afflictions, a great number of his troops perished, *as likewise did the greater part of the cattle of his army.*" The "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," the earliest work written after the Gardaizí and the Baihaḳí wrote, says he *was purposely misled by a Hindú guide into this* waterless desert part, which refers *to the ran* or marsh of Kachh. (See note 128) But from all that is said, it appears that the country through which his route lay, for part of the way at least towards Jasal-mír, had only recently become waterless; and it is between,this period and the return of Chhotah, Amaráni, as related by the Sayyid, Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh, that Bahman-nih, Bahman-no, or Bahman-ábád was destroyed by some convulsion of nature, or other calamity.

Manṣúriyah can scarcely have escaped; yet, from the way in which it is subsequently mentioned, there is very great doubt whether it was much injured, and it was certainly not wholly destroyed at the same time. One proof of this is, that Ibn Ḥauḳal visited it in 350 H. (961 A. D.), and that when Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín, the governor on the part of the Ghaznín Sulṭán of the conquered territory immediately east of the Indus—the present Panj-áb and part of Sind—rebelled in 425 H. (1033-34 A. D.), and had to fly, he made towards Manṣúriyah. At first he defeated a body of troops sent against him by Sulṭán Mas'úd, who then despatched another and larger force, under Tílak, the Hindú, son of a barber, and commander of the Hindú troops in the Muhammadan service Tílak overthrew Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín on several occasions; and was in the habit of mutilating such of the rebel's followers as fell into his hands, whether soldiery, or merchants and traders, by cutting off their noses and hands. At last Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín had to fly from the Láhor province, Tílak having by money tampered with his Turk-mán troops, and made for Manṣúriyah of Sind, with two hundred followers, and endeavoured there to cross the Mihrán of Sind—the Hakrá or Wahindah and its tributaries—but it so happened, that, at that time, the river had risen considerably, and all the Jaṭs and Hindús around were in pursuit. No time was to be lost, and in his attempt to cross he was carried away by the current and drowned. His body having been swept along for a short distance, was washed into an inlet or creek or side channel (see farther on for a description of these inlets), and brought to land. where it was recognized by his followers. The head was cut off and sent to Balkh where Sulṭán Mas'úd then was. This is differently related in the Baihaḳí, but the Gardaizí is much more circumstantial.

The "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" states, that, in 623 H. (1226 A. D.), about the time that its author was at Uchchh, "a body of the Khalj tribe of Turks, part of the forces of the Khwárazmí Sulṭán, after the downfall of his power west of the Indus, retiring before the Mughals, appeared on the north-west frontier of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah's territory of Sind, and acquired supremacy over the *'arz*—territory—of

and Fakhr-ud-Dín, the Fanákatí, nearly six centuries ago, read this name from MSS. copies of Bú-Riḥán's work as I have written it above, and as travellers, older by a century than he, also wrote it, I need merely

Manṣúriyah, which is one of the cities of Síw-istán, but they were defeated, and their leader slain."

From what the author has stated it is not certain whether, at the period in question, the city or fortified town of Manṣúriyah was inhabited or not; but it would appear from the context that it was, notwithstanding that he seems to refer more to its territory than the fortified town. It can scarcely be supposed, that the earthquake, which is said to have so suddenly destroyed Bahman-ábád and its inhabitants, would not have affected Manṣúriyah likewise, to some degree at least, seeing that it was only about six miles distant from it. If it was inhabited when the Khalj Turks appeared there, it must have been in a ruinous state, and the inhabitants probably very few.

The accounts given by modern writers respecting Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád, are contradictory and erroneous, with few exceptions Nearly all persist in calling it Bráhman-ábád because, perhaps, the shortened form of the word Bráhman happens to be Bahman, and this shortened form to contain the same letters as the name of the son of Isfandiyár, but it never occurred to them, with a single exception, that it was not possible for the Í-rání terminations of *nih* and *ábád* to be applied, at that period at least, to a Sanskrit word. Burton, who is the only exception, says (in his Scinde," Vol. I., p. 200): "Now Brahmanabad—a wrong name by the by—because the word is partly Sanskrit, and partly Persian; consequently, not Scindian."

The Baláẓirí is the only old 'Arab geographer who mentions "*old* Bahman-ábád," and he wrote about 270 H. (883–84 A D.), but he does not mean by that that it was in ruins or had been destroyed, but the contrary. He says, that "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, went to old Bahman-ábád where the remainder of Dáhir's forces had rallied, and that it was situated two *farsangs* [little over six miles] from Manṣúriyah, which, at that time, had not been founded, and that its site, at that period, was a *jangal*." See also farther on, where he says Manṣúriyah lay on the *west* side of the *estuary* of the river, and Maḥfúẓah on the *east* side.

The Fanákati, who quotes from Bú-Riḥán, says, that, "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after the capture of Debal, first took بهمنو (Bahman-no), to which he gave the name of Manṣúriyah, and to Multán (quoting from Bú-Riḥán, apparently), the name of Ma'múrah."

The error of Bú-Riḥán, as to Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, having named Bahman-ábád Manṣúriyah, I have already noticed.

This difference between the names Bahman-ábád, Bahman-nih, and Bahman-no, may be easily accounted for. *Nih* and *ábád* are of much the same significations in Persian, but, in the dialect of Sind, *nih* would become *no*, as in Dar-belah—Dar-belo; Ubárah—Ubáro, Ṭhaṭhah—Ṭhaṭho; Hakṛá or Hakṛah—Hakṛo, and the like, and thus Bahman-nih became Bahman-no.

The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí says, that Bahman-ábád was destroyed after Alor or Aror had been deserted by the Hakṛá through the iniquity of Dilú Rá'e, and that, at that period, Dilú Rá'e's brother, Jhotah or Chhotah, Amaráni, was then dwelling at Bahman-ábád, and that it was swallowed up in the earth—men, buildings, and all—the only signs of it being, in that author's time, a *manár* or tall tower. He also

notice the fact of its appearance in the printed text, and shall not follow it. The statement, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim named Bahman-no, "Al-Manṣúriyat," shakes my faith in Bú-Riḥán's accounts considerably,

says that Jhotah or Chhotah, and his Musalmán wife, reached the town *of* Síw-istán, that is *the* town or chief town of the Síw-istán district, and which, in his day—about 1035-40 H. (1625-1631 A. D.)—was called Sihwáṇ.

Just thirty years before this, Abú-l-Faẓl, in his A'ín-i-Akbarí, described Bahman-ábád, but his master's Hindú proclivities led him to alter or mistake the name for Bráhman-ábád, he not perceiving how strange a Sindí—Sanskrit—proper name appeared with a Persian termination. He says: "In early times Brahman-ábád was the seat of government. It was a large city, and its fortifications had fourteen hundred towers, and the distance between each was one *ṭanáb*. To this day, of the towers and walls, numerous indications remain. After Brahman-ábád Alor became the capital." The *ṭanáb* measure consisted then of sixty *iláhí gaz*, each of about thirty inches, but, we cannot calculate the extent of the walls, because we do not know the diameter of the towers. I have elsewhere mentioned the terrible error he makes in mistaking Bakhar for the site of Manṣúriyah; and he seems to have been totally ignorant that Manṣúriyah lay close to Bahman-ábád.

Mr. A. H. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service, who was the discoverer of the ruins of this ancient city in 1851, identified the great mound—the *tall*, but not "Thúl" nor "Túl"—with Bahman-ábád itself, and I think correctly so. He says in his account of it: "On first entering Brahmanabad [he, too, calls it by the Bráhman name], so extensive and so complete are its ruins, that you feel lost in contemplating its utter desolation. * * * After a little examination, the most prominent object that presents itself is the ruin of a high tower of brick-work standing isolated on a large heap of ruins." This is the same as is referred to by the author of the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, upwards of two centuries before. He supposed this to have been the citadel, but Thomas objected to this, "because the local coins consisted exclusively of specimens of 'Arab governors of Sind, with the name of Manṣúr on the margin, and because not a single piece could be attributed to any Hindú Rajah of Sind." It must be recollected, however, that the Musalmáns had been the rulers of Sind for more than two centuries before the destruction of this city.

While calling the ruined city "Brahmanabad," Mr. Bellasis also calls it "Bambra-ke-Thúl," and adds that "*Bambra* is a name frequently applied to old ruined cities [not to this one only] in Sind," and that "Thúl" means a tower or bastion. Here he is in error: the word is the 'Arabic word *tall*, a heap, mound, or hillock; and this word is in common use—"Tall-al-Kabír" of Egyptian fame for example.

With Bellasis's account before him, apparently, Cunningham ("Ancient India," p. 262) makes out Hwen Thsang's chief city of middle Sind "O-fan-cha," to have been called "*Bâmbhra-ka-Tul*, or the Ruined Tower" ["*O-fan-cha*" is the Chinese for "ruined tower" perhaps], or simply Banbhar, which according to tradition, was the site of Brahmanwâs or Brahmanábad." Here it will be noticed how Bellasis's words and meaning have been changed. The latter says *Bambra*—not "Bambhar" nor "Bambhra"—is frequently applied *to old ruined cities* in Sind, not to "Brahmanabad" alone.

Cunningham continues: "In the middle ages, under Hindu rule, the great cities

because we know of a certainty, that Manṣúriyah was not in existence when Muḥammad was recalled from Sind, but was subsequently founded *near* Bahman-no; and some state that it was even founded by his own

were Sadusân [what of Ptolemy? See his "Ancient India" page 266], Brâhmana or Bâhmanwâ, *and* Nirunkot. * * * *Close to* Brâhmanwâ, the early Muhammadans founded Mansura."

He and some others say, that "Nirunkot" is "Haidarâbâd," meaning, possibly, that it was founded on the site of the first named place.

In another place (pp. 272-273) the same writer says: "Mr. Bellasis's measurement of *Bambhraka-thúl* [sic] was within a few yards of four miles. * * * I conclude that the great mound of Bambhraka-thûl *represents the ruined city* of Mansura, the capital of the 'Arab governors of Sindh. The Hindu city of Brâhmana or Brâhmânabâd must therefore be looked for in the neighbouring mound of ruins now called Dilura, which is *only* 1½ *mile distant from the larger mound.*" This may be reversed, I think; for the 'Arabs are more likely to have had a small and compact fortified town than one with four miles of wall to defend. But we are plainly told by the Balázirí, quoted farther on, that Manṣúriyah was built two *farsakhs* distant from "old Bahman-ábâd," which is equal to over six miles. What is referred to as "the ruined city of *Depur*, 5 miles in another direction," is more likely to be the site. It lies to the north-eastwards of Manṣúriyah.

Major-General C. R. Haig, for many years in the Survey Department in Sind, in an article on "Brahmanabad," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1874, says: "Cunningham thinks O-fan-cha of Hwen Thsang (which Stan. Julien renders Avaṇḍa) to be Brahmanabad, but a Budhist would avoid Brahman abominations." This last is assumed, of course, on account of the supposed 'r' in the name which is entirely a modern addition. If Budhists would avoid "Brahman abominations" they would probably avoid a Brahman *name* also for their city.

This same word, "*avaṇḍa*," is also mentioned in the extracts from the "Si-yu-ki" xvi, by the Revd. Prof. Beal, contained in the same volume of the Journal above mentioned.

Cunningham further adds, that "the date of *Dilu Rai* is doubtful. M'Murdo has assigned A. H. 140, or A. D. 757, as the year in which *Chhota*, the brother of *Dilu*, returned from Mekka, but as Mansura was a flourishing city in the beginning of the tenth century, when visited by Masudi and Ibn Haukal, it is clear that the earthquake cannot have happened earlier than A. D. 950 [here he is near the mark: 339 H. is 950 A. D.]. * * * But it is difficult to believe that there were any Hindu chiefs in *Bâmana* during the rule of the 'Arabs in Mansura [See what the "Masálik wa Mamálik" says on this, page 196]. * * * Mansura must have been founded *on the site* of Brâhman-âbad, which must have been destroyed by an earthquake."

This too is stated after what the Balázirí has chronicled, and after, himself, saying that Mansura must be looked for at Dilura a mile and a half away from it. I may also mention that, even in the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, 607-625 H. (1210-28 A. D.), there were no less than seven Hindú Ránahs who were only *tributaries* to him, as in the time of the 'Arabs without doubt, and that one of them is named "Jasodhan Ákrah or Ákarah of Mín Nagar in the district of Bámbarwá," and another "Chanísar of Dewal," or Lár—Lower Sind. See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí also, page 614.

Rennell, D'Anville, and Vincent, all three, placed Bahman-ábád within four

son. It is strange that this new name applied to Multán was also unknown to the 'Arab writers. See what the Baláżirí says on this subject farther on; and, moreover, the Khalífah Manṣúr did not succeed to the

miles of Ṭhaṭhah; but Elliot, after stating that "there seems no reason to conclude that Bráhmanábad or Báhmanábad was founded by the Persian king [he was not king at the time], Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind," tells us that "his city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha [this is what he sometimes writes Nudha, and is correctly, Búdah, described at pages 207, 8, and 9] which never extended so far as the Indus." At page 78 he tells us, that "Mansúra" [which he also says was *close to* "Bráhmanábad"] is "on the *west* of the principal branch of the Mihrán;" and at page 370, that, "we may rest assured that it was on the *eastern* side of the Indus." Again, at page 83 he says, "from Multán to the vicinity of Mansúra the country is occupied by a warlike race called *Nadha*, and at page 106, that Bahmanábad was founded by Bahman *in Budha*" which is "supposed to be Mansúra." At page 189, also, quoting from the "Chach-náma," where he writes the name "Brahmanábád or *Báin-wáh*," he has the following note:—"The real name of this place was *Bahmanú* or *Bahmanwá*." At page 34 he had previously called it "Bámíwán," and at page 61 "Bahmanú Mansúra." After all this, and in several places calling it by its correct name, and indicating its correct position, he winds up with "we may fairly consider that Brahmanábád [with the extra '*r*'], after being immediately succeeded by the 'Arab capital, is now represented by the modern Haidarábád." However, all his contradictions of his own quotations, even when correct, and all his speculations on this subject, based, apparently, on the supposition that the Mihrán of Sind always flowed west of Ḥaidar-ábád in nearly the present channel of the Indus, have been refuted by the discovery of the ruins of Bahman-nih, Bahman-noo or Bahman-ábád, close to the *west* bank of the principal channel of the great river, as the old geographers and historians had clearly stated it was. The value of other similar speculations of his may be judged of accordingly. See note 147

Crow, who, in the last century, was the Honourable East India Company's Agent at Ṭhaṭhah, also falls into error respecting Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, as well as "Tatta being Debal Sindy." He says: "Brahminabad, called by the natives *Kulan-kote*, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta," etc.

Dr. J. Burnes ("Visit to Sinde," page 133), and Sir A. Burnes, following Crow's statement, also considered "*Kullan Kot*, near Tatta" to be "Brahmanabad." The correct name of the place they thus mistook for Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, is Kalyáṇ Koṭ—*kalyáṇ*, in Sanskrit, meaning 'prosperous,' 'happy,' etc.

Tod (Vol. II, page 229, note §), among other wild assertions, actually tells us that "Omar, in the first century [the Khalífah 'Umar, died in 23 H. *i. e.* 643-44 A. D.], had established a colony of the faithful at *Bekher* [as he spells Bakhar], afterwards *Mansooria*;" while a few pages farther on (233), he says, "the celebrated Caliph Al Walid was the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions, was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind." At page 269 he says: "the ancient capital of Sind was *Mansoora*, better known to the Hindus as *Rori Bekher*." At page 310, he states, that, "The islandic Bekher, or *Mansoora* (so named by the lieutenant of the Caliph Al Mansoor) is considered as the capital of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus;" and he also supposes that "the Sogdi and Soda [the Sodah tribe] are the same. At page 93 of his first volume, he states, that "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert.

Khiláfat until some forty-two years after the death of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind.

At page 312, we have "The great Püar [Pramárah] sovereignty, of which Arore *or* the insular Bekher [they are all one to him], was the capital, when Alexander passed down the Indus." Again, at page 332, we have: "On the *island of Bekher* there are the remains of the ancient fortress of *Mansoora* named in honour of the Caliph Al Mansoor, whose lieutenants made it the capital of Sind on the opening of their conquests [it was "Omar" at page 229, but Al Walid at page 233)." At page 243, he says, that, "on the final conquest of Sinde the name of its capital, *Arore*, was changed for *Mansoora;*" while at page 449 of the same volume we have the following. Referring to abandonment of Sinde by the lord of Bamuní, he says, in a note, "'the lord of Bamuni,' in other places called *Bahmanwasso*, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad, or *Dewal*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built."

In vol. I. p. 217, he had previously stated, that, "Sinde being conquered by Omar, general of the Caliph Al Mansoor, the name *Minagara* was changed to *Mansoora;*" but, after that again, at page 243, he says: "I had little doubt that *Minagara* was the *Saminagara* of the Yadu Jharejahs. * * * On every consideration I am inclined to place it on the site of *Sehwan*."

Here are no less than nine or ten statements respecting Manṣúriyah, all different, and all totally incorrect; but see note 111 for still greater errors.

McMurdo is the only European writer who, before the discovery of the actual site of Bahman-no or Bahman ábád, nearly fixed on its right position. He placed it on the "Purán" [*puránah* signifies 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.] afterwards called the Loháno Ḍhoro, but he calls it, in error, the "Lohána Darya," which was "at a short distance from where it separates from the Purán."

He was mistaken, however, respecting the period of the destruction of Bahman-ábád or Bahman-no in supposing it to have occurred about 140 H. (757-58 A. D.).

The most pertinent observations on the subject of Bahman-ábád are those of the Sayyid, Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh of Ṭhaṭhah, who was consulted by Bellasis respecting the period of its destruction. He says, that "the city of Bahman-ábád appears to have been founded before the Hindú dynasty of the Bráhmans [yes: a very long time before], which commenced in the first year of the Hijri or A. D. 622, [this is incorrect: Sihrás Rá'e fell in battle with the 'Arabs at the close of 23 H.—October, 644 A. D.]. * * * and that Chach, the first of the Bráhman kings, subdued among others, "Agher [Akham, the Lohánah of the Chach Námah], chief of Bahman-ábád"

This is the Agham, *Lohána* of Elliot. The Loháno Hindú race—called "Lohánah Jaṭs in the Chach Námah—"are," he says, "the most influential tribe in Sind, and all wear the Brahminical thread." (Vol. I, p. 362). To suit certain other incorrect theories, he afterwards turns these Loháno Jaṭs into "Lohání Afgháns"? It is only since the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gír Bádsháh, when considerable changes were made in the mode of writing, that the initial letter of their name, which is, correctly, Núḥární, they being descendants of Núḥ, son of Isma'il, began to be written by Hindústání writers, Lúḥární, with '*l*,' for '*n*,' and by those who did not understand the Pus'hto letter '*rn*,' Lúháni; and they do not "wear the Brahminical thread." The Lohánah (or Loháno as the Sindís write and say) *Baniyás* till flourish in Sind, but they have not, even yet, grown into Núḥární Afgháns.

Al-Idrísí says: "Manṣúriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, although it is at a distance from the river. [In another place he also says, that it is a mile square each way.] It lies west of the principal branch of the river. * * * Manṣúriyah was founded at the beginning of the reign of Abí Ja'far-al-Manṣúr, of the Baní 'Abbás. This Khalífah gave his name to four different cities: the first was Bagh-dád in 'Irák, the second, Manṣúriyah of Sind. * * * It is a great, populous, and rich city, and carries on a considerable trade. The buildings are constructed of burnt bricks, tiles, and plaster. * * * The name of the city in the Hindi [the Sindí dialect of the Prákrit?] language is Mír-Mán [ميرمان. This seems to me to be an error in the MS.], and it is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Multán, Sharúsán [Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ]," etc., etc.

Zakaríyá, the Kazwíní, who, as before mentioned, quotes chiefly from the work of Muṣ'ir bin Muhalhil, who wrote in 331 H. (942–43 A. D.), says: "Manṣúriyah, so called after the second 'Abbásí Khalífah, is also styled Manṣúriyah-i-Ṣání, or the Second Manṣúriyah, and a branch of the Mihrán encircles it. It is very hot, and has many fleas, but it is a place of considerable size, and has good and sweet water."

Ibn Al-Wardí-al-Karshí, likewise says, that "it was one of four cities to which Abí Ja'far-al-Manṣúr, the 'Abbásí Khalífah gave his name of Manṣúr,[106] the others being Baghdád in 'Irák, Al-Maṣíṣat on the sea of Shám [Syria], and Al-Ráfikat in the Diyár-i-Muẓar."

At page 187, in his own extract from the Chach Námah, "the *Jats* of Lohána" are mentioned, also, that they consist of "*Lakha* and *Samma*," and that "they plundered within the territory of Debal." The Puránah, one of the old channels of the Mihrán of Sind or the Hakṛá, is called the Lohálno Ḍhoṛo after them to this day.

Tod, in his "Rajas'than," says (page 320): "The Lohana, were formerly Rajpoots [fancy Elliot's Afghâns!], but betaking themselves to commerce, have fallen into the third class. They are *scribes* and *shop-keepers*, and object to no occupation that will bring a subsistence, and as food, excepting their cats and their cows, they will eat anything." See also Burton's "Scinde," Vol. I, p. 236.

Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh further observes, that, "the city must have been ruined before the *expiration* of the *fourth century* of the Hijrah, or about 1020 A. D. [on the 26th April, 1020 A. D., the year 411 of the Hijrah commenced], because Chhotah, Amaráni, brother of Dilorah, Amaráni [Dilú Rá'e], who departed to Baghdád, on account of his brother's injustice, where he embraced Islám, married the daughter of a celebrated 'Arab, and returned with her into Sind before the expiration [before the middle?] of the fourth century, along with a number of other 'Arabs, among whom was the Sayyid, 'Alí Músá." He evidently meant, before the *middle* of the fourth century. He is rather too late by about thirty or forty years; while McMurdo is too soon by nearly two hundred and fifty. The fourth century of the Hijrah commenced on the 24th August, 1009 A. D.

[106] It is used as an adjective, as is the Past. Part. of نصر, signifying, 'aided,' 'defended,' 'victorious,' 'conquering,' etc.

I will now relate what these writers say respecting the rivers, and the places on or near their banks.

All that IBN KHURDÁD-BIH says is, that, "from Barmásir [برماسر][107] to Debal is eight days' journey; and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the ocean is two *farsangs*."

AL-MAS'ÚDÍ says: "The Mihrán of Sind issues from sources well known, situated in the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind, the country of Ḳinnauj, the territory of Búdah [بوده—or بُوُّدَه—Banúdah in one MS.], the territory of Kash-mír, and Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro ?],[109] and Ṭafán [طاقين —Ṭáḳín—also طافن—Ṭáfin—and الطافة in some MSS., which may be Aṭ-Ṭáfah, or Aṭ-Ṭáḳah, or even Aṭ-Ṭáḳar], and flows on towards Múltán, where it receives the name of "Mihrán of Gold," the same as the word Múltán signifies [!] the "Frontier of Gold."[110] * * *

"From Multán the Mihrán takes its course through the country of Manṣúriyah,[111] and near the territory of Debal falls into the sea. * * * It forms many inlets and creeks, such as the creek or estuary of Ṣindbúr or Ṣand-bur [صندبور—Ṣand-púr ?] in the country of Bághir [باگهر—Wághir, '*b*' and '*w*' being interchangeable].[112] * * *

"The Malik of Hind is the Balharí [البلهري]; and the Malik of Ḳinnauj, who is one of the Maliks of Sind, is Búdah [بوده—or Banúdah بُوُّدَه—or Barúzah, بروزه—or Nauwarah نووره—in as many different

107 In the text of M. C. Barbier de Meynard this name is written Nármashírat (نارمشيرة); and in Elliot's extracts from the same author, it is "Narmasírá." The name in Ibn Ḥauḳal is as I have given it above; and it is a well known town of Kirmán, and is repeatedly mentioned down to modern times.

108 Thus in the original, but Elliot (p. 21), turns it into "Banúra," and renders the rest of the passage as follows: "and from Kashmír, Kandahár, and Táfan; and at length running *into* [sic.] Multán, it receives the name of Mihrán of gold, just as Multán means boundary of gold." Did they find a "house of gold" in the river too ?

109 Not Ḳandahár certainly, eight degrees farther west, which was not known by that name at the period in question: it was then styled Bál-yús.

110 The word مرج—meadow—is also, without doubt, a mistake for فرخ. It was probably written without points in the original copy of the text quoted, and that *farkh* is meant, the statements which follow fully confirm. See note 97.

111 Mas'údí must be wrong, of course, although he visited these parts in 331 H. (942-43 A. D.), and wrote from personal observation; for does not Tod, who was never there, tell us in his "Rajas'than," that "the remains of the ancient fortress of Mansoora are on the island of Bekher"? See note 105, page 204.

112 See Burnes' "Travels," vol. I, page 308. There was an old fort hereabouts, swallowed up during the earthquake of 1819, called Sindrí or Sandrí. It lay on the east or Kachchh side of the estuary of the Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar.

MSS., the Búdhiyah—بودهيه of the Chach Námah], which is the title of all the Maliks of Ḳinnauj. There is likewise a town called by this name, and at present it is within the pale of Islám, and is among the dependencies of Múltán.[113] From thence [Búdah] issues one of the rivers which together form the Nahr-i-Mihrán of Sind. * * * This Búdah, who is the Malik of Ḳinnauj, is the enemy of the Balharí, the Malik of Hind. The Malik of Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro before noticed], who is one of the Maliks of Sind and its hill tracts, rules over the territory of ججى or جج [Jachch or Jachchí, the tract lying between Uchchh and Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro, a small territory then dependent on Multán. Jachch Wá-han, once its principal town, is still in existence]. Out of it comes the river Rá'id [رائد],[114] one of the rivers which go to form the Mihrán of Sind. Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro] is called the country of the Rahbúṭ [in the original, الرهبوط—Al-Rahbúṭ, and also Al-Rahyút—الرهيوة—and, no doubt, meant for Ráj-put—راجپوت]. Another, the third of the five rivers, is called Háṭil [هاطل],[115] and comes from the mountain tracts of Sind, and flows through the country of Rah-búṭ or territory of Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro]. The fourth river of the five comes from the territory of Kábul and its mountains,[116] which form the frontier or boundary of Sind towards بسمط

The Wágirs are still well known in the tracts between Lower Sind and Kachchh, and Surath or Káṭhiáwáṛ (vul. "Kattywar)," and have given much trouble at different times. Ṣind-búr, or Ṣand-búr was certainly in Kachchh. See also the old 'Arab map, page 213.

[113] This distinctly shows in what direction this Ḳinnauj was situated, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the celebrated city of that name on the Kálí Nadí, near its junction with the Ganges. See also note farther on.

[114] Elliot has "*Hahaj*" but for the purely 'Arabic letter ح to appear twice in an Indian word is impossible. The part here referred to lay on either side of the Hakṛá, adjoining Jachch on the north. The name still remains in Kanḍhárah, or Kanḍháro in the Sindí dialect, in the south-west corner of the Baháwal-púr state adjoining Upper Sind, the "Kundairoh," "Kundeara," and "Kandera" of as many different maps. It lies on the east bank of the old channel of the Hakṛá, near its western branch, called the Rá'in or Rá'iní, the "*Rainee Nullah*" of the maps, respecting which more will be found farther on. Jachch or Jachch Wá-han, appears in the maps as "*Jujja.*" The petty ruler referred to in the text above was evidently one of the Ránás subject to the 'Arab rulers of Multán. As late as the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, seven of these Ránás were tributary to Multán, and U'chchh.

The word here given can only refer to the Rá'in branch of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. See note 120, page 209.

[115] This appears to be the same word, with the addition of another letter, as in the extract from Bú-Riḥán, who says: "The river Kuj or Kaj, which falls from the hill range of Bháṭil." See note farther on.

[116] This cannot refer to the river of Kábul and its tributaries, since the word

Bust ?], Ghaznín or Ghaznih, درعون [which may be Darghún, Zara'ún, or Daza'ún—its whereabouts or what the correct word may be, I will not venture to speculate on; one copy has نقش instead, and an additional word رعنبرا], ar-Rukhaj, and the territory of Dáwar [داور—also داون and داول], which is the frontier of Sijis-stán. Another of the five rivers comes from Kash-mír, which is also part of the country of Sind [!]."

"The territory of Búdah [بوده],[117] Malik of Kinnauj, extends to

بسط must refer to بست—Bust—on the Hílmand; and if so, shows that mighty changes have taken place in this direction since the Mas'údí wrote. All the rivers of the parts here referred to, now flow south-westwards, and empty themselves into the lake of Zarang. The only streams that come from anything like the direction of Ghaznín and Bust are the Gumal and its tributaries, and the streams from the direction of Kalát-i-Nigthárah, but the latter rise some two hundred miles south-east of Bust on the Hílmand. It will be noticed how many rivers are said to go to form the Mihrán, which do not refer to the other rivers of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab. I have elsewhere mentioned, that, in former times, the Ab-i-Sind must have been joined by some considerable tributaries from the westwards; and, from my geographical inquiries, it is evident to me, that the river of Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kurram"), and its tributary the Gambílah, which still unites with it, formerly sent a greater volume of water into the Ab-i-Sind than at present. It is said, that, previous to the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Hind, in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), the country around Laka'i of the Mar-wats was a vast lake. Lower down again the united waters of the river of the Jzíoba'h and the Gumul used, likewise, to contribute a considerable body of water to the main stream in ancient times; and, doubtless, minor streams, now changed and dried up or diverted, used to contribute their waters, as well as the rivers lower down, from the southern Afghánistán by Síwí, the course of one of which was changed by an earthquake in Akbar Bádsháh's time, as well as other tributaries from the Balúchistán, which united with the Ab-i-Sind when it, or a branch of it, flowed westwards from near Rújan, as explained in the account of that river further on. I believe that a considerable river flowed through what now constitutes the Bolán defile or pass, respecting which I have more to say presently.

In Vol. II of his "Archæological Reports," page 27, Cunningham, strange to say, "identifies" Ptolemy's "*Sabbana*" as "the modern town of *Zhobi*, at the junction of the Zhobi and Gomal rivers. The *Saparnis* would therefore be the Zhobi river, or perhaps the Gomal itself."

The only difficulty would be where to find this "modern town of Zhobi." By "Zhobi," I suppose he refers to the river of the Jzoba'h or Jzíoba'h Dara'h in the Afghánistán, but such a town as Zhobi does not, and never did, exist. See also pages 26 and 32 of the same "Report."

117 I ought to notice here, that, although the 'Arab writers mention the name of Mihrán, and sometimes, Mihrán Rúd, as if the Ab-i-Sind, above and immediately below, Multán, was so called; yet they did not mean it to be so understood, as here shown, and as subsequently confirmed. They referred to what went to form the Mihrán of Sind; which consisted of all the rivers from the Ab-i-Sind to the Chitáng. After all had united they obtained the name of "Mihrán of Sind," and this name it

about one hundred and twenty square *farsangs*, each *farsang* being equal to eight *míl* [miles].[118] This Malik has four armies, according to the four cardinal points, each consisting of 700,000 or 900,000 men [!]. The south army defends the territory from the Balharí, Malik of Mankír [before stated to be Malik of Hind]; while that of the north is for the purpose of carrying on war with the Malik of the territory of Múltán [consequently, it, Ḳinnauj here referred to, must be *south* of Múltán], and with the Musalmáns, his subjects, who are established on that frontier; while the other two armies are sent wherever an enemy shows himself."

"When all these rivers [five are referred to] have passed the "Gate of the Bait or Receptacle of Gold," or Múltán, they unite between it and Manṣúriyah[119] into one stream, at a place called *Dosh-i-Áb*[120] [lit. Meeting-place of Waters, or Waters-Meet, from the Tájzík or Persian '*dosh*'—'meeting,' 'coming into contact,' etc.], which flows towards the town of Alror [الرور or Aldor—الدور],[121] which lies on its western

bore, until it finally emptied itself into the ocean. The Áb-i-Sind or Indus, with its affluents was one tributary, and the Bíáh, with its affluents, the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind as it is called, another, which united with the Hakṛá or Wahindah and its affluents, and formed the Mihrán of Sind as above described. Consequently, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, were really tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah; for, after the Áb-i-Sind or Indus deserted the other, it still remained the Mihrán of Sind; and this is borne out by the statements of all the 'Arab and native writers, as will herein appear. See note 156, page 218.

118 A vast area truly! Even if we compute it at 44 square *farsangs* of 8 miles each, 26,600 square miles is the result. The *farsang* generally was about three *míl*, each *míl* being equal to 4,000 *gaz*, the *farsang* being 12,000, and each *gaz* being equal to 24 fingers' breadth measured sideways, or six clenched fists. The Sindí *farsang*, it will be noticed, is stated to be eight *míl*. See note 90, page 190.

119 Tod, Vol. II, page 229, note to "Arore," says: "The remains of this once famous town *I had the happiness to discover* by means of one of my parties in 1811." Any one, unacquainted with the history of these parts, would imagine from this, that its site had remained unknown up to the period of this wonderful discovery—"on the island of Bekher," where Aror never stood.

120 The place of junction here referred to lay near to Ṣáḥib Gaṛh and Baghlah of the present day, about seventy-two miles south-west of Uchchh. When the Mas'údí wrote, the branch of the Hakṛá which flowed past Aror on the east, had not, according to the tradition, been as yet diverted. Elliot's editor (Vol. 1, p. 23), unacquainted with the meaning of '*dosh*,' supposed it to be "Dúáb," as he writes Do-ábah.

121 The '*al*' in this word, as here written, and by all the old geographers, is not, and must not be mistaken for, the 'Arabic article *al*, because the name Alor or Aror was the Hindí name centuries before the Musalmáns had any acquaintance with it, and it may be, and is, written and styled Aror, with '*ar*' as well as with '*al*.'

The derivation of the word Ruṛhí is evidently derived from the Sanskrit रूढ—

[*sic*] bank, and is a dependency of Manṣúriyah, where [*i. e.* at Alror or Aldor] it receives the name of Mihrán. There [but, in one copy, "Farther on"] it separates into two branches, and both these branches of the great river, styled the Mihrán of Sind, fall into the sea of Sind [or Hind] near the town of Shágarah [شاگره—Ságarah ?], one of the dependencies of Manṣúriyah, a distance of two days' journey from the town of Debal.[122] * * * After Tíz of Mukrán [eastwards], the littoral of Sind commences, where are the mouths of the Mihrán or Nahr of Sind, the principal river of that country. In this part stands the town of Debal; and it is [near ?] there that the coast of Hind joins that of Barúẓ (بروض), where they make the spears called *barúẓí.*"

"The territory of Manṣúriyah contains 300,000 villages and estates [what we style *mauẓa's* in India probably], lying in a fertile tract of country, well planted and cultivated. This territory is continually at war with a people called Med, originally from Sind, and also with other races.

rúṛ, in reference to its situation on the rocky limestone ridge, and the signification of which word is, 'rough,' 'stiff,' 'rugged,' 'hard,' etc. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc, page 326, note ¶.

Mr. A. W. Hughes, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, in his "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind," p. 678, says it is "the ancient Loharkot," but what, or whose, "Loharkot" he does not inform us, nor does he give us his authority; and yet, on the next page, says it was founded "by one Saiyad Rukandin [Rukn-ud-Dín perhaps is meant] Sháh in H. 698 (A. D. 1297).

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 258): "The true name of Alor is not quite certain. The common pronunciation [of English writers ? but how is it *written* ?] at present is Aror, but it seems probable that the original name was *Rora*, and that the initial vowel [here the "initial *vowel*," so called, is the first *letter* of the alphabet, and a *consonant*] was derived from the Arabic prefix *Al*, as it is written *Alror* in Biladûri, Edrisi, and other 'Arab authors [and also "*Aldor*," with '*d*,' as given in Elliot's work]. This derivation is countenanced by the name of the neighbouring town of *Rori* [here a letter is left out to support the theory], as it is a common practise in India thus to duplicate names. So *Rora* and *Rori* would mean Great and Little *Rora*. This word has no meaning in Sanskrit [as I have shown above], but in Hindi it signifies "noise," "clamour," "*roar*," and also "fame." It is just possible, therefore, that the full name of the city may have been Rora-pura, or Rora-nagara; the "Famous City." Why not, at once, call it the "*Roaring* City"?

But the "*Hindí*" word here quoted by him happens to be Sanskrit रव; and, unfortunately for this "Famous" theory, the name is not written *Rorí* by the people of the country, but Rúṛhí—روڙهي; and as ر is interchangeable with ل in Hindí and other dialects, it is also called Lúṛhí as well as Rúṛhí. There is another word روڙا (रोड)—*roṛá*, of the same derivation, signifying, 'stone,' 'rock,' or 'a fragment' of either. The period when Rúṛhí was founded will be mentioned farther on.

[122] Compare the map taken from the "Masálik wa Mamálik" at page 213.

"Manṣúriyah and its dependencies, like Múltán and its territory, is a frontier. The name, Manṣúriyah, it derived from Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, who had been placed there by the Baní 'Ummiyah, as Ḥákim. * * * Sind is the territory nearest the Musalmán dominions: Hind lies more east. Nofír, son of Fúṭ, son of Ḥám, son of Núḥ, at the head of his descendants and followers, took the direction of Sind and Hind, where his posterity multiplied, and were remarkable for their gigantic stature. They established themselves in the territory of Manṣúriyah, a dependency of Sind. This confirms the tradition, that Hind and Sind had been peopled by the descendants of Nofír, son of Fúṭ, son of Ḥám, son of Núḥ."

The Istakhrí says: "Samand is a small city [or town] situated like Multán, on the east of the river Mihrán. Between each of these places and the river the distance is two *farsangs*.[123] * * * The town of Alror [الرور] is about the size of Multán. It has two walls [بارهٔ], is situated near [not *on*, it will be observed] the Mihrán, and near the borders of Manṣúriyah [the territory]. Nírún is about half way between Debal and Manṣúriyah. * * *

"The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrán of Sind [lower down stream], is said to issue from a mountain range in which several of the tributaries of the Jíḥún rise.[124] The Mihrán passes by the borders of Samand [the Samandúr of the Kazwíní, who quotes this work][125] and Alror [or Aldor] from the neighbourhood of Multán, and from thence to Manṣúriyah,[126] and farther onwards, until it unites with the ocean to the east of Debal. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet].[127] It is said that there are crocodiles in it as large as those of the Níl [Nile]. It rises and inundates the land just like that river does, and after the waters subside seed is sown in the same manner as I have described in the account of Miṣr [Egypt]. The Sind Rúd [or River of Sind and Hind]

123 Compare the Mas'údí's statement, pages 189, 90. If the Sindí *farsangs* before mentioned, of eight *míl* to each *farsang*, the distance would be sixteen English miles, but, according to the more correct computation, about six.

124 See my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 563, note *.

125 See page 213 and farther on, also the old map from Purchas.

126 Elliot has, at page 30, the following:—"The Mihrán passes by the borders of Samand and Al Rúr (Alor) *to* the neighbourhood of Multán," etc. It is impossible for the river to have flowed backwards *from* "Al Rúr" *to* Multán. It is exactly contrary.

127 Compare this with the statement in the "Masálik wa Mamálik" and Ibn Ḥaukal, farther on.

Ḥáfiz Abrú says the Sind river or Ab-i-Sind runs into the territory of Manṣúriyah, its course being from north to south, and, at the end, turning towards the east.

is about three stages from Multán. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet] even before its junction with the Mihrán."

This statement is important, for here we have two large rivers, the Mihrán and the Sind Rúd distinctly mentioned. The following, too, is remarkable, and shows what changes have taken place to the westwards, respecting which I shall have more to say presently. He says: "Mukrán is mostly desert, and has but *few rivers. Their waters flow into the Mihrán on both sides of Manṣúriyah.*"[128]

"The cities and towns of Sind are Manṣúriyah, Debal, Nírún, Kálwí [or Kálarí], Anarí, Bálwí [or Bálarí], Maswáhí, Bahraj [بہرج of the old 'Arab map,[129] generally written without points], Bániyah, Manjánrí [Manjábarí of others], Sadúsán [Sharúsán or Síw-istán], Alroz [with 'z'—Alror before],[130] etc. The cities of Hind [131] are Múltán, Jandrúd [Chand-rúd?], Basmad, Sindán, etc.[132]

"The distance from Armá'íl in Mukrán to Debal is four days' journey; from Manṣúriyah to Debal, six; Manṣúriyah to Múltán, twelve; from Manṣúriyah to Fámhal, eight; between Múltán and Basmid, about two; from the latter to Alroz [Alror], three; thence to Anarí, four, from which to Kálwí [or Kálarí] is two, and from the last-named place to Manṣúriyah one day's journey. Bániyah [بانيه[133]—without points] lies

[128] See also the Ḳazwíní's account, page 205. How far Manṣúriyah or its jurisdiction extended at that period may be gathered from Al-Idrísí, who says: "Between Kíz and Armá'íl are two tracts of territory touching each other: one, named Ráhún, is a dependency of Manṣáriyah, and the other, called Kalwán, depends on Mukrán." Manṣúriyah comprised all middle and lower Sind.

[129] In the old 'Arab map page 213, it is placed west of Manṣúriyah on the west-bank of the Mihrán. See page 215 and also farther on.

[130] These are the فالوي (Fálúí), ايرى (Írí), بنوي or بلوي (Balúí), Maswáhí, Bahraj, نايته (Náyatah), Manjábarí, Sindúsán, and Aror of the "Masálik wa Mamálik."

[131] This clearly shows that the Sind Rúd of the Masálik wa Mamálik map just referred to, is that which flowed between those places.

[132] The Basmad, سريان (Sarián) or سيران (Sírán or Sairán) or سيدان (Saidán), and كنفانه of the before mentioned work respectively.

[133] Elliot, "Historians," Vol. I, page 15, has: "From the Mihrán to *Bakar*, which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey." All this is pure surmise; for the word is unintelligible, and, in the Paris copies, according to his own account, is illegible. In them it is نلر which may be anything almost. In the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard it is نكنب; yet, even with this before him, Elliot made it *Bakar*, a place never mentioned by any of the old geographical writers here quoted, because it did not then exist, and this too after translating the additional passage given in this note from Idrísí thus:—"From hence [Báníá] to Mámhal

between Manṣúriyah and Fámhal, at one day's journey from Manṣúriyah and from Debal to Manjánrí [Manjábarí] is two days' journey. From Báuiyah to Manṣúriyah three days' journey; to Fáhmal six days'; and to Debal two." [134]

The Masálik wa Mamálik, which, as I have before mentioned, is, in many places, like Ibn Ḥauḳal, differs from him considerably in others. It states that, "From Multán to Basmíd or Samíd [it is written both ways in the original MS.] to the Rúd-i-Sind is three days' journey. Basmíd or Samíd is a small city [or town], and that, and Multán and Jandáwar [حنداور the original has ح but as this purely 'Arabic letter could never occur in a Hindí name, it is probably intended for چ Chandáwar or ج Jandáwar] are situated on the east side of the Rúd [river] of Multán, each at a *farsakh* distant [but, according to the map of Sind contained in the original MS., they are a long distance east of the river, and in it Multán does not appear, being farther up stream]. Samíd or Basmíd is a city full of wealth and affluence, and is not less [in size] than Multán, and has two walls [بارو], placed on either side of the river Mihrán.[135] * * * The Mihrán comes out near Multán, passes the boundary or limits of Basmíd, and Manṣúriyah, and east of Debal unites with the ocean. The Rúd-i-Sind[136] is three days' journey from Multán, and is a pleasant [sweet] river, and unites with the Mihrán Rúd. It is subject to inundation like the Rúd-i-Níl and has likewise crocodiles."

Here again two great rivers are mentioned, just as Al-Idrísí states,[137] the Mihrán, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind, but the Masálik wa Mamálik goes farther, and adds: "The Jand Rúd [جند رود or چند رود

and Kambáya the country is *nothing but a marine strand*, without habitations, and almost without water, consequently, it is uninhabitable for travellers."

No doubt the Kunchí *ran* is here referred to, into which Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh was led by a treacherous guide, like as Sulṭán Maḥmúd before him, as related at page 80, See also note 105.

[134] Al-Idrísí states that, "between Báníyah and Fáhmal (Elliot has "Máhmal" here), and Kambáyah, the country is a salt, marshy shore, without habitation, and almost without fresh water, and therefore it is impassable to travellers." Its position therefore is towards the sea coast and the Kunchí *ran*, or great marsh of Kachchh, and not as Elliot supposes within fifteen *farsangs* of Aror. See his work, Vol. I, pp. 61, 174, and 367.

[135] The Mihrán here, and the Rúd-i-Multán above, both refer to the Áb-i-Sind. or Indus, as mentioned in the preceding note 117, which see, also note 123.

[136] The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, referring to the Sind Rúd, says it is also known as the Panj-Áb, and below Bakhar is known as the Bahmín [بهمن]. See page 216.

[137] He wrote, it must be remembered, in 545 H. (1150-51 A. D.).

Chand Rúd ?—this is a different word from حنداور above mentioned] or Samand Rúd [سمند رود] is also a great river, and a sweet, on whose banks stands the city [shahr] of Jand [or Chand ?]. *It unites with the Mihrán Rúd below the Sind Rúd*, towards the territory of Manṣúriyah."[138]

We have here, therefore, three large rivers. The first is the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus; the second the Bíáh and its then tributaries, the Bihat,[139] the Chin-áb, and the Ráwah or Ráwí, which, in those days, passed north-east and afterwards east of Multán, and united with the Bíáh, some twenty-eight miles to the southward of the last named city, forming the Panch Nad or Panj Ab of the geographers; and the third river is the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and of which, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, was a tributary, as were likewise the Ghag-ghar, the Sursutí, and the Chitang.

I now turn to Ibn Ḥauḳal, who states, that, "Basmíd is a small city [*shahrkí*], and it, and Multán, and Chandwár [in another copy چنداور—Chand-áwar] are placed on the east side of the Rúd of Multán. From each place to the bank of the river will be one *farsang*. Basmíd

138 This is the Samand of the Istakharí in the only copy available, but the Ḳazwíní, who quotes him copiously, says, that the Istakharí calls it the Samandúr, consequently part of the word has been left out in the copy of the Istakharí quoted. See page 51.

It will be noticed from this important statement, that the old 'Arab map here given (and likewise as shown in the map to Ibn Ḥauḳal's work) does not quite agree with the writer's description. But two rivers are indicated, the Mihrán Rúd and the Sind Rúd, and, that between what appears as ندور or الدور near their junction, down as far as حلوى and سدوسان but a single river is indicated; while farther east, a line, with five towns on it, runs down to, and includes حلوى above noticed, and that one of these five is Basmíd, and another, Anarí, two days' journey from Basmíd. The description says, that the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind—the Bíáh and its tributaries] unite with the Mihrán Rúd [the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind] above Basmíd, which is three days' journey below Multán and three days' journey above Aror; and that the walls of Basmíd rise on either side of the Mihrán. Further, that the Samand Rúd [the Hakṛá and its tributaries] unites with the other two still lower down towards Manṣúriyah, at a place known as Dosh-i-Ab. I have not interfered with the 'Arab map, but I have indicated what is meant from the description, which agrees with other old writers, at the right hand side of that map.

139 There appears to have been another river besides the Bihat, Chináb, Ráwí, and Bíáh, and I have seen somewhere what tributary of one of these four it was, which formed the fifth, but I cannot recall it to mind. Neither the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, nor the Shuttladr, were included among the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, or Five Rivers; and to this day, the people dwelling near the junction of the other rivers, including the Sutlaj, after the junction, style the united stream the "Sapt Nad" or "Sat Nad"—the "Saptah Sindáwah" of the Hindú legends—or Seven Rivers.

is a city full of affluence and convenience, and will not be less [in size] than Multán. It has two walls [بارو—or بازو—sides ?] placed or situated on the banks of the Mihrán Rúd.[140]

"Debal is situated to the east [شرقي—sic in MSS.[141]] of the Rúd-i-Mihrán, and on the sea coast. It is the harbour of that territory. They cultivate the land without irrigation. It is a confined place [تنگ, a word which also means 'barren'], but for the sake of trade people take up their dwelling there.

"Nírún is a city situated between Debal and Manṣúriyah on the road thither, and is situated on the west side of the Mihrán; and Bahraj or Bharaj [بهرج[142]—also written البهرج and بهرج in other copies], Maswáe or Maswáhí or Maswá'í [مسواي or مسواهي or مسوائي], Sindúsán or Sidúsán [سندوسان or سدوسان], and Haníbar [هنيبر] or Halbah [هلبة] or Haliyah [هلية] or Halat [هلة] or Hazah [هذة] are situated on the western side of the Mihrán. Írí [ايري] or Ídí [ايدي or اندي] or Andí [اندي —and Abrí—ابري], and Fálúí [فالوي] or Dálúí [دالوي][143], lie on the east side, in such wise, that, in going from Manṣúriyah to Multán, they lie at a distance from the banks of that river.

"Balúí [بلوي or Jalbúí—جلبوي[144]] is situated on the Mihrán, near unto a channel which branches off from the river behind Manṣúriyah [as shown in the map of the Masálik wa Mamálik, just opposite Sadúsán or Síw-istán].

"Fámhal [فامهل] is a city [or town] situated on the nearest border of Hindústán, as far as Ṣaimúr [صيمور]; and from Fámhal to Mukrán,

140 In Elliot (p. 37), this description is applied to Alror. He has: "The country [city] of Alrúr is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra."

The text I have quoted is as above, and agrees with the "Masálik wa Mamálik."

141 In the map to Ibn Ḥauḳal's text, as in the Masálik wa Mamálik map, Debal is placed *west* of the river. The above, therefore, is palpably a mistake of the copyists. See the map from Purchas.

142 This is the same place as is mentioned by the Istakhari, and by the Balázirí in the account of Muḥammad's advance against Sadúsán, or Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán.

143 Such are the variations in different copies. In the text translated by Anderson in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1849, the words are ابري ولهي.

144 The name is thus written in the map to Ibn Ḥauḳal's text in the Bodleian Library. It will be noticed, that, in writing, if the upper part of ج is rounded a little, as in quick writing, it is liable to be mistaken for ز; and this last letter, if the upper part is lengthened, as it is very apt to be in MS., may easily be mistaken for ج. This place is the Kalarí of the Istakharí.

to Nudhah [Nudiyah of the Sindían historians], to the boundaries of the territory of Múltán, all appertain to Sind. Báníyah [بانيه][145] or Náníyah [نانيه] or Máníyah or Máníah [مانيه—but all are doubtful, because the word is chiefly written بانيه, without points, and مانيه, and even نابنر], is a small city [or town] which 'Abd-ul-'Azíz-i-Habbárí the Kureshí, the ancestor of the tribe who hold Manṣúriyah in subjection,[146] built. Mand [مند] belongs to Hindústán, and there are infidels dwelling therein; and all that has been mentioned belongs to Hindústán."

Then follows the important statement, that, "The junction of the Mihrán with the Sind Rúd [the Bíáh and its tributaries as elsewhere explained] is below Multán, but above Basmíd. The Jadd [or Chand] Rúd [the Hakṛá] unites with the Mihrán below the junction of the Sind Rúd, towards Mansúriyah."

Nudiah [نديه], or Nudiyah [نديه][147] is a flat open tract of coun-

145 It is, from its situation, the same place as mentioned by the Istakharí, and towards the south-east of Manṣúriyah, as shown in the map to the Masálik wa Mamálik. See page 213. It is written without points in the map to the Bodleian MS. See note 163.

146 That is, the towns dependent on Manṣúriyah and its district, and situated therein. See page 190.

147 Elliot sometimes renders this "Budh," "Buddha," and "Búdhiya," but says that Idrísí and Kazwíní prefer "*Nadha* or *Nudha*," and immediately after [p. 388, vol. I] says: "The old tract of Budh or Búdhiya, very closely corresponds with Kachh Gandáva," and straightway goes to "Bori or Búra in the Afghan province of Siwistán," and of course, becomes hopelessly confused.

The Boṛah or table land, so called, of the southern part of the Afghánistán—for there is no town called "Bori," much less "Búra," as he imagined—is out of Sind altogether, and one hundred and twenty-five miles farther north than Gandábah and more than three hundred and fifty miles north of Bahman-ábád.

In a note at page 389 he says: "In the passage above quoted from the *Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh*, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmanábád in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' map, between Shál and Bori." This shows the utter confusion into which he has fallen. He should have added to the above, that, in the work last quoted, the author says that "this Bahman-ábád is said to be Manṣúriyah by some," and he assigns it its proper position. See Elliot, Vol. I, page 109 as to "Mansúra" and Bahman-ábád, and note 105, para. 18.

I may add, that, Ibn Haukal, and the Masálik wa Mamálik, have Nudhah—نده—at all times; and in changing it to, or reading it as, "Budh," "Budha," and "Budhiya," Elliot may have been under the impression, that it must be correct to do so, if the people were Budhists, or in support of some theory that required to be bolstered up. See also pages 206 and 208.

It so happens that Nudah or Nudiyah lay on the *west* of the Mihrán, while Búdah the Búdiyah of the Chach Námah, lay on the *east*. See what Wilford, who

try, situated between Ṭúrán [the territory dependent on Ḳuṣdár, from which Ḳandá'il is five *farsangs* distant] and Mukrán, and Multán and the towns of Manṣúriyah;[148] and this tract lies to the west of the river Mihrán. From this part *bakhtí* [hairy, double-humped] camels are taken to other parts of the world.[149]

The *Kaṣbah* [bázár town] of the tract called Nudiyah is a place of traders, and they call it Ḳandá'il.[150] The inhabitants of this tract of country are in appearance like the people of the desert [of 'Arabia], and have dwellings constructed of canes[151] along the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundaries of Multán as far as the sea coast; and they have also grazing lands between the river and Fámhal [farther east, and elsewhere said to be "the first place belonging to Hindústán in that direction"]. They are a numerous tribe. Fámhal, Sindúsán [or Sadúsán, Sihwáṇ of the present day], Samúr, and كبدانه or كبنايه,[152] all four towns, have Ádináh masjids, which the Musalmáns founded.

was far in advance of his time, says respecting these parts in the 9th volume of the "Asiatic Researches," page 225. Búdah or Búdiya has nothing whatever to do with Bráhúís as M. de Geoje, states in his notes to the text of what he calls "Beladsori" (referring to the Baláẓirí): they were unknown in that early day.

148 See pages 189, 90.

149 Compare this passage in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 38.

150 The Iṣṭakhrí says, respecting Ḳandá'il, that it was so called after Á'il [ائيل], a man of that name who subdued it; so here we have the word Ḳand, as in *Ḳand*-ahár, and in Samr-*ḳand* and Bey-*ḳand*. The word is plainly written قندائيل. With the above very plain statement before him, Elliot persists time after time, in calling the place "*Kandabíl*" and "Kandhábel." Cunningham, of course, follows Elliot in the spelling, but he considers that, "Ptolemy's *Badana*, which lies immediately to the north of the rivulet, must be the present Gandáva, as the letters B and G are constantly interchanged. In the books of the early 'Arab writers [according to Elliot's versions, it should have been added] *it is always called Kandábil.*" See "Elliot," vol. I, pages 29 and 84, as to its conqueror. It so happens, that Ḳandá'il is not Gandábah, but stood on a hill, which Gandábah does not. The Masálik wa Mamálik distinctly states, that there is but five *farsangs* distance between Ḳuṣdár, the situation of which is well known, and Ḳandá'il, which is eight days' journey from Manṣúriyah, and ten from Multán.

M. Barbier de Meynard's 'Arabic text of Ibn-Khurdád-bih, p. 57, contains the same error respecting Ḳandá'il, and Ḳuṣdár, after the same fashion is "Ḳuṣdán." See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 558, note §§.

151 Because the river was continually altering its course. It was the same when Abú-l-Faẓl wrote upwards of six centuries after; and canes play a great part in the construction of dwellings of all kinds, both for man and beast, in Sind and the Indus valley higher up, up to the present day. The people here referred to are the Sammahs and Jháríjahs (or Zháríjahs) or both.

152 This word is unpointed and may mean anything. Elliot reads it "*Kambáya*," but as he reads Ḳandá'il as "*Kandábil*," we must make allowance, and be permitted

Respecting the distances between some of the places mentioned above, he says: "From Manṣúriyah to the boundary of Nudah [or Nudiyah, as the Sindís write it] is five stages or days' journeys [*mar-ḥalah*]; from Manṣúriyah to Fámhal eight; from Multán to Basmíd two; from thence to Alror [الرور] or Alroz [الروز][153] three; from thence to Abarí [ابري] or I'rí [ايري] four; from thence to Faldí [فلدي] or Fálúí [فالوي] four. From Faldí or Fálúí [the Kalarí of others] to Manṣúriyah one stage or a day's journey; from Debal to Nírún four;[154] from Fáldí or Fálúí [Faldí before, the Kalarí of others] to Ladán four *farsangs*; and Bániyah [written Mániah or Mániyah and in other ways before[155]] or Nániah is distant one stage or a day's journey from Manṣúriyah.

The source of the Mihrán, the waters of which are pleasant, is in the same mountain range in which the Jíḥún takes its rise. It comes out at [*i. e.*, near] Múltán, and[156] passes the boundary [حدّ] of Basmíd Alror or Alroz,[157] and by Manṣúriyah, and falls into the sea to the eastward of Debal. * * * The Sind Rúd, the waters of which are also wholesome, is likewise a great river, and at three stages or days' journey below Múltán unites with the Mihrán Rúd."

to doubt its correctness. The Gulf of Kachchh and the whole peninsula of Káṭhiá-wáṛ [vul. "Kattywar"] intervenes, and Kanbháyat (vul. "Cambay") was not subject to Musalmáns at such an early date as the time of the writer above quoted. Part of Kachchh is doubtless referred to here. The north-west part if it is called Kanḍhár and Kanḍáhar.

153 Two copies have *the rúd*—الرود—instead of Alror—الرور

154 In two copies of the text this name is written Biroz or Birúz [بيروز] and Píroz or Pírúz [پيروز] respectively.

155 See note 105, and pages 212 and 215.

156 Although Ibn Ḥanḳal calls this river, which is the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, by the name of "Mihrán," it will be noticed that he makes a distinction between it and the "Mihrán Rúd." Had he not done so, we could only suppose that he considered the two other great rivers to be tributaries of this one, but he evidently means the river which "went to form the Mihrán of Sind," as others do, or what he here calls the Mihrán Rúd.

Bú-Riḥán calls the river the Sind until it unites with the others, and the united streams he calls the Nahr-i-Mihrán. See the previous note 117, and the extract from that author at page 221.

157 This word does not occur in two out of three copies of the text consulted.

See page 913, and also the learned note in Elliot, Vol. I, pages 380-81, from the pen of his Editor, on the subject of "Chand Rud." He takes it for granted, that the Chin-áb always flowed as at present. In the text, page 48, he has another meaning for "Chand." He says "there is some confusion here," and he has made it still more confused.

Another copy quoted by Elliot has: "The Chand Rúd is also a great and pleasant [خوش] river on whose bank is the city or town of Chand Rúd. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sind Rúd towards the territory of Mansúrah." This, however, does not agree with three other MS. copies which I have used, but agrees with the Masálik wa Mamálik just quoted; and, for a *town* "Chand *Rúd*" is an impossible name, and must refer to the river, or a town situated thereon.

Bú-Riḥán-al-Berúní, says, after noticing the junction of the river of Kábul with the "Nahr-i-Sind:" "The river Bihat, called Jíhlam, on the west, unites with the Ab-i-Chándrá [the Chand Rúd of Ibn Ḥauḳal before noticed] at Jhárawar [جهاراور][158] or Jhára Rúd [جهاررود or] Jandráhah [جندراهه] nearly fifty *míl* [miles] above Múltán, and flows past it on the west. Then the Ab-i-Biáh [!] increases it [by uniting with them] from the east. Then the Irawah [ايراوه—the Ráwah of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí—the Ráwí] joins them. The Nahr-ul-Kaj [or Gaj—نهر الكج—in one copy Laj—لج[159]—the upper stroke of the ك being left out, but that letter may be mistaken for ل if not marked thus ك] branches off from the Nahr-ul-Kút [نهر الكوت], which issues from the mountains of Bahátil [بهاتل], and joins them, after which the Nahr-i-Shutlad [شتلد or Shutladr شتلدر] unites with them below Múltán at a place called Panch Nad."[160]

[158] In one place in his text, Bú-Riḥán says the Sind is called Wahind; that جندراهه or جهاراور refers to the Chandar Bhág—the Chandar-Bhágá or Chin-áb—that the Biáh flows to the *west* of Loháwar, and the Iráwah—the Ráwah or Ráwí—on the east of Loháwar.

The Biáh never yet flowed west of Láhor, within "the range of history," but the Ráwí has, but not very far west of it. It will be seen how he has reversed matters. In another place, as in the text above, he makes the Biáh unite with the Chin-áb *above* or *north* of the Ráwí, again reversing facts.

[159] His Nahr-ul-Kaj or Gaj, and Nahr-ul-Kút or Gút can only refer to those tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah which came from the hills east of Jasal-mír in early times, noticed farther on. In the recently published printed text, in place of this Nahr-ul-Kút we have Naghar Koṭ—نغركوت!

The letter here written ج may be meant for چ. Bahátil is the Háṭil of Mas'údí. See page 206, 7.

[160] Professor Sachau indexes these two simple Hindí words in his printed text of "Alberúni," under the meaningless form of "*Pãncanada*;" and translates the above passage as "a place called *Pãncanada*"! A person who had to depend on his translation would suppose Bú-Riḥán had so written it.

The author of the "Lost River" article in the "Calcutta Review" appears, from the following, to have had a confused idea of the Panj Ab or Panch Nad He says (page 14): "Thus, too, is solved the difficulty in providing a place for the Satlej among the five branches of the "Panjnad," which has compelled modern geographers to transfer that name *from the Indus* to the Chinab [!]. The latter has

I have entered here just what he says, but there is evidently great confusion; for we know that the Bíáh—if it is here referred to—never united with the Chin-áb and its tributaries *before* or *above* the Ráwí, as is here stated. Moreover, the mention of "Sutlad" rather shows that the copyist wrote the names as he knew them best. Indeed, with regard to all the extracts from Bú-Riḥán contained in the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, it is difficult to decide which are actually his, and which Rashíd-ud-Dín's (the author), because, especially in reference to the river reaching the sea by two channels, which, in those early days it did not do, as I shall presently show, the latter mentions events as if stated by Bú-Riḥán which occurred three centuries after his death. I shall also prove that no "Sutlad"—Shuttlaj or Sutlaj—flowed in the direction here indicated, even at the time that Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, invaded these parts more than four centuries after Bú-Riḥán wrote.[161]

To continue his account, however, he states, that, "After this, the united streams become a vast river, and during the season of inundation, the waters spread out to the extent of ten *farsangs* in breadth, and swallow up all the other great streams, and the refuse brought down by

no claim whatever to this title, which Burns justly observes (Travels III—287) *is unknown upon its banks.* The "Panjnad" or "Panjáb" is the Indus itself. The application of the term to any one river appears to be of *late date.*"

All this is contrary to fact. All those who have dwelt in, and are acquainted with the geography of this part, know, and as the best maps show, that the rivers which unite above Uchchh, receive the name of Panch-Nad, as Bú-Riḥán, here relates, and as does Abú-l Faẓl likewise; and it is only after the united streams join the Ãb-i-Sind or Indus, that they cease to be styled the Panch Nad or Five Rivers, and when all have united they are known, even to the present day, as the "*Sapt*" or "*Sat Nad,*" or Seven Rivers. I believe that what has been read as شتلد—*Shutlad*—was really meant by Bú-Riḥán for "*Sapt Nad*" or "*Sat Nad*"—ستند. See note 139.

It should be borne in mind, when comparing statements contained in Mas'údí, the Masálik wa Mamálik, and Ibn Ḥauḳal, that those writers visited Sind as well as Multán and other places, while Bú-Riḥán never went farther south than Multán or farther east than Láhor.

161 It is beyond a doubt, that, until the Bíáh and the Sutlaj both left their respective beds to unite and flow in one channel, when they lost those names, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hakṛá, but, after that, the united rivers, under the name of Haríarí, Ghárah, etc., became tributary to the Ãb-i-Sind or Indus. These facts ought not to be overlooked; and yet we find recent authors writing of "Perdikkas carrying the Greek arms to *Ajudan* on the banks of the *Satlej*, ages before the Sutlaj and Bíáh uniting approached within twenty-five miles of Ajúḍḍhan." Who shall say that Ajúḍḍhan was in existence even ten centuries *after* the time of Alexander the Macedonian? It is nearer to the Sutlaj at the present time than it ever was before, and the distance is eight miles and a half. In the last century it was twenty-five miles distant. See note farther on.

it remains sticking in the branches of the trees [which are submerged during the inundations] and appears like the nests of birds in them. The united waters bend to the westward[162] from the city or town of Arôr [ارور—the Aldor—الدور—of others] in the *middle* of the territory of Sind, and are received into the Nahr-i-Mihrán or Míhrán River, which flows slowly through the midst of the country, and forms a number of islands [*i. e.*, the waters flow in several channels which again unite, and the lands between are islands] until the river reaches Manṣúriyat [منصورية as he always spells the word in the original]. This city is situated among the branches of the river, and from that place the river unites with the ocean by two channels. One is near the town of Loháráni [لوهاراني],[163] and the other bends round towards the east in the confines of Kaj [كج—Kachchh—کچھ], and is called the Sind Sh̲ákar [سند شاكر—Sind-Ságarah—سنذ ساگره], which means The Sea of Sind. * * * The river Sarasat [سرست] unites with the ocean to the east of Súmináth."[164] This last named river is, of course, the Saraswatí, which

162 This is not given in the printed text.

163 In another place, Bú-Riḥán, immediately after referring to Lohárani at the mouth of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, where it unites with the ocean, says, that, "from Bazánah [بزانه, also نرايه and درايه in other MSS., and in copies of Rash̲íd-ud-Dín's work], between south and west, is the city of Anhal-wárah [انهلواره - نهلواره and بهلواره], distant sixty *farsangs*; and from Súmináth, on the sea, fifty. From Anhal-wárah or Nahal-wárah towards the south is Láo-des or Lár-des [لاوديس or لارديس], the *kaṣbahs* [bázár towns] of which are Bahzúj or Bahrúj [بهروج or بهزوج], and Dhanjúrá or Rhanjúrá [دهنجورا or رهنجورا], distant forty-two *farsangs*. Both these places are on the sea-shore east of دانه [or تانه—Táná]. This is what Elliot reads "Bániya" at page 27, "Bilha [Báníá]" at page 37, "Bánia" pages 39 and 40, "Tána" and "Bhátí" at page 61, and "Báníá" at pages 77 and 79. From Bazánah to the west is Multán, fifty *farsangs* distant [a distance which will not suit Guzarát]; and from Bhátí [بهاتي - نهاتي or بهانی or بهای; for it is written in as many different ways] fifteen *farsangs*. From Bhátí south-west [south-*east* in one copy] fifteen *farsangs*, is Aror, Arro, Aro, or Udar [ارور - اررو - ارو - اودر] meant, probably, for ادور or ادهور, [foreigners, it will be remembered, always leave out the ه in Hindí words]. Bhátí lies between two branches of the Sind Rúd [not the Nahr-i-Mihrán, it will be observed], thence twenty *farsangs* to Bahman-no Manṣúriyat; and from thence to Lohárani, which is the mouth of the river [he mentions two mouths in the text above: this was the western mouth at that period]; where it empties itself, is distant thirty *farsangs*." Compare also Elliot, Vol. I, page 61, who says, at page 58, that this "Naraya" as he read it, and which his Editor altered into Narána, is "the capital of Guzerát," but, in the original, the word is "كورات and رزات" in different copies.

164 See page 182.

falls into the sea near Pattan Som-náṭh, not the classical river, the tributary of the Ghag-ghar, described farther on, the sacred river of the Bráhmans.

In another place he states, that, "from Bazánah [بزانه—also written ارانه and ذرايه in different MSS.] where roads branch off to the west, is Multán, distant fifty *farsangs*, and to Bháti [بهاتي-[165]—also written بهاني

165 The place called "Bhátí" above, is what Elliot at page 79 calls "Báníá" where the country is "*a marine strand*;" and whatever may be its correct name, whether Bazánah, as Bú-Riḥán writes it, be the capital of Guzarát or not (but Anhal-Wáṛah *was* its ancient capital), all these places, undoubtedly, lay near the sea coast, between the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind and Káṭhiáwáṛ, and this evidently was Elliot's idea when writing about it as "the capital of Guzerát." Notwithstanding this, from the footnote 9, page 58, of the volume referred to, written by the Editor, Mr. Dowson, it appears that Elliot considered it, "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western Provinces [sic] to identify [this "marine strand" in the North-Western Provinces!] from the pages of Bírúní." He thought it to be represented by the modern *Narwar*, and entered into details in support of this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát."

Then the Editor tells us, that General Cunningham takes another view, and says: "I have identified *Guzerát* with *Bairát*, or the ancient *Matsya*. * * * Firishta [*i. e.*, "Briggs?"] gives these two names as *Kairát* and *Nárdín*, which he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazní. Now *Guzerát* and *Kairát* are only slight corruptions of *Bairát*, when written in Persian characters; and *Nárdín* and *Narána* are still slighter alterations of *Nárdyana*, which is the name of a town to the north-east of *Bairát*." See also pages 394, 5, and 6 of Elliot's Vol. I.

Now let us see how "*Guzerát*" and "*Kairát*" look so much like "*Bairát*" in Persian characters :—گزرات - كيرات - بيرات and how very much alike are "*Nárdín*" "*Narána*" and "*Nárdyana*" :—ناردين - نرانه - نارابنه. There is not very much similarity here, I think: at least, I cannot discover it. The word, however, is بزانه *Bazánah.*

But alas for these "satisfactory" identifications! The names given by Firishtah in his Persian text are نور و قرات - NÚR and ḲIRÁT, which refer to two *darahs* north of *Jalál-ábád* and the river of Kábul, in the Káfiristán, no less than *eleven degrees farther north*! The mistake respecting them I pointed out in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 77; and I have also given an account of Amír Maḥmúd's expedition to those *darahs* in my NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 134 and 135, from the author from whom Firishtah derived the information, and who wrote in the time of Amír Maḥmud's grandson, Sulṭán Farrukh-Zád. See also Elliot, vol. I, page 47, where the same *darahs* of Núr and Ḳirát, written "*Nárokírát*," as one word, are mentioned along with Lamghán north of Jalál-ábád and the river of Kábul.

According to Bú-Riḥán, who mentioned this so called "Núrokírát" above referred to, this *Bazánah* is 60 *farsangs* = 180 miles from Anhal-Wáṛah, and we know where that is, and it is a long way from *Lamghán*, and from *Bairát* too. Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, also cannot be referred to here, because this Bhátí is but 20 *farsangs* = 60 miles, north of Manṣúriyah, and 30 *farsangs* = 90 miles from Lohárání, at the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind; and it is said that this place—Aro, Ador,

or نہالي or هاني or الني The town of the Bhátíah is evidently meant here] fifteen *farsangs.* From thence between south and west is Aro or Arú [ارو in MS., perhaps Aror ارور ?], distant fifteen *farsangs.* From بہاتي between two arms or branches of the Sind Rúd, is Bahman-no, or Bahman-no Manṣúriyat,[166] distant 20 *farsangs*, from which Loháráni, which is the place of outlet [of the river], is distant thirty *farsangs.*"

Referring to other routes going from Ḳinnauj to the Mihrán, he says, after mentioning Sunám, that, going north-west from thence [Ḳinnauj] nine *farsangs* is Arat-húr [ارت هور also written Arat-húz - ارت هوز or A'datt-húr - آدت هور], then to حجنبر or حجنير or حجر or حجرمر or حجنير [which I will not attempt to speculate upon] six *farsangs.* From thence to Mandhúkúr [مندھوکور] the *ḳaṣbah* or *bázár* town of Lohawar, east of the river I'ráwat [the Ráwah or Ráwí], eight *farsangs*; then to the river Chandráhah [چندراهه] twelve; then to Jíhlam west of the Bihat [? MS. has بيت and printed text مايت] eighteen *farsangs*; from thence to Dahind [دهند or Wahind-وهند, and ويهند-Waihind, in the printed text], the *ḳaṣbah* of Ḳandhár [Gandhárah], which the Mughals[167] call Ḳará-Jáng [قرا جانك] west of the A'b-i-Sind, twenty *farsangs.*" * * * Referring to the mouths of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, he says: "After this, you come to the lesser and greater mouths of the river, and then reach the [haunts of the بوارج] Bawárij who are pirates, and Kach [Kachchh] and Súminát. * * * From Debal to Kohrá'í or Koharáí [كوهراي] is twelve *farsangs* [thirty-six miles or little over].[168]

etc.,—which is probably *Addo* of the maps, about 60 miles east of Bhúj in Kachchh—is but 15 *farsangs* = 45 miles from "Bhátí." The places referred to here mostly lie near the sea coast, Elliot's "Marine strand," extending from the eastern mouth of the Mihrán of Sind to Súraṭh, the Sauráshṭráh of the Hindús—Káṭhiáwáṛ—and of this there can be no doubt. See page 258.

166 See note 105, *ante*, page 196, and note 146, *ante*, page 216. These distances, if correct, would show this place بزانه—Bazánah—to be situated in the north-west corner of the present Jasal-mir state.

167 The words "which the Mughals call Ḳará-Jáng " will not be found in Bú-Ríḥán's text. Here we have Rashíd-ud-Dín, not Bú-Ríḥán, for the simple reason, that, at the period the latter wrote, and for more than a century after, the Mughals were unknown to the Musalmán writers. For more respecting this Ḳará-Jáng, see Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1216; and compare Cunningham, "Ancient India," page 55.

168 See *ante* page 206, and note 112. The overflow from the channel of the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar still reaches the sea by the inlet which appears as "Kohri" in our maps, the names in which are generally incorrectly written. The Hajamro mouth of the Indus is just thirty-four miles (or lately was: it may have changed considerably since the publication of the most recent maps) from the Kohrá'í mouth to the north-west. Bawárij is the plural of بارجه, a war-boat apparently, and certainly refers to boats or vessels.

Al-Idrísí, who wrote about 545 H. (1150–51 A. D.), nearly a century before the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, says, that "Sand-úr[169] [for Chand-úr or Jand-úr? '*s*' is interchangable with, and often substituted for '*ch*' and '*j*' by foreigners] is situated three days' journey south of Multán, which is famous for its trade, wealth, and extravagance of its inhabitants. It is said to form part of Hind [he afterwards mentions it among other places belonging to Hind], and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samaid [Basmid of others].[170] Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert tract which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán.[171] From Multán, as far as the neighbourhood of Manṣúriyah, the country is held by a warlike race called Nudah [or Núdiyah, as the Sindís write it], consisting of a number of tribes scattered about between Ṭúbarán and Mukrán, Multán and Manṣúriyah, like the Barbar nomads. These Nudahs [Núdiyahs] have peculiar dwellings, and marshy places in which they take shelter, if necessary, to the west of the Mihrán. They possess a fine breed of camels, particularly a sort called *karah*, like the camel of Balkh [the Bakhtí camel], which has two humps, and is held in great esteem in Khurásán, and other parts of Irán.[172] * * * The place chiefly frequented by the Núdahs [or Núdiyahs] for purposes of trade and other matters is Ḳandá'íl."

Al-Idrísí also says respecting Debal, that it is a populous place, but not fertile, and is inhabited merely because it is a harbour for the vessels of Sind and other parts. "Going west," he says, "from the mouth of the great Mihrán [the principal or eastern branch] Debal is six *míl* [miles] distant. From Debal to Nírún, also on the west of the Mihrán, is three days' journey.[173] Nírún is about midway between Debal and

169 This name occurs in an old map which I shall give farther on between Rúṛhí and Multán, and it would therefore seem that it was known in the early part of the last century; and, from its position therein, appears to have been situated somewhere about Nohar, or Islám-Koṭ of the present day, near the banks of the Hakṛá, or farther north. It seems to be identical with the town or city of Jand or Chand mentioned *ante*, at pages 213-14.

170 See *ante* page 216.

171 This appears to refer to the southern parts of the great, elevated plateaus extending from a few miles east of the Indus to the high left bank of the Bíáh, and through which the rivers forming the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad, now cut their way, and which from what is known as the *thal* or *báṛ*-i-Chinháo west of the Chin-áb, and *báṛ* and *ḍhaiyá* east of it. These elevated plateaus represent three distinct geological periods apparently, respecting which more will be found in the notice of the rivers farther on.

172 See *ante* page 217, where Ibn Ḥauḳal says much the same, and note 146.

173 The position of Nírún is plainly shown in the old maps of the Masálik wa Mamálik and Ibn Ḥauḳal, as well as from the description of its whereabouts in those

Manṣúriyah, and persons going from one to the other cross the river here. Nírún is a place of little importance, but it is fortified. * * *

two works, and in others, including Al-Idrísí in the text above. Modern writers identify its position satisfactorily to themselves, but differ as to its whereabouts. Elliot fixes it at Jarak, while Cunningham prefers Ḥaidar-ábád. He says ("Ancient India," p. 279) "the people still know it—Haidarábád—as *Nirankot*," but this requires confirmation. He also says, "it *was* situated on the *western* bank of the river. * * * *At present* the main channel of the Indus runs to the west of Haidarábád, but we know that the *Phuleli* or eastern branch, was formerly the principal stream. According to McMurdo, the change of the main stream [by which McMurdo means the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Ságarah, not the "Phuleli"] to the westward of Haidarábád, took place prior to A. H. 1000, or A. D. 1592 [Haigh previously quoted, says "the change occurred only in the middle of the last century," and he is perfectly right], and was coincident with the decay of Nasirpur [Naṣr-púr is the correct name], which was only founded in A. H. 751, or A. D. 1350."

The Naṣr-púr here referred to, I may observe, lies some seventeen miles N. N. E. of Ḥaidar-ábád, and was founded by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí; while the place referred to by Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 216) as being a place of great importance as early as the time of Dúdah, the Sumṛah, who was contemporary with Sulṭán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd of Ghaznín, some three centuries before, refers to an entirely different place. That refers to Naṣír-púr in the south-east of Sind. It was still the chief place in that part in Akbar Bádsháh's time, and gave name to one of the five *sarkárs* into which the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭhah was divided. It was here that the same Sulṭán founded a fort on the banks of the Sankrah [Hakṛá], on his advance against Ṭhaṭhah the last time from Guzarát.

Cunningham continues: "As Nasirpur is mentioned by Abul Fazl [Gladwin's translation?] as the head of one of the subdivisions of the province of Thatha, the main channel of the Indus [the main channel, as I have before mentioned, was the Hakṛá] must have flowed to the eastward of Nirun Kot or Haidarábád at as late a date as the beginning of the reign of Akbar." I may observe that Abú-l-Faẓl's work was completed in the forty-second year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and that Naṣír-púr (a different place from Naṣr-púr) was, as stated above, the name of the most south-easterly *sarkár* of the Ṭhaṭhah province, one of the seven *maḥálls* of which was Naṣír-pur, giving name to the *sarkár*, and that Amar-Koṭ was another. In this part a small fortified town was also founded by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk, on his advance from Gondhal to Ṭhaṭhah.

Elliot, on the other hand, identified, according to the writer previously quoted, Nírún Koṭ with "Jarak, and the Kinjar lake near Helái in its neighbourhood, as that in which the fleet of Muhammad Kasim [Muḥammad, *son* of Ḳásim, is meant, the latter having been dead for years] lay," but Cunningham adds that "the Kinjur lake has no communication with the Indus," and thus he disposes of Jarak "identified" by Elliot and others; but Elliot says (Vol. I, p. 400): "I am disposed to place Nírún at Helái, or Heláya, a little below Jarak. * * * Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kásim's fleet."

The attempt to identify places mentioned in the ancient history of Sind according to the recent state of the channel of the Indus, as if its banks had been of adamant instead of hour-glass sand and mud, and had not changed in the space of eleven,

From it to Manṣúriyah is a little more than three days' journey. Manṣúriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, but it is at a distance

much less twenty-three centuries is sufficiently absurd, but it is still greater when, from his own authorities (page 157), the fleet of boats of Muḥammad was sent up the Sind-Ságar (or Wahind Ságarah as stated in the Chach-Námah. See note 181, page 231), that is, the Hakṛá or Wahindah, mis-called the "Narra" in the maps and Gazetteers, and that it flowed some seventy-five miles east of this "Helái" and the "Kinjar lake," and continued to do so for centuries after the time referred to. How many scores of times, likewise, has the western branch (described farther on), changed during that period from west to east and back again, and how many lakes formed, dried up, or swept away?

Wood—a keen observer and experienced surveyor—says in his work ("Journey to the Oxus") respecting this, that, "In the neighbourhood of Vikkar is the imbedded hull of a Dutch brig-of-war, pierced for fourteen guns, affording proof, if any were wanting, of *the ever-changing course* of the Indus. It is *in vain* in the delta of such a river to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. The whole country from Kach'h to Karáchí is alluvial, and *none of its spontaneous productions*, the tamarisk tree, for instance, *exhibit the growth of a century*. Higher up the course of the river, where its channels are more permanent, this tree attains a large size, and this never being the case in the delta, our conclusion would appear legitimate, the soil at both places being the same.

"Could the northern apex of the delta be as easily fixed as its triangular sides can be defined, we might then venture to speculate on the probability of Alexander having visited Kach'h or Gujerat. * * * But, as before observed, the absence of tangible localities involves us in a maze of doubt; and hence our deductions are oftener the result of fancy than sound inference.

"The old Dutch-built vessel mentioned above affords negative evidence that the mouths of the Indus in her day were not more accessible than at present. * * * We have tolerable evidence that the Indus has never been more or less navigable than we now find it to be. Tavernier, nearly two centuries ago, said, 'At present the commerce of T'hat'hah, which was formerly great, is much diminished, as the mouth of the river is always getting worse, and the sand, by increasing, scarcely gives room for a passage,'" pp. 2—3.

"In a mud basin undergoing continual change, such as the valley of the Indus south of the mountains, it is almost vain to look, after the lapse of so many centuries, for indications of the Grecian general's march," p. 20.

As to the apex of the delta, there can be very little doubt, that, in very ancient times, it was between Bahman-ábád, and the range of lime stone hills running down from Aror, and where the Mihrán of Sind separated into two branches. See note on the rivers farther on.

To return to the previous subject, however, after this digression One thing appears conclusive, namely, that as the distance between Bahman-ábád and Nírún was rather more than between Nírún and Debal, its site must be looked for some thirty-five or forty miles south of the modern Ḥaidar-ábád, and about the same distance east of Ṭhaṭhah; and in the Sindí accounts of the founding of Ḥaidar-ábád there is no mention of its being founded on the site of Nírún. Al-Idrísí says Nírún lies about half way between Manṣúriyah and Debal, that it is three days' journey

from the river. It is on the west of the principal branch, which flows from the direction of Kálarí, a town one day's journey from Manṣúriyah,

between the latter place and Nírún, and that people going from thence to Manṣúriyah cross the river at Manjábarí (which lay about mid-way between the two places). Ibn Ḥauḳal, on the other hand states, that *the country* of Nírún is rather nearer to Manṣúriyah than to Debal; and, in another place, that while it is six days' journey from Manṣúriyah to Debal, it is but two days' journey between Nírún and Debal. In the map contained in the Masálik wa Mamálik, and also in Ibn Ḥauḳal's map, Nírún is some distance from the banks of the great river, and Manjábarí intervenes about midway between it and Bahman-ábád. But between the time that Al-Idrísí and Ibn Ḥauḳal wrote, a period of about one hundred and eighty years, great changes appear to have taken place, since the latter says that "the Mihrán passes on towards Nírún, and then flows to the sea." See farther on about the second great transition of the courses of the river, also Elliot Vol. I, page 78.

Cunningham at page 279 of his work has the heading "*Patala or Nirankot*," which, as before noticed, he identifies with Ḥaidar-ábád, and the "Pattala of Arrian," but at page 236 he considers that "another name" appears to have "a confused reference to *Nirunkot*." It is confused enough truly. This name is "the *Piruz* of Istakhri, [the Istakhari], the "*Kannazbúr*" of Ibn Haukal, and the "*Fírabúz*" of Edrisi [Al-Idrísí];" and, after quoting what they say from Elliot, he considers that their "unknown city" will accord exactly with that of *Nirankot*. "*Debal*," he says, "I will hereafter identify with an old city near *Lári-bandar* [at page 279 he says *Lári-bandar* is its probable position], and *Manhábari* [Manjábarí?] with *Thatha*." Had Ibn Ḥauḳal's map contained in Elliot's volume given all the names, as in that of the Masálik wa Mamálik, which I have appended to this paper, it would have been perceived that what has been called "Fírabúz," "Kannazbúr," and "Pirúz," lay midway between Darak and Manjábárí, and between Nírún and Debal, but a little nearer to the latter and about north of Debal, while Nírún lay more to the north-east from Debal; and the place in question, "Fírabúz," or whatever it may be, was a town of Mukrán, whereas Nírún was a town of Sind, and they are totally distinct places. The name of this place is written in a variety of ways in the different authors, but in the Masálik wa Mamálik, in Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Al-Idrísí, it is پیروز - بیروز - قلونور - فدربون - فدویون فرمون - فربرن and پیروز, but by what means it is managed to get Kannazbúr, Kannazpúr," and "Kínarbúr" out of it, is beyond my comprehension and how the 'n' becomes doubled.

It is clearly stated that Nírún lay on the road from Debal to Manṣúriyah, the position of which two places there is no doubt about. Then, that between Debal and Manṣúriyah is six days' journey. Thus we can compute by actual measurement within a few miles, to be about one hundred and twenty miles as the crow flies, or about twenty miles, to the day's journey. The Istakhari, the Masálik wa Mamálik, Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Al-Idrísí, all say that Nírún lay between Debal and Manṣúriyah, and that Nírún was three days' journey from each. It is likewise stated, that from Armá'il (the Hormara of the maps) to Debal is also six days' journey, consequently, the distance is much the same from Debal to Manṣúriyah as from Debal to Armá'il." This being determined, Ibn Ḥauḳal says, that from Debal to this "*Kannuzbúr* is four days' journey ["fourteen days," as in Elliot is an error or a misprint for "four"], consequently, the distance from Debal thereto is one-third less than to

where it separates into two branches, the principal branch flowing towards Manṣúriyah, and the other north-west-wards as far as Sharúsán [Sadúsán or Síw-istán] when it turns westwards and re-unites with

Armá'íl. He then says that from "Kannazbúr" to Manjábarí or Manchábarí is *two days' journey.* Al-Idrísí says that Manjábarí or Manchábarí is *three days' journey* from Sharúsán [Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ], and this we know the exact position of, and therefore Manjábarí or Manchábarí was the same distance from Sihwáṇ as Nírún was from Debal and Manṣúriyah. He also says that it is six days' journey from Sharúsán or Síw-istán to "Fírábuz," the "Kannazbúr" of Ibn Ḥauḳal [I give the names as mentioned in Elliot and quoted by Cunningham, because the originals are anything but "Kannazbúr," "Kinnazbúr," "Fírabúz" or "Pírúz," as may be seen above], and that in going from Debal to "Fírabáz" the road passes by Manjábarí. He also says that "Fírabúz" *belongs to the province of Mukrán,* that is, that it was close to the Sind border. Elliot in his version of Ibn Ḥauḳal, vol. I, pp. 33-34, has "Kabryún [Kannazbún]" for this same place, which he also says is "in Mukrán."

Cunningham supposes "Manhâbari," as he calls it, to be Ṭhaṭhah, but as he "identifies" Debal as Lâri-bandar, which were two distinct places and a considerable distance apart—twelve *farsangs*, or thirty-six miles or more, according to Bú-Riḥán—we may be permitted to be dubious on the subject; and after *identifying* Nírún with "Haidarábad," he "would suggest," that the first of the three names, *Piruz*, *Kannesbur*, and *Fírabúz* (which Elliot identifies with "*Punjgoor*") all of which refer to *one place,* "might possibly be intended for *Nírún*, and the other two for *Nirunkot*, as the alterations in the original Arabic characters required for these two readings are very slight." I will show how slight they are. Nírún and Nírún Koṭ are written نيرون - نيرون كوت, "*Pirus*"—پيروز; "*Kannazbur*"—قنّزبور; "*Fírabuz*"—فيربوز All these are very much like each other certainly. A few lines under he continues: "comparing Biláduri's [the Balázarí's extract in Elliot] *Kizbun* with Ibn Haukal's *Kannazbur* [see also his note to p. 287], and Edrisi's Firabuz, I think it probable they may be intended for *Punjgûr*, as suggested by M. Reinaud."

The position of this many named place with respect to Armá'íl the "Hormara" of the maps, Debal, Manjábarí or Manchábarí on the Mihrán (from which it was two days' journey), the great mouth of that river, and Nírún, would be some eighteen miles north-north-east of Jarak, but "Punjgoor" of Elliot, and "Panjgûr" of Cunningham, in Mukrán, and *only three hundred and seventy miles farther west-north-west,* is totally impossible. With regard to Manjábarí or Manchábarí, there is a place called *Manjhand* in the maps, close to the Railway on the west bank of the Indus, just half-way between Koṭrí and Sihwáṇ, fifty-nine miles from Jarak, and still a place of some importance, but the distance from Debal would be too great. See the old 'Arab map, where Manjábarí or Manchábarí, written without diacritical points, is marked.

To the south of Ḥaidar-ábád, in the plain close to where the Fulailí branch of the Indus used a few years back to unite with the Gúní, the country for miles round is covered with broken bricks and the ruined foundations of large buildings. Tradition says that a large and flourishing city once covered the plain and extended as far as the range of limestone hills on the extreme northern part of which, some eighteen miles farther north, Ḥaidar-ábád stands. Hereabouts the site of Nírún-kot

the main river, and forms after that but one stream.[174] This junction occurs twelve *míl* [miles] below Manṣúriah. The river then passes on to Nírún, and subsequently unites with the ocean.[175] Manṣúriah is accounted among the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nírún, Sharúsán, Chandúr, Baniyah, Kálarí, Atrí, Basmíd, Multán,[176] etc.

"Dor[177] lies on the bank of the Mihrán which flows west of that city [or town]. It compares with Multán in size. From it Basmíd is three days' journey, Atrí four days', and Kálarí two. The last-named place is on the west bank of the Mihrán, is a well fortified town, and carries on a brisk trade. Near it the Mihrán separates into two branches, the largest branch [*i. e.* the main branch] flows towards the east as far as the vicinity of Manṣúriyah which is on its west bank, while the other runs north-west, then north, and afterwards towards the west.[178] The branches again unite about twelve *míl* [miles] below Manṣuriyah. Kálarí is some distance out of the main route, but is much frequented for trading purposes. It is distant from Manṣúriyah a long days' journey of forty *míl* [miles], and from Sharúsán [Síw-istán or Sadúsán] three days' journey. Sharúsán is remarkable for its size, its fountains, and canals, its abundant productions, and its profitable trade. From thence, distant

might be sought for. Then again there are the ruins near "Shakhr-púr, of the maps, some thirty miles westwards from Ṭhaṭhah, and the extensive ruins near Bádín, about thirty-three miles west of that again. The ruins at this place are similar to those of Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, and the city or whatever it was, was probably destroyed at the same time. The ruins near Bádín *may be* those of Manjábarí, and those near "Shakhr-púr" may be the remains of Nírún Koṭ, but more probably of Damṛílah; but there is no district of Sind less likely to show remains of antiquity than that known as Sháh Bandar.

174 See Bú-Riḥán's account above, who also mentions two mouths.

175 It is stated in the Táríkh of Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, which is a comparatively modern work, but held in great estimation, and completed about 829 H. (1425 A. D.), that, "The source of the river Sind is on the skirts of the mountains of Kash-mír [north of], and runs from the western side of those mountains into the territory of Manṣúriyah, its course being from north to south, and near the end of its course bends towards the east, and enters the sea of Hind. The river Jamd [the Jhilam] also rises in the mountains of Kash-mír, but on the south side. It runs from north to south, and enters the land of Hind. * * * In the neighbourhood of Multán it unites with the Sind river, which falls into the ocean. The Bíáh is a large river, which rises on the east side of the mountains of Kash-mír, flows through the territory of Lahávar [Láhor], and from thence to Uchchh, and falls into the ocean in the country of Kambáyah." The chronicler, no doubt, meant the tract adjacent to Soraṭh or Sauráshṭra, between it and Sind, the river separating the two tracts of country; and he referred to the Hakṛá or Wahindah of which the Bíáh was still a tributary.

176 Others consider Multán to be dependent on Hind.

177 The word is ڈور or Ror - رور, it appears written with ڈ in MSS.

178 See Ibn Ḥauḳal, page 215.

three days' journey, is Manjábarí, a town situated in a depression or hollow, a pleasant place, surrounded with gardens, fountains, and running water. * * * It is two days' journey from Debal.[179] * * * Among the places of Hind, touching upon Sind, are Fámhal, کنبایة,[180] Sindán, Saimúr, etc." He mentions likewise certain maritime isles, referring, no doubt, to the tracts on the coast, and the *Ran*, or great marsh, between the mouths of the Mihrán and Kachchh.

The Ḳazwíní, who quotes from a much earlier writer, does not give us very much information respecting the rivers of these parts, but he says, that "The *Nahr*-i-Mihrán [that is the Áb-i-Sind. See *ante* note 117.] rises in the same mountain region in which the affluents of the Jíḥún take their rise," and, that "the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán flows in a general direction of about south-west. After being joined by another *Nahr* from the eastward, the united rivers flow towards the west [south-westwards], and fall into the sea of Fárs. A branch having separated from the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán, encircles Manṣúriah, and makes it like unto an island." The territory immediately about Manṣúriyah is, of course, meant as shown in the Masálik wo Mamálik map.

In another place, quoting from the Istakhari, already noticed, he says: "The Istakhari states, that the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán rises at the back of the mountain [range] out of which the affluents of the Jíḥún issue. It then appears near Multán, on the boundary of Samandúr [سمندور], and, having passed under [below] Manṣúriyah, unites with the sea to the east of Debal."

In another place the Ḳazwíní mentions Nudiyah or Núdiah, which he says, "is an extensive tract of country in Sind, containing numerous people, who are of different tribes. They possess considerable wealth; and most of the cultivation is rice, [showing that water was not scarce]. * * * They also have a fine breed of camels, the like of which is not found elsewhere. They are taken into Khurásán and Fárs to breed from."

Another geographical work, the Murásid-ul-I'tilá, plainly states, that "Debal is a well-known town [or city] on the shore of the sea of Hind, and a place of considerable trade, near which place, likewise, the rivers of Láhor and Multán, empty themselves into the ocean."

We may now gather further information respecting these rivers of Sind from the proceedings of the 'Arab conquerors, but they double up

179 The name of this place is generally written Díbal by the old geographers and historians, but, as the name is evidently derived from Debal or Dewal—an idol-temple—the mode of spelling given above is the more correct.

180 I leave it as it is written. This is the word of which Elliot makes "Kambáya."

events, so to say, considerably. Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá-al-Baláẕarí, author of the FUTÚḤ-UL-BALADÁN, previously quoted, is the earliest historian.[181] He brings down events to the year 227 H. (842 A. D.). He does not appear to have actually visited Sind; for his work is a general history of the conquests of the 'Arabs, but he quotes from persons who had been, and had served, in Sind; and he is repeatedly quoted by Al-Mas'údí and Ibn Ḥauḳal, both of whom afterwards visited it, and by others. He died in 279 H. (892-93 A. D.). It is strange that there is so little mention made in Ṭabarí's chronicle respecting the conquest of Sind. All he says is, that, "during the Khiláfat of Walíd, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, many victories were gained; and, among other parts, a portion of the territory of Hindústán was conquered by Muḥammad-i-Abú-l-Ḳásim," and this is all. Sind he included in Hind or Hindústán.

The Baláẕarí says, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, advanced into Sind from Sijis-stán by way of Armá'íl,[182] which was taken, and reached Debal or Dewal, the sea-port of Sind, and the nearest point from thence [Armá'íl] on the sea-coast of Sind. Here there was a *budh*, the name given by the 'Arab writers to a Budhist temple where idols are worshipped, and which the name of the place was derived from. From this *budh* a large red flag waved from a tall staff, which was struck by one of the *balistas* of the 'Arabs, and knocked down. The place was taken by assault, after which Muḥammad moved to Nírún or Nírún Koṭ,[183] which

[181] The Chach Námah, however, may be considered equally early, as it contains the accounts related by actual actors in the events recounted in it, handed down from sire to son. See note 185.

[182] This well known place in the history of Mukrán and Kirmán, Elliot, in his "Indian Historians" invariably miscalls "*Armábel*," just as he miscalls Ḳandá'íl "*Kandábel*," and "*Kandábhel*," in most places, but "*Kandáil*" in a few others. It is, apparently, what Masson calls "*Hormara*."

[183] The Chach Námah says, that, after possessing himself of Debal, he despatched his *balistas* on boats which went up the river which they call the Sind Ságar [that is, the main branch of the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind] towards Nírún Koṭ, but went himself with his army towards Sísam, and when he reached it, he received a reply to his announcement of the capture of Debal from Amír Ḥajjáj which was dated Rajab, 93 H. (May, 712 A. D.).

An 'Arab who was present, quoted in the Chach Námah, states that Muḥammad proceeded from Debal to the Ḥiṣár of Nírún, which was twenty-five *farsangs* (seventy-five miles) distant, and that on the seventh day he reached the neighbourhood of Nírún, which was a grassy plain which they [the people] called Balá-hár in the tract or district [*samín*] of Ro'í or Rú'í. At that period, the Áb-i-Síḥún *and* the Mihrán, had not reached it; and the troops became much distressed for water, and began to complain. Muḥammad having offered up prayers to Heaven for rain, it fell, and all the water-courses and reservoirs in that vicinity were filled.

capitulated. Proceeding north-eastwards, he came to a river which flows on this [the west] side of the Mihrán,[184] which he crossed, and then took a place called Sahbán [Sísam of the Chach Námah, and Salím of others], after which he moved to the banks of the Mihrán. His object was to attack Bahman-ábád, the place of greatest importance in that part of Sind; but, before doing so, he had to detach part of his force to recover possession of Síw-istán, which had previously been surrendered to him, but which had now revolted, the exact situation of which, with Bahman-ábád, and Aror, or Alor, there is no possible doubt about. His detaching this force, as he did, clearly shows, that, at that time, the Mihrán of Sind or Great Mihrán, as some of the old writers call it, did not flow even so near to Síw-istán or Sadúsán, as it did when the Masálik wa Mamálik and Ibn Haukal's work were written, some two hundred years after these events; for, according to the maps in those works, the river appears to have still passed some distance east of it.[185] Had this not

When Rá'e Dáhir heard of the fall of Debal, he made light of it, saying that it was "a place merely inhabited by low people and traders; and he directed his son, Jai Sinha, to leave a Samaní [Priest] there in charge, and repair himself to old Bahman-ábád." Nírún was surrendered to the 'Arabs by the Samaní in question.

The Chach Námah states, that, "in the night following the fall of Debal, one Jáhín, by name, got his women over the walls, and on arriving outside, found horses and a dromedary waiting them, which had been sent by Rá'e Dáhir, and mounting at once, pushed on until they reached a cutting or small channel of the Mihrán, which they call Gár Mittí [Gár Mittí] on the east side of the Mihrán. From thence Jáhín sent an elephant to convey the news of the fall of Debal to Dáhir, who enquired what village Jáhín had reached; and he was told that "he had reached "Gár Mitti," that is to say "Kul-i-Shor" [village of Misfortune or Calamity"].

184 This may refer to the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which, near Kálarí, some forty miles above Bahman-ábád, turned to the north-westwards, and then south again, but more probably refers to one of the old channels from the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, which flowed between Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád, noticed farther on. According to the Chach Námah this river was called the Kunbh.

185 After halting some days at Nírún and suffering for want of forage, that place was given up, and Muhammad, leaving a Shahnah or Commissioner there, moved towards "the fortress of Síw-istán, situated to the west of the Mihrán on the summit of a hill." He determined that he would reduce this stronghold first, and having set his heart at rest respecting that part of Sind, on his return from thence he would make preparations for crossing that river, and attacking Dáhir. Elliot has "re-cross" but as he had not crossed it, he needed not to *re-cross*.

I may mention here, that the Chach Námah, which is taken from 'Arabic annals, containing the statements of persons who were present along with the Amír, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Kásim, and who had related the events to their descendants some years only after they occurred, was translated in the reign of Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, nearly four hundred years after the Balázarí wrote his work, just one hundred and thirty-five years after the invasion of Sind. The

been the case, and had no other great obstacles existed, which there did, he might have crossed and taken his whole force to Bahman-ábád from

original was probably written before the Baláẕarí wrote. It states that Muḥammad proceeded from Nírún stage by stage until he reached a place called Mauj or Moj [موج], which others call Bharaj or Bahraj [بهرج], the same place as is mentioned at page 215, and which also appears in the old 'Arab map, thirty *farsangs* from Nírún, and that there was stationed a Malik on the part of Bajhrá, son of C͟handar, Rá'e Dáhir's uncle. Then the account passes at once to Síw-istán, the people of which—those interested in trade and in saving themselves only—were desirous of submitting, but Bajhrá would not listen to it, and the fighting men were ready to defend it. * * * "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, took up a position before the *Registán* [sandy tract or desert] gate to attack the place, because there was no other ground; for the waters of the rainy season had risen, and, from, or on, the north side, the *já'e* Sind—the Áb-i-Sind—did not, in former times, flow." That is to say, at the time the narrator was referring to. There is not a word about any "selected ground," nor any "Sindhu Ráwal." Elliot mistook در آول for داول. His version of the C͟hac͟h Námah is very imperfect, or carelessly done; and to understand Muḥammad's movements in Sind, and the events which happened at that time, the C͟hac͟h Námah requires to be properly and faithfully translated.

These operations against Síw-istán must have been carried on in December, 711, if not in January, 712 A. D, but all the dates are more or less confused.

After some days investment, and the failure of an intended night attack upon the 'Arab camp before the *Registán* Gate, Bajhrá, under cover of the night, fled by the Koh-i-S͟hamálí [North Hill] Gate, crossed the river [not the Mihrán: that was a long way off], and did not tarry until he had reached the boundary of Búdiyah, east of the river. At that time, the ruler of the Búdiyah territory was Kákah, son of Kotal, whose residence was the fort of Písam on the bank of the Kunbh."

From this it would seem that there were two places called Sísam, or there is a mistake in one of the two names, which is most probable, because Sísam, the Sahbán and Sílam of others, is the place which the 'Arabs reached from Nírún on their way to Síw-istán.

After the flight of their governor, the people of Síw-istán were allowed to surrender.

Elliot says that "Seisan, a village on Lake Manchur may be the place here called Sísam." There is a place, so called, in some comparatively recent maps, but such is not to be found in the "Indian Atlas" map from the most recent surveys. Sísam, however, as the context shows, was a considerable distance to the eastward of Lake Manc͟hhar.

Mír Má'ṣúm of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, makes a statement worthy of record here. He says, that the tract of country west of the Mihrán [as it flowed in his day] dependent on Síw-istán, is called by the Fuḳahá-i-Islám [Doctors of Law and Divinity] by the name of *U'<u>sh</u>ar*, because the Jinnah people جنّه [*sic.* in *MSS.*, possibly meant for C͟hinnah] submitted of their own accord to the Musalmáns, on which account, according to the *<u>Sh</u>ara'*, the legal tribute they were liable to, was one-tenth; whereas, if they had been reduced by force of arms, the legal tribute would have been one-fifth.

Síw-istán, instead of having to return to Nírún for that purpose. He found it impossible, however, to get to Bahman-ábád from thence for various reasons, as related in the Chach Námah; for he had previously despatched his battering rams up the Sind Ságar towards Nírún, on the west side of the estuary of which, at the distance of about six miles, Bahman-ábád was situated, as stated by the Baláẓarí, who subsequently visited it. When we see the vast changes which a single year brings about in the courses of the rivers of these parts, we can form some idea of the changes which must have occurred in two hundred; although there are some who expect to find on its banks, and actually presume to identify, places mentioned above two thousand two hundred years ago, and suppose the rivers to be running in the same channels, and in much the same positions, as the Greeks found them.

The Baláẓarí takes us, at once to Sadúsán or Síw-istán, and states that it capitulated, which so far is correct; but another work, the Jámi'-ut-Táwaríkh, says, that, "the fortress of Salím[186] was first captured, and then Sadúsán or Síw-istán surrendered. Its affairs having been disposed of, and an 'Arab officer left in charge of it, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, prepared to cross to the east side of the Mihrán by a bridge of boats which he had caused to be constructed.[187] But the writers do not mention the

186 The Sahbán of the Baláẓarí, and Sísam of the Chach Námah.

187 Some considerable time elapsed before Muḥammad could cross the Mihrán. After the capitulation of Síw-istán, he, leaving a Commissioner there with a small force, moved with his army against Sísam, and reached a place called Nídháhah [نیدهاه—in another *MS.* نیدهان—Nídhán] on the banks of the Kunbh. The chief priests of the *Budh* there, who traced their lineage from Ikránah or Akránah on the Gang, which they call A-dwand Bihár (See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" page 491, and Appendix D, page xxvi) incited the Ránás of the Jaṭs of Búdhiyah, and Kákah, son of Kotal, to make a night attack on the 'Arab camp. They made the attempt, Kákah sending a thousand men with them, but it did not succeed; and, soon after, Kákah submitted, and subsequently, betrayed his countrymen. After this affair Muḥammad appeared before the fort of Sísam and invested it for two days; the infidels were defeated, and the fort captured. Bajhrá, son of Chandar, and uncle's son of Dáhir, with Ráwats and Ṭhákurs, who were his dependents and followers, there fell, along with Bajhrá; while others fled to Upper-most Búdhiyah [بودهیه بالا تر], and some to the fort of Bhaṭlúr [بهطلور], between Sálúj and Ḳandá'íl.

About this time Muḥammad received orders from Amír Ḥajjáj, saying, that it was necessary for him to leave other places alone, and to return to Nírún, and make arrangements for crossing the Mihrán and reducing Dáhir, and when that was effected, the strongholds and provinces would naturally fall into his hands. Muḥammad accordingly returned towards Nírún, and, on his way, happened to halt "near the fortress situated on the hill (*koh*) of Nírún, adjacent to which was a lake," the praises of which he gives in glowing terms. Without doubt, this lake is that called the Sonharí Dhanḍ, and the ruins of the fort are on the north side of it. The Jám,

difficulties he had to encounter, the delay in obtaining boats, the want

Tamáchí, one of the Sammah rulers, is said to have subsequently occupied it. See *ante* note 173. Muḥammad gave Amír Ḥajjáj an account of his recent proceedings, and that he "had reached the bank (*lab*) of the Áb-i-Síḥún, which they call Mihrán, at a halting place which lay in the tract of country around Búdhiyah, and opposite to the fortress of Laghrúr or Baghrúr [لغرور or بغرور], which is situated on that river [on the east bank] and belonging to the territory of Dáhir, and the very strong fort of Sísam; but, in accord with his commands, he had returned, and awaited further instructions, which he hoped to get soon," as the place he was then writing from, he says, was "near to the Dár-ul-Khiláfat." He probably meant nearer than Síw-istán was.

With all this before him, Elliot, in his work, confounds Baghrúr with Nírún, while it is certain that the place in question lay *east* of the Mihrán, and Nírún on the *west*, as is plainly stated. See vol. 1, page 163, where he has, "opposite the fort of Baghrúr (Nírún), on the Mihrán. * * * This fort is in the country [district is meant which lay *east*] of Alor. * * * The forts of Síwistán and Sísam have been already taken," etc.

His accounts of Muḥammad's movements preparatory to crossing the Mihrán, in his extract from the Chach Námah, is hopelessly confused. He says (page 166): "Muhammad Kásim [this is how he writes the father's and son's names together as those of one person] had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Ráí Dáhir might come to the banks of the Mihrán with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaimán bin Tihán Kuraishí *to advance boldly* [here a sad mistake has been made, and the words "towards Baghrúr" have been rendered "to advance *boldly*" mistaking بغرور for غرور—'*pride*,' *haughtiness*,' etc.] with his troops against the fort in order that Fúfí, son of Dáhir, should not be able to join his father [In a note he says: *MS*. A. is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror." He was a long way from Aror]. Sulaimán accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tiflí to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance [this refers to a *place*, not a man. See his work page 362], in order to cover *Gandava* [sic.] and he ordered the Samaní, who was chief of Nírún to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r-rahman was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. [This Mus'ab, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, us-Ṣakafí, was a kinsman of Muḥammad]. He placed Namána bin Hanzala Kalábí in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwán bin 'Ulwán al Bikrí with 1,500 men to attend on Moka Bisáya, chief of Bait [*sic*]; and the Bhetí [Bhaṭí?] Thakurs and the *Jats* of *Ghazní*, who had made-submission and entered the 'Arab service, were told to remain at Ságara and the island of *Bait*."

We all know where Gandábah is, also that *bet*, not "Bait," means an island, or rather, the delta of a river, surrounded by channels, which this was—the delta of the Mihrán; and what he has mistaken for "*Ghazní*," along with his "*Gandava*," is the word غربي—*western*, applied to the Jaṭs on the western side of the Mihrán, as *sharkí* Jaṭs is applied subsequently to those on the east side. We also know for certain that Nírún lay between Debal and Manṣúriyah, but nearer to the former, and that Ságarah was two days' journey from Debal on the east. Elliot likewise tells us, as does Cunningham, who follows him, that "Gandaba" *was always called Kandabíl in those days*." See note 150, page 217.

of food and forage, and the consequent loss of men and horses from

If any one will take the trouble to look at a map, it will be seen at a glance what nonsense this is. Gandábah is no less than four degrees of latitude farther north than where these operations took place, namely, in the lower part of the delta of the Mihrán, in the southern part of the present Ḥaidar-ábád Collectorate of Sind, and between the present town of Jarak and the Puránah *Dhoṛah*, and farther north. The *bet*, or delta, at that period, did not extend farther south than the Pír Paṭho hills and the present Wángah Bázár, if so far south. The object of these movements of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, is sufficiently manifest. It was to pass the western branch of the Mihrán just above its junction with the main stream again, as indicated in the "Masálik wa Mamálik" map. We must not judge of the lower part of the delta by what it is *now*, but by what it was some twelve centuries since. See note 163, page 221.

The account given in the Chach Námah respecting Muḥammad's movements after his return from Síw-istán by command of Amír Ḥajjáj, contains so many important geographical details, that I must give a short abstract of them here.

At the period in question, one of Rá'e Dáhir's "Maliks," as they are styled in the Chach Námah, held a Ḥiṣár or fort in the *Bet* or delta, on the Mihrán, and apparently just below the junction of that branch of the river, which, about forty miles above Bahman-ábád separated into two, and re-united with the eastern branch again some distance to the south of that city, and towards the sea coast. This *Bet*, it is stated, was situated on the *east side* of the Mihrán on the margin of a stream [a minor channel], an island formed by the Kunbh river. The Malik was called Rásil, son of Sámí. Muḥammad was told that, if he could win him to his side, the difficulty of crossing the Mihrán would be got over.

Amír Ḥajjáj, in his letters to Muḥammad, containing excellent advice for his guidance, impressed upon him to choose a place where a strong bridge of boats might be constructed, and where the crossing place was flat and even. It was after this that Nírún was surrendered to him by its governor, who was continued in charge of it. In the mean time, some of the petty chiefs of the Bhaṭí tribe, and others, began to submit to him; and, at Nírún, an inhabitant of Debal, who was a native of Baṣrah, brought to him a Samaní or Priest, who, he said, could facilitate his crossing the Áb-i-Sind [*sic.* not Mihrán]. In Muḥarram, 93 H. (October, 711 A. D.), Muḥammad moved from his position—the last mentioned was the delightful place on the *koh-i-*Nírún, near the lake before referred to—and arrived near the fortress of Ash-bahár (اشبهار), a place of great strength, with a determined garrison, the town, which lay on the west side, having been brought within the area of the defences by surrounding it with a ditch. It was, however, reduced and a Shaḥnah or Commissioner left there. From thence Muḥammad moved to the west bank of the Áb-i-Mihrán, on the verge of the boundary of Ráwar. This appears to have been one of the most important places in lower Sind, which Chach had founded on the east bank of the great river, and near it was Jai-púr, which is constantly mentioned along with it. In the mean time, a chief named Mokah, the Bish※yah, submitted to the 'Arab leader. He was brother of Rásil, the then chief of the *Bet*, above referred to, and between the two brothers and their father, who sided with Rásil, great hostility existed. For this the *Bet* was conferred upon him (nominally), and he was directed to collect boats for the proposed bridge.

Muḥammad wrote an account of these matters to Ḥajjáj, and, soon after, moved

disease, and the months that elapsed in the mean time. Having effected

to that part of the west bank of the Mihrán which was opposite to Ráwar [and] Jai-púr, and Mokah was sent to select a place for crossing. But Ḥajjáj required "a map on paper, with the measures of the depth and breadth of the river, and the state of the banks for four *farsangs* up and down stream at the place proposed" During this period, Dáhir's people had surprised Síw-istán, which had been left with but a few of his own 'Arab troops, and Muḥammad had to detach 4,000 horse thither, and secure it. This is what the Baláẕarí refers to in the text above, as though that was the first capture of Síw-istán.

On hearing of Mokah's proceedings, and of his going over to the Musalmáns, Dáhir now sent his son Jai Seṇha to the *Bet*, to prevent the 'Arabs crossing and holding it. Jai Seṇha came [down stream] with his troops, accompanied by boats, by the Kotkah branch, to the banks of the Mihrán, to the fort of the *Bet* opposite to Muḥammad's position.

More than a month passed, want of food for themselves and their horses stared the 'Arabs in the face; the horses fell ill, and such was the scarcity, that those which became affected were killed and eaten. Boats were not forthcoming; and suspicion arose that Mokah was deceiving them. Ḥajjáj became angry at the delay, and commanded that boats should be procured by whatever means attainable, and sent from his own stables 2,000 horses. In the mean time, provisions and forage began to be brought in, but great sickness [scurvy] prevailed, so much so, that Ḥajjáj had to send vinegar, which was done by repeatedly saturating carded cotton with vinegar and drying the cotton each time, and when sufficiently saturated, it was made into bales for facility of transmission. The cotton was to be soaked in water, and the vinegar solution given to the sick. Ḥajjáj further directed that the passage should be made at the *Bet*, wherever the Mihrán was narrowest and the banks easy; and, if there was an island or bank in the channel, it was to be made use of, and the crossing effected by degrees, constructing a bridge of boats for the purpose.

Muḥammad now broke up his camp, and marched into the district [or tract—*samín*] of Ságarah, belonging to the district of Jhim, and directed the boats to be brought, and planks as many as might be required. In the interim, the Wazír of Rá'i Dáhir endeavoured to rouse him from his carelessness and neglect of his affairs; and Muḥammad, not desiring to be obstructed in the construction of the bridge of boats, and in crossing, detached 600 horse towards the fort of Baghrúr (on the opposite side) to attract the attention of Fúfí, Dáhir's son, there stationed; also 500 horse on the road to Akham ["Aghámanno" of Hughes, and "Augoomanoo" of maps, on the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah*, 25 miles S. E. of Ḥaidarábád] to watch the territory of Kanḍárah [- کندارہ. This is Elliot's "Gandava." See also pages 166 and 362 of his work]; while the Samaní in charge of Nírún (who had previously submitted to the 'Arabs) was to take care that food and forage reached the army. Another 1,000 men were pushed forward to guard the road, while another body of 1,500 more, and Mokah, the Bisáyah, Malik of the *Bet*, and the Ṭhákurs of the Bhaṭís and the western [غربي] Jaṭs [this is the word read as "*Ghazní*" by Elliot. See pages 167 and 507 of his work], and the chief men of Ságarah, who have submitted, were stationed in the *jazírah* of *Bet*." The author, probably, was not aware that both words are of the same signification, one being Persian and the other Hindí.

As soon as Muḥammad reached the Jhim passage, he went to examine where the ford was narrowest and least obstructed, and the banks suitable; and he came to a

the passage at last, without much opposition on the part of Dáhir, son of

stand opposite to the *jazírah* in question. Having satisfied himself, boats were brought, stones laid out [to moor them], planks laid on, joined, and fastened together. Dáhir being aware of Mokah's doings, had sent his son, Jai Seṇha (as before noticed) to hold the *Bet*, and he was directed not to trust the Bis͟háyah, Sarband, who might be in communication with Mokah. On this, Rásil, the latter's brother, and his enemy, went to Dáhir, and asked to be permitted to defend the *Bet*, as he and his father had always been hostile to Mokah; and he was sent, and directed to prevent the 'Arab army crossing, and the chief men of the *Bet* were commanded to obey his orders. On this, Jai Seṇha returned to his former post at Ráwar. Rásil, accordingly, effectually prevented the bridge from being finished and secured to the east bank; so Muḥammad had to have as many boats prepared and joined together on the west bank as would span the Mihrán, troops were placed on it, and it was pushed off. It so happened that (swinging round) it touched the opposite bank exactly at the point where the enemy were collected to oppose the passage, and the infantry on the bridge of boats, pouring a volley of arrows among them, leaped on shore, formed up, and dispersed them; while their comrades secured the bridge head with pegs and stakes, and then they pursued the enemy to the very gate of Jhim. One of the fugitives, however, managed to get away, and, by dawn the next morning, reached Dáhir's camp, and told the bad news. [See Elliot, page 167].

Then Muḥammad addressed his army, and told them of the hardships and dangers they were about to encounter, and that if any one wished to return, now was the time, but only three persons did, their reasons being deemed sufficient; and the bridge being now quite finished, body after body of the troops crossed, losing but one man, who fell from the bridge and was drowned. As soon as the passage had been effected, the army was marshalled in battle array, and moved forward until near the fort of the *Bet*, using great caution (as enjoined by Ḥajjáj), and intrenching the camp. From thence Muḥammad advanced towards Ráwar until he reached Jaipúr, and between it and Ráwar was an inlet or creek, and at the passage across, Dáhir, who had reached the east side of the creek with his forces, had sent a party to reconnoitre; and Jai Seṇha was directed to oppose the further advance of the 'Arabs, but he was overthrown with great slaughter.

At this juncture, Rásil, brother of Mokah, who had prevented the 'Arabs from completing their bridge and securing it to the east bank, offered to submit; but, in order "to preserve his honour," he asked the 'Arab leader to send a party of troops and capture him at a certain place, at the *jú-e* [canal or water-course] of Barṭarí or Baṭarí, five *farsak͟hs* from the fort of Kunbh, where he would be, under pretence of going to Dáhir's presence. This was done, and then Mokah, his brother, was installed in the *Bet*.

Muḥammad was advised by both brothers, to move from where he then was to a place called Nárá'í or Nárání (نارائي); for Dáhir was at Ḳájíjáḳ [a strange Sindí word with two 'Arabic ق]; and, on well examining the country around, it was found that a large lake [long, narrow lake or *ḍhanḍ*], which was impassable (on foot), intervened. Rásil said it must be crossed; and he obtained boats, and the passage was effected, but still another inlet, *ḍhanḍ*, or side channel, intervened between. Rásil advised that the force should move another march farther up stream, towards Jai-púr on the canal of Dadahah Wáh, which is a village belonging to Ráwar, and

Chach, the ruler of the country, whose capital was Aror, he encountered Rá'e Dáhir in battle, at the head of a considerable army with numerous war elephants, who, towards the close of the day, was completely overthrown, and killed in the engagement. Muḥammad, after this success, moved towards old Bahman-ábád, which was two *farsangs*[183] from where Manṣúriyah was afterwards built, its subsequent site at the time being a *jangal*. The great mound, styled "Thool [Tall] Depur Ghangra" of the large one inch scale map, six miles north-east of Bahman-ábád is doubtless its site. At Bahman-ábád the remains of Rá'e

there halt, as Muḥammad would then be parallel with Dáhir's position, and from it, would be able to act either in front or rear of it, and on Dáhir's baggage. He did so, and came to the canal of Dadahah Wáh, on which Dáhir moved towards Ráwar; and having there deposited his servants and baggage, he came and took up a position where, between him and the 'Arab forces, only a *farsang* distance intervened. Muḥammad, on this, moved nearer towards Dáhir's position until he had reached within half that distance from him. Fighting had gone on for three days, until, on the fourth, Dáhir himself appeared in the field, and a severe conflict took place. Muḥammad had detached 6,000 of his troops in advance, with directions to cross the channel, which on that day separated the two armies; but, finding that they were likely to be hard pressed, through the enemy having got an inkling of the movement, he moved to their support with the remainder of his forces. Dáhir had determined on making a supreme effort, and did so. He had concentrated all his available forces, and the different tribes of Sind, including the *sharkí* Jaṭs—the Jaṭs east of the Mihrán—besides his own troops, were posted in the rear in support. All was of no avail: the infidels were driven back with great loss; and the Musalmáns, that night, remained on the field, in the position they had gained. This was the 9th of Ramaẓán, 93 H. (19th June, 712 A. D.). On the following day, the 10th, Muḥammad harangued and exhorted his troops [there was no "*khutba*," to read. See Elliot, page 169]; the Arabs made a general attack upon Dáhir and his forces; and he was finally killed near the fort of Ráwar, between the Mihrán river and the canal of Dadahah Wáh, in endeavouring to reach that fortress, and his troops were overthrown with great slaughter, and pursued to the gates of that place. Jai Seṇha, son of Dáhir, and Rání Bá'í, Dáhir's sister, whom the latter had married, entered the fort of Ráwar, and there shut themselves up; but Jai Seṇha was for sallying forth, and again fighting the enemy while life lasted. He was dissuaded from doing so, and advised by the Wazír of Dáhir, to retire to the *ḥiṣár* of Bahman-ábád, where he would be able to rally the forces of the country, and be able to make a stand against the Musalmáns with more chance of success. He did so; and Rání Bá'í, with some of Dáhir's Maliks along with her, remained in the fort of Ráwar resolved to defend it. It was invested, and the walls breached, and finally surrendered; but, before this was done, Rání Bá'í had ascended a funeral pyre, and joined her husband and brother.

From this it will be seen, that a considerable time elapsed after the 'Arabs entered Sind before these events came to pass; and, what is surprising, is, that these operations went on in the height of the hot season, when, at the present time, the rivers are in flood, and the country inundated, and yet no remark is made on the subject.

[183] A little over six miles. See note 105.

Dahir's forces had rallied; and in the operations which ensued before that place fell, 26,000 men were slain on the part of the defenders.[189]

[189] Mír Ma'ṣúm here is quite at variance with the historians who wrote several centuries before him, and one of whom wrote not much more than a century after the events he records. Mír Ma'ṣúm is brief, doubles up events, and thereby confuses them. He makes Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after the fall of Síw-istán and Salím, reject the advice given him to attack Bahman-ábád first, and makes him march direct from Síw-istán to Alor or Aror, which he did not do. He says he crossed "the river" to the *mauẓa'* of Tahl-tí—تلتي—which, in two other copies of his work, is written تهتي and نكتي—three or four *kuroh* from Síw-istán. The first name, however, is correct. "The river" here cannot refer to "the Mihrán of Sind" (nor even to the branch which flowed towards it from Kalarí), which passed upwards of forty miles farther east at the period in question, in which direction Kalarí lay, but to what is called the Kunbh in the Chach Námah. There is still a *mauẓa'* called Tahl-tí about seven miles north of Síw-istán or modern Sihwáṇ, on the east side of the river which we call the "Western Nára," whose channel, in former times, was, no doubt, a branch of the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind; and at that period, it may have been known as the Kumbh or Kunbh, or river *of the* Kumbh or Kunbh. These words, كمبه or كنبه, signify, 'a water-pot,' or 'vessel,' in Sanskrit; and whether we can connect those meanings with the Lake Manchhar which, in its centre, is somewhat in the form of a pot or water vessel, being very deep, with steep, rocky sides, is rather doubtful, but the idea crossed my mind. The words cannot be intended for the Sanskrit word for a spring etc., for that is كنڈ—*kunḍ*. The 'Arab writers do not allude in the slightest degree to this at present great lake, which seems hardly to have existed as a lake in those days. Perhaps at the period in question only the deep portion contained water, and hence its similarity to a gigantic *kuṅbh*.

With respect to Tahl-tí, I do not presume to say that the present *mauẓa'*—the "*Talti*" and "*Tultee*" of the maps—is the identical place referred to by Mír Ma'ṣúm, for a thousand changes may have occurred since that time. I merely mention the fact of such a place existing under that name in the exact locality mentioned, and where also is a Tahl-tí *ḍhanḍ* or lake. That Muḥammad first reduced Bahman-ábád, and then moved to Aror, there is no doubt whatever. Mír Ma'ṣúm says, that Rá'e Dáhir, finding that Muḥammad had crossed to Tahl-tí, despatched a force to oppose his advance to the *kol-i-áb* or lake of كنجري—Kinjrí—or كنگري—Kingrí—(about twenty miles west of the ruins of Aror), upon which, the 'Arab commander marched on رافيان—Ráfíán—(in other copies of the original رقبان and رقيان. There is a Ráfí Dero ferry south-west of Kingrí), and detached part of his troops to encounter Rá'e Dáhir's forces, and overthrew them. This lake is said, in Mír Ma'ṣúm's work, to have been crossed by the 'Arab army by means of one boat, which took three men at a time, which, of course, is absurd.

After this, according to the same writer, Muḥammad moved with his whole force against Aror; and, in an engagement, which took place on the 10th Ramaẓán, 93 H., near that city, Dáhir was defeated and slain.

From this it will be noticed that he leaves out nearly every thing that occurred at Bahman-ábád during six months, and all the events which took place on the banks of the Mihrán before that, including Dáhir's death, and has transferred them to Aror instead; and, consequently, has shown, that, for the early history of Sind, he is not

Muḥammad, leaving a governor there, moved towards Aror and Baghrúr,

to be relied on; while the Chach Námah, contains the relation of events generally from the statements of eye-witnesses of what they relate.

As soon as Jai Sanha, son of Dáhir, reached Bahman-ábád, he endeavoured to rouse his brother and kinsmen to oppose the invaders with energy, but without result: there was no combined effort made. Accordingly, he despatched letters to his brother Fúfí, at the capital, Aror; to Chach, son of Darsiyah, Dáhir's nephew, who held Bábiyah [the Pábiyah of Elliot before, but, now he makes it Bhátiya although there is no 'h' in it] on the south side of the river Biáh [which was subsequently held by Kaksah, son of Chandar, Dáhir's uncle, according to the same authority]; and to Dahol or Dahúl, another son of Chandar, who held Núdiyah and Kai-kánán [the "Ḳiḳán" of the Balázarí—tracts west of the A'b-i-Sind]. Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, on the other hand, after the death of Dáhir, and capture of Ráwar, as before related, moved towards Bahman-ábád, between which two places were two fortified towns Bahrúr and Dháliyah. The first offered obstinate resistance, and was only captured after two months' investment, and the latter nearly as long, but without much opposition. The people, at last, finding they could not hold out, despatched their families from thence by the bridge over the Manhal [branch of the] river; but, on the Musalmáns becoming aware of it next day, they were pursued, and a great number slaughtered. Such as escaped made their way towards Hindústán by the Ramal territory [the tracts inhabited by the Bhaṭí tribe], and the *registán*, or sandy desert [evidently towards Jasal-mír, the feeders of the Hakṛá from the direction of Poh-karn, at that period, having ceased to flow], towards the territory of Síro [Sírohí? There is a "Sero," eighty-one miles above Bahman-ábád, east of Sayyidah] of which Díw Rá [or Ráj, as in Elliot] was ruler. He was the uncle's son of Rá'e Dáhir [and, consequently, must have been son of Chandar].

Dháliyah having been given up, Muḥammad located there Núbah, son of Daháran, son of Dháliyah, and charged him with the care and su erintendence of boats [it appears to have been on the Puránah Ḍhoṛah branch of the Mihrán of Sind] along the banks from that place to Dadahah-Tiyah [possibly Wadahah-Tiyah], which was a *farsang* [three miles] from Bahman-ábád. [See Elliot, page 176.] Another march from Dháliyah brought the 'Arab forces to the banks of the Jalwálí *Nahr* [canal or minor channel] on the *east* side of Bahman-ábád [which Elliot's editor very wisely supposed was the "Falalaí," which is only thirty-three miles *south-west* of Bahman-ábád] and there they took up their position.

Bellasis, in his interesting account of the ruins of Bahman-ábád, which he discovered, appears even to have found what we may well suppose was the site of the 'Arab camp during the investment. He says: "On my last visit to Brahman-ábád, I made inquiry of an old cultivator if he had ever seen any of the round solid balls of pottery mentioned in my first paper. 'Ṣáḥib,' rejoined the old man, 'come to the Top Khánah [arsenal], and I will show you plenty.' I followed his guidance, and he led me *outside the city walls, and across the dry bed of the river*, and there, in the plain, sure enough were a number of these pottery balls. I could distinctly see the square heaps in which they had been piled in regular rows like round shot; and, scattered over the plain, numbers of single ones were to be found, slightly embedded in the soil. They were of various sizes, some as large as 12-pounders, others about the size of billiard balls. The old man accounted for there being so many scattered about the plain by saying that in ancient times a great battle had

but the last name cannot be correct, because it is mentioned previously

been fought on that spot.' The smaller balls might have been used in a sling, but the larger ones would have required some engine like the balista to propel them."

To return, however, to the subject of Jai Seṇha. Not liking apparently, to be shut up in Bahman-ábád, he had retired to C̱ẖani-sar [Ṭibbah-i-C̱ẖani-sar. See farther on.], but he had previously selected and appointed sixteen of the chiefs of the place to the charge of the gates, to guard them as leaders of the troops. Four gates are mentioned, but the names of five are given; namely, the Jariṭarí, which may be that of the citadel, as the others are numbered, and 1. Bhárand or Bhárind; 2. Sátiyá; 3. Manorah; and 4. Sálah. On Monday, 1st Rajab, 93 H. (April, 711 A. D. [This cannot be correct, as Dáhir was only killed two months and ten days *after* that date.], Muḥammad intrenched his position, and prepared to attack Bahman-ábád, which was said to contain 40,000 fighting men. Fighting went on continually, until six months had passed away [the hot season included], and Muḥammad and his forces were become dispirited and almost hopeless of taking the place. At length on Monday, the end of Ẕí-Ḥijjah, the last month of the year [17th October, 711 A. D.] news of Jai Seṇha was obtained. He had returned from the country of Ramal, which is called Bháṭíah, and had begun to infest the roads and harass the Musalmáns by causing a scarcity of forage and food. On this Muḥammad had to send to Mokah, the Bis̱ẖáyah, to ask him what had best be done, and he advised the despatch of forces to drive Jai Seṇha away. This was done, and Jai Seṇha, who appears unable to relieve Bahman-ábád, sent his family and effects by way of the *registán*, or sandy desert, [the tributaries of the Hakṛá coming from the eastward, from the side of Poh-karn and Jasal-mír, as elsewhere stated, had at this time ceased to be perennial streams and did not reach it, hence that part had become a desert,] to a place called Jangan, and to 'Urá or 'Orah, and Kábá [Khábo?] in the territory of C̱ẖitrúr; and, at last, retired into the territory of Kas̱ẖ-mír.

Jai Seṇha having retired to C̱ẖitrúr, no hope remained of being relieved and the investment raised; and the principal merchants and traders,—who always fear for their money bags, and their own interests—under the plea, that without leaders to lead the troops, those who could have done so, having been killed, it was impossible to hold out longer, deputed four of their number to enter into communication with the Musalmán commander. The up-shot was, it was agreed, that a sally should be made from the Jariṭarí gate by partizans of theirs, under pretence of fighting, and that, on the appearance of the 'Arabs they should take to flight, and leave the gate open for them to enter; and thus was it treacherously betrayed to them. As soon as they got inside, and appeared upon the walls, the garrison (or as many as could) endeavoured to escape by the eastern gate, which of the four is not named. About 6,000 fighting men were killed; some say 16,000, but this seems to refer to those who had perished during the investment, and not to those killed when the place was taken. At this place Rání Ládí, one of Dáhir's wives, was made captive, whom Muḥammad afterwards purchased, and then entered into matrimony with her.

After this success, Muḥammad wrote an account of the proceedings to Amír Ḥajjáj, in which he says, that he had written his report at a place on the higher part of the Jalwálí *Jú'e* (canal or minor channel). Before leaving Bahman-ábád, and moving northwards, he settled the government of southern Sind. He placed Núbah [already mentioned as having been placed in charge of Dháliyah], son of Dahárau,

along with Ráwar, which lay on the west side of Bahman-ábád, and was son of Dháliyah, in charge of Ráwar and its dependencies, together with the charge and supervision of vessels and boats, to have them (some) kept in readiness; and he ordered that every vessel or boat which should arrive or depart, from above or below (stream), should be taken to the fort of Ráwar if it contained men or war materials. The boats and vessels above Dháliyah were placed under the supervision of an 'Arab officer, Ibn Ziyád-al-'Abdí. Other Wális and 'Amils were nominated to the charge of Síwistán, Nírún, Dháliyah, and other places; and the parts inhabited by the Jaṭs were likewise brought under control.

Having disposed of the affairs of Bahman-ábád and the Lohánahs, and all parts to the east and west, and in the environs and neighbourhood thereof, on Thursday, the 3rd of Muḥarram, 94 H. (9th October, 712 A. D.), Muḥammad marched with his forces to a place called Muthal [in one *MS.* Munhal. Muthalo of the Sindís, which appears in one map as "Mothilo" and in another as "Mothito"!] in the neighbourhood of Sáwandí, also called Sáwandí of the Sammahs, where there was an *áb-gír* and a grassy plain, and which was called the Karbhár Dandh (*ḍhanḍ*), and on the shore thereof he pitched his camp. All the dwellers in that part were Samanís (Priests), Nahr-bán (canal diggers?), and merchants and traders, who all came out to receive him, and submit to his authority; and in the parts around were Jaṭ peasantry. From thence Muḥammad marched to Bharúr or Bhirúr [mistaken by Mír Ma'ṣúm and others for Baghrúr, which was in quite a different direction], and despatched officers to administer the affairs of that place and of Kandbar. He then moved into the tract of country peopled by the Sammah tribes, and nominated a chief over them. Having provided for the administration of the affairs of the Lohánahs, he came among the Sihtahs, arranged their affairs, and required them to guide him towards Aror.

I may here notice, that, from the foregoing account contained in the Chach Námah, Ráwar and Dháliyah appear to have been situated on the east side of the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which separated into two channels forty miles above Bahman-ábád, as shown in the 'Arab map. Also, that there is no actual mention of that branch having been crossed to get to Aror; but it was probably passed at the stage where the Karbhár *Ḍhanḍ* is mentioned.

I must also remark that the dates given in the Chach Námah are either wrong or confused. Debal appears to have been taken in the first month of 93 H., but the letter of Ḥajjáj, acknowledging the account of its capture, is dated in Rajab, the seventh month, and took sometime to come, a couple of weeks at least. After this Muḥammad moved against Síw-istán, and after his return from thence it was some months before he could cross the Mihrán. Several other letters passed between them, and yet between the letter of Rajab and the 10th of Muḥarram when Dáhir was killed, only the months Sha'bán and ten days of Muḥarram intervened. After that, when Ráwar had fallen it took two months to reduce Bahrúr, and the reduction of Dháliyah took nearly as long. This would bring us to the end of the year 93 H.; and yet, it is said, that he appeared on the 1st Rajab, 93 H. before Bahman-ábád, two months and twenty days *before* Dáhir was killed; and after being six months before Bahman-ábád, it was only the end of Ẕi-Ḥijjah, the last month of 93 H., that news of Jai Senha was received which led to its capture. Then it must have taken some little time to settle the affairs of Bahman-ábád, and yet he is said to have marched towards Aror from thence on the 3rd of Muḥarram 94 H. According to

captured after Dáhir's defeat, and was close to the *east* bank of the western branch of the Mihrán. It appears to refer to the Bahrúr of the Chach Námah. First, the people of Táwandarí [the name is somewhat doubtful. See the Samandúr of the Kazwiní, page 211, and Samand of the Istakhharí, page 211] submitted to him, and he reached Basmad [not to be mistaken for Basmíd nearer Multán near which the Mihrán flowed] which also submitted, after which he appeared before the capital, Aror. This place was situated on a hill, and he had to besiege it for several months; it finally capitulated on terms.

Having effected these successes, Muḥammad advanced to السكه,[190] which was situated on this side, that is, on the south side or left bank, of the river Biáh.[191] This was captured, and was in ruins when the author wrote.[192] After this Muḥammad crossed the Biáh, and

the time occupied in the different operations as stated in the Chach Námah, he could scarcely have started for Aror before Rajab, 94 H., otherwise there is but four months and twenty-three days from the death of Dáhir for the completion of operations which it is said took upwards of ten months to accomplish, and consequently, there is an error somewhere.

190 This word, being without points, might be mistaken for one word, but it is merely the Sindí proper name Sikah, with the 'Arabic prefix '*al*,' as distinctly shown in the Chach Námah. See note 192.

191 This is incorrect. Sikah was close to the east bank of the Ráwí, but Bábiyah was on the left or south bank of the Bíáh, and Asal Kandah or Askandah was on the north of the Bíáh, as shown in the following note.

192 Certain enthusiastic writers have supposed that the name of the *Oxydracæ* is derived from the name of Uchchh, which they also suppose was in existence two thousand two hundred years ago; while some of those who labour under this supposition call it by the incorrect names of *Uja*, *Uch*, and even *Uk*. The only doubts entertained on the subject, apparently, arise in the minds of more recent European writers because "Arrian and Strabo seem to say," that it [the town of the *Oxydracæ*] stood "on the *west* bank of the Acesines [the Chin-áb].

Uchchh stands on the *east* bank of the Chin-áb and its tributaries now, but, in former days, and down to comparatively modern times, it stood on the *west* bank of the Bíáh, or Rud-i-Sind wo Hind of the old writers, and a little above its junction with the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind; and, at the period in question, the Chin-áb and other Panj-áb rivers were tributaries of the Bíáh. The Greek accounts, however, show, that the country or town of the Oxydracæ lay north of the Ráwí, and in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, as shown farther on.

Elliot (vol. 1, p. 109), quoting the "Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh," on the division of Sind by the son of Kafand, one of the ancient kings, said to have been contemporary with Alexander the Great, states, that, "One king [governor is meant] he established in '*Askalandusa*. Upon another he bestowed the country of *Zor*, to which *Anj* [Uch?] is attached." In a note, he says, "It is written عسقلندوسه,"—with two purely 'Arabic letters, ع and ق?—"but the name is generally accepted as '*Askaland*, or '*Askalandra*, and the termination *usa* has not been found elsewhere, [that is, in one *MS.* only]. May not the passage be read—He established one king

moved towards Multán and invested it, first defeating the infidels out-

at 'Askaland *and* Sah? or may not the last word signify—and *three* (dependencies)?" Yes, if "*sah*" meant *three* in Persian, only it does not.

Such are some of the foundations on which are based the *identification* of the *Oxydracæ* with *Uja*, *Uch*, or *Uk*. Very solid foundations, truly!

At page 104 of the same volume, relating as far back as the traditionary period of the fall of the Pándús, where this supposed same place is mentioned as *Askaland*, but where neither *Uja*, nor *Uch* are mentioned, we are referred to Appendix X, which (p. 365) states, that, "The *Askalanda*, *Asal-kanda*, and *Askalandra* of the Chach-náma, is the same as the *Askaland*, and *Askaland-Usa*, [leaving out, of course, all reference to the 'Arab letters in the word] of the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh*, and the *Askandara* and *Askanda* of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. The close correspondence of the name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognize it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little examination will show the resemblance to be more specious than real. * * * The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided into four Satrapies of which the third (p. 138) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máibar. Now *Máibar* and *Chachpúr* still exist [the same since the time of the Pándús, probably?] under the modernized names of *Mírbar* and *Cháchar*, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and the Indus. Consequently, *Askalanda* must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show." In a foot-note to the name Máíbar the Editor says, "The text has *Yábiba*, but *Pábiya* is the more general spelling," but, in the extract at page 138, he has "*Askalanda and Pábiya*, which are called *Talwára* and *Chachpúr*;" and in another foot-note, he says that "the name is written *Páya* and *Báya*, *Bábiya*, and *Pábiya*: the last seems the preferable form".

I may mention that the Cháchar here referred to, some forty years ago, was six miles below the junction of the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb with the Indus. Miṭhan dá Koṭ was then three miles and a half below the junction; and about ten years since, Miṭhan dá Koṭ was eleven miles below the junction, such are the continual alterations. There is no *Mírbar* now, but there is a *Juja* fourteen miles south-east of Cháchar. Why not have pressed that into service? Further I may mention, that it is only within the last century that the junction of the Panch Nad with the Indus has taken place within twenty-four miles north-east of Cháchar and Miṭhan dá Koṭ, and how far off it was before who shall say. Where it was in the last century will be found farther on.

After all this, supposing that the courses of the rivers have remained precisely the same for over two thousand years, although we find so much change in forty, he says: "Its ['Askalanda's] proximity to the Biás, and its name of Askaland-*Usa*"—about which, at page 109, he was doubtful whether it was part of the name or not—"lead us to regard it as Uchh of more modern times." Yet he adds that, "That place bears marks of most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the Chach-náma, where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammad *Kásim*"—here the father's name is again brought in as that of the son—"introduced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for that it is *disguised* under some other appellation."

It certainly seems strange that Uchchh should not be mentioned in the Chach Námah, and in the earlier works on Sind, because we know from the Tuḥfat-ul-

side, who fled in disorder to regain the shelter of their walls. After

Kirám that it was an ancient fortress on the frontier of that country. It states, that Rá'e Sahasí remitted the taxes of his people on the condition that they should increase the height of six fortresses: namely, U'chchh, Máthilah, Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí, Ma'ú or Ma'úh, Aror or Alor, and Síw-istán." See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁN-ISTÁN," etc. page 567.

U'chchh was several times destroyed and repaired, from the time of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, to the time of the Arghún dynasty of Sind. Ibn Batútah says, in his time, U'chchh was "a large city *on* the Sind," and that "Multán was then the principal city of Sind."

Elliot also speculates on "the other ancient U'chh [sic], now in ruins,"—just as the other has been for a long time—" near the junction of the Hydaspes with the Acesines." Here again he takes it for granted that the present junction has always remained the same; but in 801 H. (1398–99 A. D.) we know that it was twenty-six miles lower down than at present, and that it was continually altering; that, before that again, it was many miles higher up; and in the last century was near Chhantarah. See farther on.

With respect to the name of U'chchh, there are no less than three places so called, still existing, and all of some antiquity.—1. U'chchh which is forty-seven miles north of Shikár-púr, and twenty-seven to the northwards of Khán Garh, now Jacobábád. It is in Kachchh or Kachchhí—a common term for an alluvial tract, not peculiar to this part any more than to Kachchh Bhuj—and is simply known as U'chchh. It is not far from the *Sind Hollow*, in which the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, or a branch of it, once flowed, as shown in the account of that river farther on. 2. U'chchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort in the last century, but now in a state of ruin, twenty-one miles north-north-west of Shor Kot, and about eleven miles south-west of the late junction of the Bihat [Hydaspes] and the Chin-áb [Acesines]. I say *late*, because it has probably altered considerably since the Survey map I refer to was made a few years since. This is the "Uch" which Elliot (vol. 1, p. 367) considers "as offering a far more probable identification," and is seventy-two miles to the northward of Multán. 3. U'chchh-i-Jalálí, or U'chchh-i-Sharíf, formerly, that is to say within the last century or thereabouts, consisting of seven small contiguous villages, or rather quarters, enclosed within one wall. Now it consists of three rather large villages on mounds, contiguous to each other, and connected by a wall of brick, which lately was in a dilapidated state. These villages or towns stand on high, artificial mounds, the neighbourhood having been at all times liable to be swept away by the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, as related in another place. The western-most of the villages is small, but contains a celebrated shrine, within a large and handsome old Muhammadan building, sadly out of repair. This is known as Pír ká U'chchh or U'chchh-i-Makhdúm, and the houses have sprung up around it. It is said to have been called Walh-har in ancient times, before the Makhdum in question took up his dwelling there. The eastern-most of the villages is the largest, but there are no walls now standing, the ruins of the gateways, however, can still be seen. Some little trade is carried on with Sind in grain, which is sent down the river in boats. In the neighbourhood are very extensive ruins of the ancient stronghold, embosomed in dense groves of date trees and venerable *pípals*. Many of the buildings are almost entire, and could easily be made habitable. They are constructed in the best style of Muhammadan architecture of kiln-burnt bricks.

sitting down before it for a considerable time, the supplies of the 'Arab

The site is undoubtedly ancient; and yet, strange to say, it is not mentioned in the Chach Námah; nor, under that name at least, by the 'Arab writers, including the Balázarí, in his history; nor by the other Muhammadan historians of the time of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín and his sons, namely, Al-'Utbá, Bú-Rihán, the Baihaķí, and the Gardaizí. I believe, however, that it is mentioned by these historians under the name of Bháṭiah, (called the country of Ramal in the Chach Námah); and for this reason.

The author of the "Ṭabaķát-i-Náṣirí," the next author who follows them that we know of, mentions (page 449), the "deliverance of Multán from the hands of the Ķarámiṭah" heretics, but *Uchchh* is not referred to; yet, immediately after (page 451) he mentions the Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, marching towards Nahar-Wálah by way of Multán and *Uchchh*. In the account of his victories, however (page 491), his "victories over the Ķarámiṭah of Multán *and* Uchchh" are distinctly stated, but, there is no mention of the Bháṭiah among them, although the capture of the stronghold of the Bhaṭí tribe is distinctly mentioned. The author knew *Uchchh*, for he was for a time in Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ķabá-jah's service there, being in charge of the Fírúzí College in 624 H. (1227 A. D.), and holding the office of Ķáẓí to the forces of 'Alá-ud-Dín, Bahrám Sháh, the Sulṭán's son. It is strange that the Bháṭiah are not noticed by him. Yet others relate that the Sulṭán delivered Multán from the Ķarámiṭah, and annexed the territory, and then invested *the* Bháṭiah, (which is the plural of Bhaṭí), within the walls of *Uchchh*; and that, after its fall, it was entrusted to 'Alí Karmákh's charge together with Multán. It is evident from this, that those authors whose works have been translated, such as 'Utbá's, did not mean that there was any town or fortress called Bháṭiah, but meant the stronghold of *the* Bháṭiah, that is, of the Bhaṭí tribe, and their stronghold, we know, was *Uchchh*, which they appear to have obtained possession of sometime before the reign of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, when the power of the 'Abbásí Khalífahs over Sind and Multán was merely nominal. Elliot, therefore, was right in supposing that *Uchchh* was "disguised under another name"; and I believe that the sentence in the "Ṭabaķát-i-Náṣirí" at page 449, was, before the text had been interfered with, that "he marched an army towards Multán *and Uchchh* and delivered *them* out of the hands of the Ķarámiṭah"; and this would account for the "stronghold of the Bháṭiah" not being here mentioned by its author.

With respect to Sulṭán Maḥmúd's capture of the stronghold, the Gardaizí, a contemporary writer, states, that the Sulṭán attacked the fortress of the Bháṭiah in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), and that Bajrá (بجرا), the Bháṭiah, so called on account of the number of his men, his success, and his great haughtiness [वज्र —*bajra* or *wajra* signifies 'a thunderbolt' in Sanskrit], put his forces in array to oppose the Sulṭán, and sent them out against him, while he himself kept aside, near the skirts of a *jangal*. Some of the Sulṭán's troops surrounded it, on which the Bháṭiah Rájah drew his dagger and killed himself. Great slaughter was made among his tribe, the Rájah's head was brought in, and a great number of elephants were taken. It was after this that the Sulṭán attacked the Ķarámiṭah of Multán, for which I have not space here, but it will be related in another place.

Bú-Riḥán mentions this tribe in several places as though it was the name of a place, as بهاتية and بهاتي, in the printed text, but, in the Index, as two different

force fell short, and they had to eat some of their animals for food;

places. The passage is, with three exceptions, much as Elliot translates it (p. 61), namely: "West of Naràna [نرايه and نرانه in *MSS.* برانه in text] is Multán distant fifty *farsangs*; thence to [and to?] Bhátí fifteen. South-east from Bhátí is Arúr, distant fifteen *farsangs.* Bhátí is situated between two arms or branches of the Sind Rúd." The name Arúr is doubtful: the MSS. have ارو - اودا - ارور : if Aror is referred to, that is nearly south-west. The Sind Rúd is the Biáh and its tributaries, not the Indus (See *ante* page 211, also page 221, note 163); but the word rendered "Bhátí" here by Elliot, in his extract, is very different at pp. 37, 39, 40, 77, and 79. According to this statement, the stronghold of the Bháṭíah would lie *exactly midway between Multán and Aror.* If we calculate the thirty *farsakhs* between Multán and Aror at eight *mil* to the *farsakh*, which is certainly not correct, it would make two hundred and forty miles, which, as the crow flies, is just the distance between those two places; but Uchchh, the fortress of the Bhaṭí tribe or Bháṭíah, is but seventy-five miles (equal to twenty-two *farsakhs*) from Multán, while Aror is one hundred and sixty (equal to nearly forty-seven *farsakhs*) from Uchchh; consequently, by Bú-Riḥán's account, if we are to place entire dependence on it, which I am hardly disposed to do for several reasons, his "Bháṭí" and "Bháṭíah" cannot represent Uchchh, unless we read his statement to mean that this Bháṭíah lies about midway between Multán and Aror, without taking distances into account. There is still a Bhaṭí Wá-han in this part, an ancient place, once the chief town of a *maḥáll* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Multán *ṣúbah*, which is situated just midway between Uchchh and Aror; but, from what other writers state, as will be seen farther on, there can be little doubt, that, under the name of the town or city of the Bháṭíah, Uchchh-i-Sharíf is referred to.

Elliot, in the two first volumes of his "Indian Historians," tries, by many arguments to prove that the Bháṭíah here referred to, is what he calls "Bhera on the Jailam," that is, Bahrah, no less than one hundred and ninety-two miles, *north-north-east* of Multán; while from several translated passages in his own work, its whereabouts is distinctly shown. All these errors arise from the supposition that the courses of the rivers have never changed, and, that the tracts east of the Indus have always been a desert. See Vol. II, page 439. For example: Sulṭán Maḥmúd returning from the expedition against Somnáṭh in 417 H., set out with the object of returning by Manṣúriyah, the ruler of which was a Mulḥáidah or Ḳarámiṭah. On the news of his approach the heretic fled to the date forests in the vicinity of Manṣúriyah, but the Sulṭán having surrounded the one in which he had taken shelter, came upon him and his followers, the greater number of whom were either killed or drowned in endeavouring to cross the river (the Hakṛá or Wahindah), and very few of them escaped.

From thence the Sulṭán, having crossed the Ab-i-Sind near Multán, moved against the Bháṭíah, and after reducing that refractory people to submission, returned to Multán again, and from thence to Ghaznín, which he reached in Ṣafar, 417 H. (about 11th March, 1026 A. D.). Now how is it possible that "Bhera on the Jailam" can be the place referred to? There is a "Bhera" just five miles east of Aror, if a "Bhera" is required.

After this, in the year following, a naval battle was fought; and it appears to have taken place near the then place of junction of the Ab-i-Sind with the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, on the then Panch Nad consequently. I believe it was fought

but, at this crisis, a man came to Muḥammad and promised, if admitted

between Uchchh and Ghauṣ-púr, which I suppose to be the position of Basmíd of the 'Arab writers or very near it; and, possibly the action may have been fought a little lower down.

The Gardaizí states, that, as the Sulṭán had sustained great annoyance and much insolence from the Jaṭs of Multán and the Bháṭíah, on the side of the Ṣiḥún [a name applied by the early writers to the Panch Nad as then existing] on his way back from Somnáth, he now determined to chastize them thoroughly for it. When the year 418 H. came round he set out from Ghaznín, and on reaching Multán, gave orders for the construction of 1,400 boats, each of which was to be fitted with three strong [and sharp] iron rams, one in the bow, and one on each side, and strong enough to cut and destroy whatever came in contact with them. In each boat twenty men were embarked, armed with bows and arrows and flasks of naphtha. The Jaṭs hearing of these preparations sent away their effects to distant *jazírahs* [or *bets*: tracts encircled by minor channels of the rivers], and prepared to encounter the Sulṭán's vessels with 4,000 of their own, some say with 8,000, in each of which were a number of armed men They accordingly moved to attack the Sulṭán's fleet; and in the action which ensued, they were nearly all sunk or destroyed by the rams, or the naphtha. As the banks of the Ṣiḥún were occupied by troops, horse and foot, and elephants, those who escaped to land were captured or slain. Continuing to follow the remainder of their vessels along the banks [down stream; for they could not go up under such circumstances], the troops reached the place where the Jaṭs had deposited their property and effects, which were seized by the victors, and great numbers of other captives were likewise made. After this affair the Sulṭán returned to Ghaznín.

In the following reign, when Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín, feudatory of Láhor, rebelled against Sulṭán Mas'úd, being defeated by the troops sent against him under Tílak, the leader of the Hindú troops of the Sulṭán, Aḥmad had to evacuate Láhor, and retired towards Multán with the object of reaching Manṣúriyah of Sind. He was harassed the whole way by the Hindú tribes, Tílak having raised the whole province against him. From Multán he moved towards the Bháṭíah (stronghold) whither some of the Hindú (Bhaṭí ?) chiefs had retired. The chief of the Bháṭíah, however, was unable to stop the progress of Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín; for the small force of Turks with him (two hundred men) was still unbroken; and the chief had to furnish him with the boats he required to enable him to cross the Sind Rúd [or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, *i. e.*, the Biáh and its tributaries], between two branches of which Bháṭíah was situated, on his way to Manṣúriyah, near which latter place, in attempting to cross the Mihrán, he was subsequently drowned.

How is it possible that this Bháṭíah can refer to "Bhera on the Jailam"?

Cunningham ("Ancient India," p. 256) considers "Pábiya" to be "Bhâtiya," of others, but as he also considers it "probably the same place as Talhâti where Jám Janar [Jám Júnáṇ, the Sammah] crossed the Indus, or perhaps also the same as Mâtila or Mâthila," we may easily dismiss that theory, because the Jám crossed the Mihrán where the 'Arab leader is said to have crossed before him or nearly so, at Talh-tí, more than one hundred miles *below* Aror on the south-west; while Máṭhí-lah or Máṭhílo is thirty-seven miles *above* Aror to the north-eastwards.

With respect to the seven contiguous *villages* surrounded by a wall which constituted Uchchh a little over a century since, here is a specimen how some writers

to quarter, to point out a *nahr* or river [also a canal] by means of which

will jump at conclusions. Vincent, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," on the subject of the "Oxydracæ Outche," says: "It is somewhat singular that Arrian should mention these people as cantoned into departments, and their magistrates as presiding in each separate canton, while the moderns distinguish them to this day by the appellation of the "Seven Towns of Outche." This, he says, is on the authority of Tieffenthaler, Vol. 1, p. 118, and de la Rochette's map.

Cunningham, also, appears to agree in this. He says: "It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from the old town of Uchh, but their position according to Strabo and Arrian appears rather to have been on the *western* side of the Akesines." See the first paragraph of this note.

From the accounts of the campaign of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, against the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1524–25 A. D.), Uchchh was still considered to be a very strong place, and enclosed within lofty walls. He first reached Síw-rá'í, one of the six forts mentioned in the Tuḥfat-ul-Kirám, the mounds of which were to be raised, and still one of the strongest in that part, which was taken and destroyed, after which the Balúchís, who held these parts under the Langáhs, retired within the walls of Uchchh. The Mírzá subsequently reached Ma'ú, also written Ma'úh, another of the six forts above referred to, and pitched his camp near a *kol-i-áb* or lake at that place. From thence he reached the shrines of the Shaikhs, of which the Shaikh, Rúḥ-ullah, Ḳureshí, had charge; then to the boundary of the Badar (بدر) people, and from thence to Uchchh. It was captured and destroyed and all the wood put on boats and sent to Bakhar, according to the historian, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar; and he states, that what fortifications were standing when he wrote, were of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain's erection.

In after years, down to within the early part of the present century, the place suffered greatly in the constant hostilities between the Shaikhs of Uchchh and the Dá'úd-putrahs, hence the fortifications raised by the Mírzá are in ruins. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 665.

To return, however, to the place of so many names supposed to be Uchchh, I do not consider that either of the places called Uchchh are referred to, but a totally different place. All these three places certainly lay *west* of the Chin-áb (but only as a tributary of the Biáh), even after it changed its course from the *east* to the *west* side of Multán. One still lies near the *west* bank, and another *west* of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus; and Uchchh-i-Sharíf also continued *west* of the Chin-áb down to comparatively recent times, but, when the Chin-áb (along with the other rivers forming the Panch Nad), changed its course, as mentioned above, Uchchh-i-Sharíf was placed in the Bist-Jálhandar Do-ábah, and continued there until the Sutlaj deserted the Hakṛá to unite with the others and formed a new Panch Nad, when it was shut out of that last-named Do-ábah into the district or tract of country styled Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb, and was placed on the *east* side of the river. But, since the time of Arrian and Strabo, it is probable that this, as well as the other rivers of this part, have altered their courses hundreds of times; and it is very certain, as will be shown farther on, that few parts of the territory now known as "the Panj-áb," have seen greater changes than the tract between Multán and Aror in one direction, and Baháwal-púr and Rúján in the other, the rivers having, at different periods, flowed over every part of it; and consequently, in no place, was any "city founded by Alexander," less likely to have had any long existence.

the people of the place received their supply of water from the river

Let us now see what history says respecting Asal Kandah, etc.

After Rá'e Chach had attained sovereignty over Sind, he set out from Aror for the northern frontier of his territory, between the Áb-i-Sind and the Hakṛá, and reached the *ḥiṣár* of بابیه—Bábiyah, also written بایه—situated on the south bank of the Bíáh [the Yábíbá of Elliot, page 202], which was afterwards known as Chach-púr, and captured it. Finding that the enemy had retired within the fort of اسل کندہ—Asal Kandah or Usal Kandah, also written اسکندہ—Askandah, anciently called Talwáṛah, he left a garrison in Bábiyah, crossed the river Bíáh, and appeared before Askandah, or Asal Kandah, which latter word, being without points, might be transliterated in several ways. Having gained possession of that fortified place, Chach moved towards Sikah of Multán. The ruler of Multán, hearing that Chach had reached the Bíáh, issued from that stronghold, and advanced to the banks of the Ráwí, in order to support his nephew, who was in charge of the fortress of Sikah, opposite to Multán on the east side of that river. They then moved to encounter Chach and oppose his crossing that river; and Chach remained encamped near the fo d over the Bíáh [See the strange note by Mr. Dowson to page 142 of Elliot's "Historians," Vol. 1, on the "Biás"] until the water decreased sufficiently, and then he effected the passage. He was then in the fork, so to say, between the Bíáh and the Ráwí, which united a short distance from where he crossed, and consequently, in the Bári Do-ábah. He then moved towards a place higher up, where there were less obstacles in crossing, and reached the *ḳaṣbah* of Sikah, defeated the enemy outside the walls, and invested the place for some days, after which it was evacuated, and the governor fled to his uncle at Multán. The latter, with his nephew, and all their available forces, then marched out of Multán to encounter Chach on the west bank of the united Chin-áb and Ráwí, in case he should pass over that river. Chach effected the passage, defeated the Multán chief in several encounters, and the latter then retired within the walls of that fortress, in which he was closely invested by Chach. The Chin-áb then united with the Ráwí north-east of Multán.

According to the Chach Námah, which I have said before gives a much more detailed account of events in the time of the 'Arabs, they followed the same route from Alor or Aror as Chach had previously taken in going against Multán. Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, having disposed of the affairs of Aror, and installed a governor there, marched from thence towards Multán until he reached the fort of Bábiyah, situated on the south, or left bank of the Bíáh (the site of "Pubbeer walle," of the maps of the present day? See the notice of the Bíáh farther on), and which place, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar says, was called Chach-púr in his day. This Bábiyah was an old place in which Kaksah, son of Chandar, Rá'e Dáhir's brother, who had fled from the battle-field near the Mihrán when Dáhir was slain, had taken shelter. He, on the appearance of the 'Arab forces, came out and submitted, and was taken, it is said, into the confidence of the 'Arab leader. In another place, however, it is said that the Hindús evacuated that place.

After this, Muḥammad, leaving a garrison in Bábiyah, *crossed* the Bíáh—I wish to draw attention to this fact—that is to say, *from the southern to the northern bank of that river*, and appeared before the fortified town, the name of which is written اسکند, علہ کندہ, اسکندرہ, اسل کندہ, اسلندرهه—Askand or Iskand, 'Alah Kandah or 'Ulah Kandah, Asal or Usal Kandah, Askandarah or Iskandarah, and in other ways, in different places, in as many different *MSS.*, for we do not know for certain the

of Basmíd,[193] and which flowed into the city into a *ḥauẓ* or reservoir,

vowel points—the people of which issued forth to oppose him. Now how is it possible that this place situated on the north or right bank of the Biáh, as it flowed in its old bed, could be "Uch," as Elliot and others suppose, which lies forty-five miles farther southwards? The author of the Chach Námah, who wrote in the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, whose capital was Uchchh, was a native of that place; and if it had been anciently known as Askand or Asal Kandah, or whatever it may be, is it likely that he would have neglected to say so when writing of its former history? Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar writes the word, or rather it appears in three different *MSS.* of his work; as اسکند, اسکندرة, and اسکندرهه, and he distinctly states that this place, supposed to be "Uch" to support a theory, *was anciently called Talwáṛah.*

The people fought obstinately, but had, at last, to seek shelter within the walls; and they resisted for seven days all the attacks of the 'Arab forces. The latter had now become distressed for provisions, when the nephew of the Multán chief, who had defended it so bravely, at the end of this time, under cover of the night, abandoned it, and threw himself into the fort of Sikah—سکه—which was a great fortification on the brink of the southern (left) bank of the Ráwí, the river, at that time flowing east of Multán and uniting with the Bíáh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that place. See farther on. Finding themselves deserted by their governor, the inhabitants of Askand or Asal Kandah (or whatever may be the true reading), sent to tender their submission to the 'Arab leader. The fighting men to the number of 4,000 were put to death, and their families were made slaves, but all others were spared.

Neither the Mujmal-ut-Tawáríkh, nor the Chach Námah, mention Uchchh, which, probably, was not known by that name at the period in question, but both mention this Askand or Asal Kandah, or Usal Kandah, said to have been even then, an old fortification.

In one place (p. 366), Elliot is inclined to suppose that "the Satrapy of Askalanda contained the whole tract north-east of Alor, and south-east of the *Panjnad and Ghara*; almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Dáúdputra country." He is nearer the mark here, but it will be noticed that he seems to take for granted, that the rivers ran then as now. The position of the fortress of Askand or Asal Kandah is distinctly stated to have been *on the north bank of the Bíáh*, as it flowed in ancient times, and must have been within twenty-eight miles or less of Multán.

Cunningham supposes that "the old bed of the Râwi and Sikah Multân"—the original is "Sikah-i-Multán," that is Sikah *of* or *belonging to* Multán—"to be somewhat near Mâri Sital, which lies on the old banks of the Râvi, two miles and a half east of Multân." It is no proof, however, as he seems to think, that the Ráwí flowed under the walls of Multán, because Alexander, the Greek, is supposed to have circumnavigated the walls of some city supposed to be Multán. This he could have done, in the last century, if Multán is the place (only it could not have been according to the Greek writers), by the Lolí Wá-han, and which then had to be crossed by a bridge; and it was some cutting, or branch from the Chin-áb like this one, no doubt, which, as mentioned in the following note, Muḥammad cut off or diverted, and caused the surrender of that stronghold.

193 This cannot be the river of Basmíd referred to by 'Ibn Ḥauḳal at page 216, because that was two days' journey or more below or south or south-east of Multán,

which they call a *táláb* [pure Persian word]. This was destroyed, after which, the defenders, overcome with thirst, surrendered the place. The fighting men were put to the sword, but the women and children, and the attendants of the *budh* or temple, to the number of 6,000 persons, were made captives."[194] This was in 95 H. (713-14 A. D.).

unless it refers to it as the river "which, below Multán and above Basmíd, united with the Mihrán," and that was the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, the Biáh and its tributaries.

[194] The Chach Námah here again differs from the Balázarí, but we must not forget, that, at this period, the Ráwí and Biáh, at this point, flowed nearly parallel to each other, and united near by. The author of the former says, that after Asal Kandah or 'Alah Kandah, etc., as it is here written, surrendered, Muḥammad crossed the Biáh, and advanced to Sikah of Multán, which was a strongly fortified place on the south or left bank of the Ráwí. The Balázarí is somewhat confused here, through confounding Sikah with Asal Kandah, and says it—السكة—us-Sikah—is a town "on this side of the Biáh, and now in ruins." As the author of the Chach Námah was a native of these parts, and the account of Chach's campaign in the very same places is perfectly clear, we may place dependence on his statements. After seventeen days of hard fighting, in which the 'Arabs lost twenty-five distinguished officers, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors, Bajhrá, a relative of the Multán chief, Dáhir's uncle's son, Kaursiyah, son of Chandar, brother of Chach, who held it, passed over and entered Multán. This clearly shows, as indicated in the maps referred to, how the Ráwí then flowed, and the nearest point of which, at present, is thirty-four miles north-north-east of Multán. The 'Arabs followed the Hindús, severe fighting ensued, and continued with great obstinacy for about two months, by which time provisions became so scarce that "the head of an ass cost five hundred *dirams*." The 'Arabs had gained a footing near the walls, but no spot was found suitable for sinking a mine, until a person came out of the place by stealth and sued for quarter, which was given him. He pointed out a spot towards the north of the fort, on the banks of a canal or cutting [آب جوی], the same to which the Balázarí refers. Elliot (page 205) supposes that "*this can hardly mean the main river.*" Hardly: it refers to a cutting or canal, similar to the Lolí Wá-han, which flowed in the same direction up to modern times, and traces of it still remain, or recently did, between the northern face of the fort and the 'Íd-gáh, and in the time of the inundations contains water.

"A mine was dug, and in the course of two or three days the wall was brought down and the fort captured. "Six thousand soldiers were taken prisoners and put to death, and their families were taken as slaves. The rest of the inhabitants were spared."

The account of the finding of the treasure, as related in the Chach Námah, has been already related. See note 97, page 192.

After Muḥammad had settled the affairs of Multán, founded a Jámi' Masjid, and appointed Dá'úd, bin Naṣr, bin Walíd, 'Ummání, governor of the place, he sent another, 'Abd-ul-Malik, Ṭammímí "to the fort of Bramah-yúr or Brahmah-púr, on the side of the Áb-i-Jihlam," which was called Sú-búr or Sú-púr (سوبور—in one copy سوربدر—Súr-badar. Not intended for Shor Koṭ. certainly, which was on the Chin-áb); another to the territory around Multán, and another to the forts of Ijtahád and Karúr or Karúd. All these names are more or less doubtful. Karúr is

The finding of the gold, from which this temple was afterwards known among the Musalmáns as "the *Farkh* of the *Bait*, or Receptacle or Chamber of Gold," has been related in another place.

"After this success, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, returned to Alor or Aror and Baghrúr, and made presents to his soldiers."

After the removal of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, and his death, when Ḥabíb, son of Muhallab was Amír of Sind, Jai Siṇha, son of Dáhir, had returned from Kash-mír to Bahman-ábád and established himself there, but Ḥabíb having advanced to the banks of the Mihrán, the people of Alrúr [الرور sic. Ar-Rúr? or Ar-Ror?] made their submission. In the mean time the Khalífah, Sulímán, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, died, and 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, succeeded. He sent to the native chiefs of Sind inviting them to become Musalmáns, and several did so, including Jai Siṇha, son of Dáhir, and they received 'Arab names.

possibly meant for Kuhroṛ. Then he is said to have sent a force of 10,000 horse against Ḳinnauj, which is constantly mentioned in connexion with Sind and Multán, and appears to have adjoined the latter territory on the east, and included part of the present Bikánír state. See pages 207, 208, and 223.

On reaching a place called Udah-fúr [اودهه پور Odih-púr—the "Odipoor" of the maps, fourteen miles to the southwards of Alwánah on the Hakṛá], one of the 'Arab officers was sent to the ruler of Ḳinnauj, who is styled Rá'e Har-Chandar, Jhital; and at this same place, which Muḥammad had thus reached, in expectation of entering into hostilities with the Ḳinnauj ruler, and extending the Muḥammadan conquests in that quarter, the orders arrived from the Khalífah for him to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the 'Arab capital, which subject I need not enter into here; but, soon afterwards, great disorders appear to have arisen in these parts, and the Musalmáns lost ground considerably, and which they did not recover for sometime afterwards.

The Chach Námah says Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, was preparing to make war on Rá'e Har-Chandar, Jhital, of Ḳinnauj (not the city on the Káli Nadí), the very day before his recall (on account of the false accusation of the daughters of Rá'e Dáhir), but Tod. in his "Annals of Méwar," whose historic knowledge was of a peculiar kind, actually makes him march to "Cheetore," as he spells Chitor, but only to be overthrown by a Ráj-pút, as we might fully suppose. He says (vol. 1, p. 231): "In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira—A. D. 713, *Mahomed Bin Kasim*, the general of the Caliph Walid, conquered Sinde. * * * If any doubt existed that it was *Kasim* [sic] who advanced to Cheetore, and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore, '*Dahir*,' *the Prince of* "*Debeil*," as he spells Debal, which Dáhir had been killed in battle more than two years before.

All this is not surprising when we consider who this "Bappa" was who defeated "*Kasim*," only it was Ḳásim's *son* who conquered Sind, after his father, Ḳásim, had been dead some years. According to Tod's "Annals," Bappa "*overcame all the kings of the west, Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmire, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferist'han*; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called *Nosheyra Pathans*." This is quite sufficient.

Subsequently, Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán-al-Marri, was made Amír on the frontier territory of Sind, as the deputy of 'Umar, son of Hubairah-al-Fazárí [he, at this time, was Amír of Khurásán and the East], by the Khalífah, Al-Hishám, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, who began to reign in 105 H. (724 A. D.). Junaid proceeded to Debal,[195] and advanced to the Mihrán; but Jai Siṇha, [whose 'Arab name, however, the historian does not give] requested that he would not cross over, as he had become a Musalmán, and his territory had been confirmed to him by the ruling power. After receiving the tribute due, and giving and taking pledges, hostilities arose between them. Some say that Jai Siṇha first took up arms; while others affirm that Junaid acted unjustly towards Jai Siṇha, who assembled his forces, fitted out vessels, and got

195 It is strange that neither the early 'Arabs, nor the travellers who followed, ever mention Damṛílah, which, in after years, is constantly mentioned along with Debal or Dewal.

When Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barni, the Khwárazm Sháh, had to retire from the Panj-áb into Lár or Lower Sind, he, having gained possession of Síw-istán, as it is called by some historians, as well as Sharúsán, Sindústán, and Sadúsán, marched towards Debal and Damṛílah. A Habash [here the Sumṛah chief of Debal is meant], who was ruler of that district or territory, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped. The Sulṭán detached part of his forces towards Nahar Wálah, from which they returned with immense booty. He founded likewise a Jámi' Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple. See "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," note, page 294, and a note farther on.

Ibn Baṭúṭah went into Lár or Lower Sind before going to Dihlí. He says: "I then went by the Sind to the city of Láharí [Lohárání, supposed by some to refer to Debal, but is a totally different place], which is situated on the shore of the sea of Hind, where the Sind unites with it [but the junction of the main channel of the river with the ocean was at some distance to the eastward of Debal]. It has a large harbour, into which vessels from Fárs, Yaman, and other parts come. At the distance of a few *míl* [miles] from this town, are the ruins of another, in which stones in the shape of human beings and beasts, in vast numbers, are to be found. The inhabitants of this place say, that, according to their chroniclers, there was formerly a city in this place, the people of which, for the most part, were so wicked, that the Almighty transformed every thing within it, the people, their beasts, even the seeds of plants, into stone." This was written in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.)

This would seem to refer to the situation of Damṛílah, but, as late as the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Tughluk Sháh—744 H. (1343-44 A. D.), it is mentioned as lying in the route from Gondhal in Káṭhiáwáṛ to Ṭhaṭhah, and in connection with the Sumṛahs.

Taghí, the rebel, whom Sulṭán Muḥammad pursued from Guzarát into Sind, took refuge in Damṛílah; and in reference to the boundaries of India, which Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the second Sulṭán of the Khalj Turk dynasty, who succeeded to the throne of Dihlí in 695 H. (1295-96 A. D.), the different tracts which he was advised to bring under complete jurisdiction, that extending "from Multán to Damṛílah" is referred to, but such a place as Ṭhaṭhah is not mentioned because it was not yet founded.

ready for war. Junaid moved against him in vessels likewise; and they fought a naval action in the estuary of ush-Sharkí [ush-Shágirá—The then Kohrá'í[196] mouth, no doubt, by which that branch of the Mihrán of Sind which flowed past Manṣúriyah, united with the ocean, but which estuary, in that day, existed much farther north], in which Jai Siṇha was defeated, his own vessel captured, and he was taken prisoner and put to death. * * *

This Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, was subsequently made Amír of Khurásán, which included all the eastern territories under the sway of the Musalmáns, and he greatly distinguished himself in Farghánah, between 111 H. and 116 H., (730–734 A. D.) when he died.

In after years, when Ḥakam, son of 'Awánah-al-Kalbí, succeeded Ṭammím, son of Zaid-ul-'Uṭbá, the people of Sind had, for the most part, relapsed into idolatry; and the Musalmáns being without any place of security to which, in case of need, they might retire for safety, he built a town on the other side of the estuary in question, and made it the chief town, to which he gave the name of Maḥfúẓah—the Guarded or Preserved. Subsequently, 'Umaro, son of the unfortunate Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind, was made governor of Maḥfúẓah, and was greatly trusted by Ḥakam, and had been employed in many important affairs. He was sent from Maḥfúẓah on an expedition [but whither is not stated], in which he was successful, and was elevated to the rank of Amír. He founded another city on this side [the west] of the estuary, which he named Manṣúriyah, in which the governor now [when the Baláẓarí wrote] dwells."

Then came the time of the 'Abbáṣís [132 H.—750 A. D.], and Abú-Muslim-al-Marwazí, who was the chief instrument in setting up that dynasty of Khalífahs, despatched 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, son of Abú-Muslim-al-Mughallisá-al-'Abdí, to proceed into Sind to oust the 'Ummiyah officials therefrom. He came through Ṭukháristán from Marw, but he was encountered by Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr-al-Kalbí [the same after whom the city and district of Manṣúriyah were named according to Ibn Khurdád-bih[197]], his troops put to flight, and himself killed. Abú-Muslim then despatched Músá, son of Ḳa'ab-uṭ-Ṭammímí into Sind, who reached the banks of the Mihrán, which separated him from Manṣúr, who thought himself secure as the river flowed between them; but Músá came upon him [in what manner is not stated], put Manṣúr and his forces to flight, and slew Manẓúr, brother of Manṣúr. The latter, in a sorry plight, fled to the sandy desert tracts, where he perished of thirst. Músá ruled in Sind for some time; and he repaired the city of Manṣúriyah, and enlarged the *masjid* there.

196 See *ante* note 168, page 223.

197 See ante page 195, and note 102.

He was succeeded by Hishám,[198] son of 'Umaro-ut-Taghallubí,[199] who was sent into Sind by the Khalífah, Al-Manṣúr. He reduced many places which still held out against the 'Abbáṣí authority, and among them was Multán, which, up to this period, still remained refractory. Ḳandá'íl was also reduced. He proceeded to Kandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro] on vessels, and reduced it likewise.[200] * * * Músá, son of

[198] Hishám means, 'benevolent,' 'liberal,' but "Hashám" is meaningless.

[199] Called 'Umaro-uṣ-Ṣa'labí by others. He was sent to succeed 'Umar bin Ḥifẓ, whom the Khalífah, Al-Manṣúr, Abú-Ja'far, 'Abd-ullah, deposed in 141 H. (758-59 A. D.), for giving shelter to 'Abd-ullah, son of Ibráhím, son of the unfortunate Ḥasan, son of the Khalífah, 'Alí. 'Umar, son of Ḥifẓ, received him with great distinction and espoused his cause, as did also the other Musalmán officers in Sind; and they cast off their black 'Abbáṣí garments, and adopted white ones, white being the colour of the Shí'ahs. At last, finding 'Abd-ullah was not safe in Sind, 'Umar sent him to a Rájah of Hind, between whom and 'Umar great friendship existed, so that he might not fall into the hands of his persecutor, the Khalífah. In consequence of 'Umar's conduct towards 'Abd-ullah, he was removed from Sind and sent to serve in Afriḳah.

The Sayyids of Sind are said, on the authority of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, to be descended from the above mentioned 'Abd-ullah, who was subsequently killed by a party of 'Arabs, who came upon him in a *shikár-gáh* on the borders of Sind, leaving a son who was under the protection of the before-mentioned Rájah—of the neighbouring territory of Sauráshṭrah, probably, and one of the Balabhí dynasty.

[200] It would be a physical impossibility to reach Ḳandahár in the present Afghán state by boats, unless they were boats attached to baloons, and just as practicable to reach Ganḍhárá on the upper Indus above Aṭak by the same means from Sind. The part meant here, lay near the banks of the Hakṛá, and has been already referred to at page 207.

Because this word is written "Kandahar" by persons who did not know, apparently, the word in its original characters, and because a tract of country lying on the east bank of the Indus above Aṭak was anciently known as Ganḍhárá, and, in comparatively modern times, between the inroads of the Chingiz Khán and Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, the south-easternmost part of Zábul-istán of the ancient Í-rání empire became styled Ḳandahár, European writers, and English in particular, have managed to confound them (just as they have confounded Gajní and Ghaz-nih or Ghaz-ní), and some try to make them out to be all one. An example of this is to be found in the "Herodotus" of the Rev. Canon Rawlinson, page 175, in which "*Beladhore*," "*Mass'oude*," etc., are quoted, and we have "*Sindhu Gandhára*," the "*Cabool Gandhara*," and the "*modern Candahár*," the appellation alike of the province and of the capital," in one delightful jumble. The "Sindu" Kanḍhárah is written كَنڈْهارَه (Sindí—كَنڈْهارو); that of Káṭhiáwáṛ كَنڈْهار—Kanḍhár—or كَنڈاهر—Kanḍáhar in the original; the tract on the upper Indus گَنڈْهارا—Ganḍhárá; and the formerly Persian, and now Afghán province (anciently called Bál-yús or Wál-yús) and its chief town, قَنْدَهار and قَنْدهار—Ḳandahár, and all are totally different. It is from similar theories that *Hindú Lohánahs* or *Lohános* of Sind are turned

Yaḥyá, of the family of Barmak, was Amír of Sind in the time of the Khalífah, Al-Mámún [198-218 H.—813-833 A. D.], but he died in 221 H. (836 A. D.); and the Khalífah, Al-Mu'taṣim B'illah, confirmed his son, 'Amrán, in the government of the province. * * * He made war upon the Meds (ميد) and slew 3,000 of them; and there [in their country] constructed a *band* or embankment, which is called Siḳr[201]-ul-Med, after which he encamped on the *Nahr* of Aror or Aro." Why this *band* was constructed is not mentioned. This affair happened, of course, near the sea coast of Kachchh, because 'Amrán caused a canal to be dug from the sea to the reservoir or tank of the Meds, and spoiled all their fresh water. This Aro or Ado or Aror refers to the place, the name of which is written ارو, ارور, اروو, اودر, and the like, by Bú-Riḥán, and which I believe to the "Addo" of the maps, the "Addooe" of Dr. J. Burnes, and, correctly, Adhoí,[202] by which, indeed, a *nahr* or small river runs, some sixty miles east of Bhuj. In the 'Arabic character this name would be ادو, and in that character د, ر, and و, in manuscripts especially, if carelessly copied, are very liable to be written and mistaken one for the other. What satisfies me that the coast above referred to is meant is, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, is said by the Baláẕarí, to have entered into an accommodation with the people of Surast, with whom the men of بسية, باسة, مانة, تانة or ببدد,[203] were then at war, who are Meds, sea-faring men and pirates. Of course Surast refers to Súraṭh, the Saurásh̲ṭrah of the Hindús—the Káṭhiáwáṛ peninsular lying nearest to Sind, and بسية or بابدد, etc., to the place which Elliot reads as "Báná," "Tána," "Bania," "Basia," and the like, which, as may be seen from the "Masálik wa Mamálik" map lies between Fáhmal and Manṣúriyah.

This is all I find in the Baláẕarí in which the rivers of these parts are anywhere mentioned.

I must now leave Sind[204] and return to the territory of the Panj-áb again.

into the descendants of the Afghán Núḥ (Noah). There are still other places also called "Kanḍhár." See ante note 105, page 196, and note 114, page 207.

201 Sikr—سِکْر—in 'Arabic means an embankment, but not "*sakr.*" The embankment may have been erected by the 'Arabs in order the better to approach the stronghold of the Meds.

202 It is in the Morbí district of Káṭhiáwáṛ, which comprises the sub-districts or dependencies of Morbí, Wágaṛ, and Adhoí.

203 See ante page 216, and note 145, and page 221, and note 163.

204 I may mention that the Khalífah conferred the territory of Sind, as well as other parts, upon Ya'ḳúb, son of Lais, the Ṣúffárí, of Sigiz-stán, in 257 H. (870-71 A. D.); and that Sultán Maḥmúd, of Ghaznín took Manṣúriyah in 417 H. (1026-27

In the extracts from Abú-Riḥán given by Elliot, I notice events which are not mentioned by him, but by Rashíd-ud-Dín, and are not contained in Bú-Riḥán's text. It is the extract [at page 57] in which the latter is made to quote events which occured in 692 H. (1293 A. D.), about two hundred and sixty years after that author completed his work.[205] From this we might suspect, that even some of the extracts which I have given here from Rashíd-ud-Dín's work, which he appears to attribute to Bú-Riḥán are his own, such for example as the mention of all the rivers of this part, *with the Biáh north of the Ráwí*, uniting with "the Satladar below Multán, at *a place* called Panch-Nad," as already noticed in the extract from Bú-Riḥán; but I shall presently show, that, for upwards of two centuries and more after the date above quoted [692 H.], the Shuttlaj, that is the Sutlaj—if that is what he means by the Nahr-i-Sutlad[206]—did not unite with the other rivers of the Panj-áb at the place indicated.

The son of the Turk Sulṭán of Dihlí, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban (the same who, under the title of Malik Ghiyaṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, conducted the army under Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, to the relief of Uchchh in 643 H.—1245 A. D.), Muḥammad by name, entitled Muḥammad Sulṭán, and subseqnently styled the "Khán-i-Shahíd" or "Martyred Khán," on the death of Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, Balban's kinsman, who is said to have founded Bhaṭnír[207], or more probably

A. D.), which was the year of his expedition to Somnáṭh, when, on his return from thence he drove out the Ḳarámiṭah ruler thereof. See note 192, page 244.

[205] It is the statement, that "Múltán and Uchchh are subject to Dihlí, and *the son of the Sulṭán of Dihlí is governor.*" There were no Sulṭáns of Dihlí when Bú-Riḥán wrote—428–430 H. (1020–1030 A. D.), and not for nearly two centuries after, the first being Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, I'-bak, the Turk, in 605 H. (1208-9 A. D.); and there was never any Sulṭán's son governor of these parts until the time of Muḥammad Sulṭán, the Khán-i-Shahíd, son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk. Rashíd-ud-Dín completed his work twelve years after the date given in the text above, namely, in 710 H. (1310 A. D.).

[206] See page 220. In the *MSS.* of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, which I have examined, the name is written Shutlaj, but in Blochmann's printed text it is "Shattdur—شتدر." See the extract from Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" in the account of that river farther on.

[207] Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dín, Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, referred to in note 45, page 171, is said by Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní, to have built a loftly cupola or domed building at Bhaṭnír, and to have erected, among others, the fortresses of Bhaṭnír and Bhaṭindah. He held for a considerable time, off and on, the frontier provinces of the Dihlí empire on the west, or, rather, the provinces which still remained; for the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, had betrayed Multán and Uchchh, and such part of Sind as he had held, by becoming a feudatory of the Mughals.

restored it, was placed by his father in charge of the western frontiers of the Dihlí kingdom, as it then existed; and the fiefs of Samánah, Debál-púr, and as much of the Láhor province as was in the possession of his father, were conferred upon him. Muḥammad Sulṭán used to send his troops to patrol as far west as the Bíáh, and to guard the frontier from the incursions of the Mughals, who held all the parts beyond or west of the Ráwí under subjection. From their domination Multán had only lately been recovered; and they carried their inroads into the parts between that city and Láhor, which was still in ruins, as far as, and even beyond, the banks of the Bíáh, which washed the walls of Debál-púr.

Muḥammad Sulṭán, subsequently, on an invasion of the Panj-áb territory by the Mughal infidels, under the Nú-ín or Nú-yán, both being correct, Tímúr,[208] in 684 H. (1285-86 A. D.), moved from Multán to encounter them. He fell in with them between Debál-púr and Láhor, and overthrew them; but he was afterwards killed by a body of the invaders which had rallied during the pursuit, and came upon him unexpectedly when almost alone, at a well, where he had alighted to refresh himself, and to say his prayers, and when he supposed they had all disappeared. On this account he is styled "the Khán-i-Shahíd" or "Martyred Khán." It was in this affair that Amír Khusrau, the Poet, was made captive by the Mughals.[209]

"Malik Sher Khán, was greatly trusted, and held in great respect and reverence; for he was as the Sadd-i-Yájúj Májúj [the Barrier of Gog and Magog] against the Mughals, whom he had repelled on several occasions. He brought under subjection to his authority the Jaṭs, Khokhars [not "*Gickers*" or "*Ghukhurs*"], Bhaṭis, Meníahs [Ma'íns?], and Mandáhrs, and other marauding tribes, which those who succeeded him were unable to control. Sher Khán died early in the reign of his kinsman, Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk, and never used to come to Dihlí; and it is said, but, apparently, without good reason, that the Sulṭán caused poison to be administered to him." The author of the "Tárikh-i-Fírúz-Sháh-í says he died at Bhaṭnír, where a fine tomb was erected over him.

For more respecting this great feudatory, see my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 791.

208 Called by some writers Tímúr A'ḳá, which is, doubtless, his correct name. Nú-ín or Núyán merely indicates his rank.

209 Another battle with the Mughal invaders took place in 691 H. (1292 A. D.) in the reign of the Khalj Turk Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Fírúz Sháh, on the confines of Bar-rám (برام), with the river between; but I cannot discover whereabouts this place is, or was, situated. In the printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbari (in which the names of places are often incorrect) the word is Bagrám; and lest it should be supposed to refer to Pes'háwar, the old name of which was Bagrám, I beg to state that that part is not referred to. This Bar-rám was in Hindústán, the Mughals having entered it; and Bagrám of Peṣ'háwar is not Hindústán.

Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, states, that in 693 H. (1293-4 A. D.), Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí, marched to Láhor, and despatched his middle son, Arkalí Khán, to assume the government of Uchchh and Multán; and Nuṣrat Khán, another son, was made feudatory of Sind. Subsequently, Nuṣrat Khán was placed in charge of the Multán, Uchchh, Bakhar, Síw-istán, and Ṭhaṭhah territories, with the town of Multán as the seat of government.

In 697 H. (1297-98 A. D.) Saldáe, the Mughal, invaded Sind, on which occasion Nuṣrat Khán took his troops to Síw-istán (but not to Síwí) by water—this does not mean that Síw-istán, the modern *Sihwáṇ*, was close to the banks of the Áb-i-Sind; for it was still a considerable distance from it—overcame the Mughals, and returned to Bakhar. There he found orders awaiting him to lead half his forces from Bakhar by way of Jasal-mír, in order to take part in the campaign against Gujarát, upon which service his brother, the Ulugh Khán, had been sent. From this it appears that there was no scarcity of water between Bakhar and Jasal-mír, and the Hakṛá or Wahindah must have been still flowing, but whether in so large a volume as previously, we cannot say, as there is no distinct mention of it.

After these events, in the reign of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Ghází Malik, afterwards Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, was sent to Debál-púr at the head of 10,000 horse to repel the Mughal inroads into that part of the Panj-áb territory.

In the Tárikh-i-'Alá'í, or Khazáin-ul-Futúḥ by Amír Khusrau, there is an account of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, who reigned from 695 H. to 710 H. (1296 to 1310 A. D.). In the first-mentioned year, Kadar, the Mughal [who is made a *Tátár* of in Elliot's "Historians"], invaded the tract of country called Járan-Manjúr,[210] having come from the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range west of the Jihlam. The author says he crossed the *Bíáh*, Jilam, and *Sutlaj*, and burnt the villages of the Khokhars." The rivers are mentioned by him in the order in which they are here written.

'Abd-ullah-i-Waṣṣáf, in his history, completed in 728 H. (1327 A. D.), in the brief notice of the Sulṭáns of Dihlí, mentions the *Sutlaj*. He says with reference to the route between Khurásán and Hind: "After crossing the *panj-áb* or five rivers, namely, the Sind, the Jílam [Jihlam], the river of Loháwar, the *Satlút* [in the margin is Sutlaj],

[210] The name of this place is written in various ways—Jáwan Manjúr, Járan-Majúr, Jár-Manjhúr, and the like. In Elliot it is turned into "Jálandhar." See vol. III, p. 162, note 2.

and the Bíáh," thus reversing their situations as is done in the previous extract, while the Chin-áb is not mentioned. He also mentions towns and districts, saying: "There are Banián of Koh-i-Júd [he is the only author that I know of who distinctly mentions where this tract lay[211]], Súdarah [Súḍharah], Jálandhar, the territory of the Kokars [Khokhars], Multán, Uchchh, Hásí [Hánsí], Sur-Sutí, Kaiṭhal, Sunám, Tabarhindah," etc.

Previous to this, about 707 H. (1307-8 A. D.), Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, when he, as Ghází Malik, held the fiefs of Multán and Debál-púr,[212] then the capital of the northern Panj-áb, and Multán

211 See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 677, note 5. Súḍharah is situated about four miles east-north-east of Wazír-ábád, and styled "*Sohdurah*" in the maps. In former times the Chin-áb flowed close to it on the north, but is now nearly four miles from it. Súḍharah is an ancient site. In the last century, there used to be a lofty *mandr* of burnt brick standing there, on the bank of the Chin-áb.

212 From the various operations and encounters between the rivals for the throne, before Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, succeeded to it, who, as Ghází Malik, held the fief of Debál-púr, there appears to have been no want of water between that place and Sarastí. He, on one occasion, came out of Debál-púr to meet his rivals coming from that part. "Ghází Malik, leaving Debál-púr, passed the *ḳaṣbah* of Ḍabhalí (ڈبهلی), and with the river (áb) in his rear, he encountered them." That river is not named, but the place here mentioned lies between Debál-púr and Sarastí or Sirsá, thirty-six miles to the westwards of Uboh-har, and stands on the bank of the oldest channel of the Sutlaj, called in the maps "the eastern "Naiwal" and "Nyewal." See the notice of the river Sutlaj farther on.

In the extracts given by Elliot in his "Indian Historians" vol. III, from a French version of Ibn Baṭúṭah, it is stated, that, in the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, son of Ṭughluḳ Sháh, "Kishlú Khán revolted against him, spread his money, raised troops, and sent emissaries among the Turks, Afghāns, and Khurásánís, who flocked to him in great numbers. His army was equal to the Sulṭán's, and even superior to it in numbers. The Sulṭán marched in person to fight him, and "they met two days' journey from Multán, in the *desert* plain of Abúhar. The "desert plain" here mentioned, refers to the sandy tract referred to in the next paragraph of the text above.

There seems to have been considerable disarrangement in the *MSS.* from which Lee's and other translations of Ibn Baṭúṭah have been made; for, in them he sets out from Multán and goes to Uboh-har, and, after going a journey of four days from thence, reaches Ajúḍḍhan. The traveller's account, therefore, has been *reversed.* He first went to Ajúḍḍhan from Multán, and, from the first-named place, in four days, reached Uboh-har. At Ajúḍḍhan he visited, he says, "the famous Muḥammadan saint, whose tomb after his decease became a place of pilgrimage," and after a lapse of five centuries still continues to be held in great veneration—the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Faríd-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Shakar-Ganj, son of Jalál-ud-Dín, Súlímán; and at whose tomb, Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, and Amír Tímúr, offered up their prayers, as related farther on It is from this Muḥammadan saint that Ajúḍḍhan is also known as the Pák *Pattan*—The Holy *Town*—but not *Paṭan, a Ferry,* as some have assumed.

of the southern parts, used often to make incursions into the tracts held by the Mughals and their tributaries farther west. His son and successor, Sultán Muḥammad Sháh, when about to enter Lár or Lower Sind from Guzarát towards the close of 751 H. (about January, 1351 A. D.), in order to punish the Sumrahs of that part for sheltering rebels from his dominions, gave directions for boats to be collected from all parts, from Síw-istán [but not Síwí nor "Sebi"[213]], from Uchchh, Multán, and other parts, *at* Debál-púr, to enable him to convey his troops across the Sind river. To have directed boats to be collected *at* Debál-púr after the Biáh had deserted its old bed would have been simply ridiculous, since, by that desertion, it left Debál-púr some twenty-three miles farther west. From the above facts it is beyond a doubt, that, at that period also, *the Biáh still* flowed in its old bed, and no Sutlaj had united with it.

In 734 H. (1332 A. D.), the Moorish traveller, Ibn Baṭúṭah, crossed from Multán to Dihlí, about eighty years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals; twenty-eight years before Sultán Fírúz Sháh brought his first canal to Manṣúr-púr and Samánah; and sixty-seven years before the invasion of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán. Ibn Baṭúṭah proceeded by way of Ajúḍḍhan and Uboh-har, and would have had to cross the Biáh as Amír Tímúr subsequently did, before reaching the former place, and the Sutlaj after leaving the latter, and soon after the different tributaries of the Hakṛá higher up. He says, after noticing that Ajúḍḍhan was a small place, "The first city we entered belonging to Hindústán[214] [here he is perfectly right, the river was the boundary between the Multán province and Hindústán] was Uboh-har,[215] which is the first place in Hind in this direction. It is small and closely built [it was a walled town with a fort], and *abounds with water and cultivation.* * * * At length I left the town of Uboh-har, and proceeded for one day through a desert enclosed on both sides by hills [low, rocky hills],[216] upon which were infidels and rebellious Hindús. The inhabitants of Hind generally are infidels; some of them live under the protection of

213 See a note farther on.

214 The reason why he says this is that the Multán province extended, at the period in question, to the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel, and was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah.

215 This name is written "Abohar," and "Abúhar," and the like in *MSS.*, but it was founded by Janrá, grandson of Rájah Rasálú, the Bhaṭí, and named after his wife, Uboh, and therefore Uboh-har is the correct name. The termination, '*har*' occurs in the names of many places where the Bhaṭí tribe dwell, or previously dwelt, and refers to standing water, or where water is found.

216 These are the rocky hills lying immediately south of Tohsham, south of Hánsí, and the former place stands on the northern skirt of part of them.

the Muḥammadans, and reside either in villages or cities: others, however, infest the mountain tracts and rob on the highways. I happened to be one of a party of twenty-two persons, when a number of these Hindús [Bhaṭís probably], consisting of two horsemen and eighty foot, made an attack upon us. We, however, engaged them, and by God's help put them to flight, having killed one of the horsemen and twelve of the others. * * * After four days' journey, I arrived at the town of Sarasti [Sirsá]. It is large, and abounds with rice, which they carry to Dihlí. After this I reached Hánsí, which is a very beautiful and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. I next came to Mas'úd-ábád, after two days' travelling, and remained there three days." He adds, that, "The whole way between Multán and Dihlí, a distance of forty days' journey, there are many contiguous inhabited places." From these remarks, it will be noticed, that, with the exception of "one day's journey through a desert tract"[217] after leaving Uboh-har, there was no scarcity of water whatever.

Some of the events which happened in Sind and the Panj-áb and adjacent parts, during the time of the Khalj Turk or Khaljí dynasty, will tend to throw some light on the courses of the rivers of these parts, more particularly with respect to the Bíáh and Sutlaj.

Shams-i-Saráj,[218] the 'Afíf (abstainer from anything forbidden),

217 This "desert tract" was that between the Uboh-har channel in which the Sutlaj then flowed, and the one farther east which it had last deserted. In all its changes it has invariably left the tract between its old and new channel covered with sand and silt.

218 There is, of course, a "Gazetteer of the Hisar District, 1883-84. Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government;" and in that "Gazetteer," as in most others, are some choice specimens of history burlesqued. The above writer is quoted therein as "one of Sir H. Elliot's Historians," under the name of Shams-i-*Shiráz*, the compiler apparently, having taken him for a native of Shiráz in Persia. It is a pity the Panj-áb Government has not some one to correct the historical part of its "Gazetteers."

For example: we are told time after time about "*the reign of the Emperor Ala-ud-dín Ghori.*" I beg leave to observe that *no* "Emperor Ala-ud-dín Ghori" ever yet reigned in the Panj-áb or Hind. The Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí (who, in his youthful days, and before he became Sulṭán of Ghaznín and assumed that title, bore that of Shiháb-ud-Dín), who conquered Hindústán, and established the Muḥammadan faith at Dihlí, is not once referred to in the Gazetteer in question!

Here is one more specimen. Referring to the claim of a Jaṭ tribe to Rájpút descent from "Máns, the grandson of Salvahan, Rája of Siálkot," the compiler says: "*As their story involves a war between Salvahan* (*A. D.* 90) *and the Muhammadans of Mecca*, it cannot be accepted with confidence."

I trow not, considering that the year 90 A. D., happens to be only *five hundred and thirty-two years before the Muḥammadan era, and actually four hundred and seventy-three years before Muḥammad was born!*

the author of the history of Sulṭán Fírúz S͟háh's reign, dwelt at Uboh-har, which, he says, is the country of that Sulṭán's Bhaṭí mother; for she was the daughter of Ráná Mal, the Bhaṭí. The great grandfather of S͟hams-i-Saráj was the *'amal-dár* or revenue collector of the district dependent on Uboh-har—which shows that it could not have been short of water in his day, and as Ibn Baṭúṭah confirms—and S͟hams-i-Saráj was intimate with Sulṭán G͟hiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭug͟hluḳ S͟háh, before he came to the Dihlí throne, when, as G͟hází Malik, he held the fief of Debál-púr, of which, at that time, Uboh-har was a dependency. S͟hams-i-Saráj states, that, at that period—previous to 720 H. (1320 A. D.)[219]—all the lands from the largest to the smallest estates, and all the *jangal*, or waste lands, or uncultivated tracts, belonging to the Ma'ín and Bhaṭí tribes, were dependent on the town of Uboh-har. He also states that in the language of this part *tal-waṇḍí*[220] means a village.

When Sulṭán Fírúz S͟háh was about to return to Dihlí, after the death of Sulṭán Muḥammad S͟háh, his kinsman,[221] whom he succeeded on his death on the banks of the Sind near Ṭhaṭhah, in Muḥarram, 752 H. (March, 1351 A. D.), he was advised to return through Guzarát. As Aḥmad-i-Ayáẓ was in rebellion at Dihlí, he determined to do so by marching up the Áb-i-Sind river instead, with his still numerous forces and followers, and going by way of Multán and Debál-púr. This also shows that he did not anticipate any scarcity of water for his forces and the numerous followers and animals. First, he moved up to Síw-istán,[222] the modern Sihwáṇ, and from thence towards Bakhar, where he crossed the river, and then marched to Multán without having to cross any other river. Leaving it, he moved to Ajúḍḍhan, and paid his devotions at the tomb of the S͟haik͟h-ul-Islám, Faríd-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, S͟hakar-Ganj. From Ajúḍḍhan he moved right across the worst part of what, in modern days, is known as the "Indian Desert," to Sarastí [now Sirsá]. Marching from thence he reached Ikdár and founded Fatḥ-ábád,[223] so named

[219] Sulṭán G͟hiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭug͟hluḳ S͟háh, ascended the throne of Dihlí in 720 H.

[220] Villages in this part are also called *manḍals* by some writers. This word, in Hindí, means 'a circle,' also a 'circular hut or tent.' *Manḍals*, however, are not "fortifications," as Mr. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Historians" supposed (Vol. III, page 254). The word is a common one in Hindí.

[221] Sulṭán Fírúz S͟háh was the son of Sulṭán G͟hiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭug͟hluḳ's brother, and Sulṭán Muḥammad S͟háh was the latter's son.

[222] See a note farther on.

[223] This place is now the principle town of one of the five *taḥṣíls* or revenue divisions into which the Ḥiṣár district under the Panj-áb government is divided.

There is a "Report," published in 1875, of the "Settlement of the *Hissár* Division of the Panjab," the history of which, so called, is taken from the "*Ain-i-Akbar*" [sic], in which its compiler has the assurance to tell us, that, "Under Mu-

after his son, Fatḥ Khán.[224] From thence he continued his march to Hánsí, having been joined by the feudatories of Samánah and Sunám with their respective contingents.

On his return from Lakhaṇawaṭí in 754 H. (1353 A. D.), he founded the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, on the site of which were two villages [*tal-wanḍís*]; and there were fifty *kharaks* included in the first, and forty *kharaks* in the other. These villages were called Baṛá (Great) Sarás, and Chhoṭá (Little) Sarás, respectively; and in this tract of country there are no villages containing other than these *kharaks* [the Hindí for a cattle shed, but here seems to refer to the dwellings such as the Jaṭs of the Khar'l and Sí-ál tribes construct—a flat roof of thatch or canes raised on poles but without sides or walls]. The Sulṭán was much pleased with the situation of Baṛá Sarás,[225] and he thought it would be advantageous to found a town there; for water was deficient there at that period, and, in the hot season, travellers had to pay as high as four *jítals* for a *kúzah* of water. * * * A fortress of considerable extent and loftiness was commenced; and in course of time [two years and a half] the place was completed, and the Sulṭán named it Ḥiṣár-i-Fírúzah or the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár or Fortress. It was surrounded with a ditch, and within the *ḥiṣár* a large and deep *ḥauẓ* or reservoir was constructed, which was intended to supply the ditch."[226]

hammadan rule and prior to Firoz Sháh's reign, *nothing worthy of note occurred*"! See note 239, page 274, for the confirmation or otherwise of this statement. Then it states, that, in 1372 he erected the fort, and founded the town of Hissár, and had to cut a canal from the Jamna. * * * Firoz also built the Kasbah of Fattiabád, to which place, from the Ghaggar, he had a small canal cut, which is still in use." In the same "Report" it is stated, that "Hissár" is otherwise called "Habeli"—"Hissár (*alias* Habeli)." This of course is a great error. *Ḥawelí* is not the *alias* of Ḥiṣár, any more than it is of Rewárí *bá ḥawelí*, Budá'ún *bá ḥawelí*, Síw-istán *bá ḥawelí*, and many other places. Ḥiṣár *bá ḥawelí* is as old as the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, wherein it will be found with many others. *Ḥawelí* is merely the 'Arabic for 'habitation,' 'mansion,' etc.—the Government building or public offices, appertaining to the chief town of a *Sarkár*. Ḥiṣár not "*Hissár*," of course means a fortress or fortified place.

224 At the same time he founded three other small fortified places, which he named after his other sons, namely, Ẓafar-ábád, Riẓá-ábád, and Muḥammad-púr. Villages still bearing these names, and marking the sites, lie, in succession, along the banks of the Ghag-ghar on the south side, north-east of Fatḥ-ábád, but the places he founded have now disappeared.

225 At each of those places there was, and still is, I believe, a stone column like the *láṭh* of Fírúz Sháh at Dihlí. They were of red sandstone, and were erected by his orders.

226 The "Report" above referred to states, that, immediately under the building, a spiral staircase leads to a series of rooms, said to be connected under ground, with a similar building at Hánsí. A Jámi' Masjid, erected by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh,

The Sulṭán made great endeavours, according to the same writer, to supply the place and lands around with water. He succeeded in doing so by means of two canals—one from the river Jún or Yamúnah, and one from the bed of the Sutlaj, and which was again connected with that river lower down. This is important, as showing that the Sutlaj must, at that period, have been running very much farther to the eastward than in later years, and much nearer to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, and about mid-way (in the Uboh-har channel) between that place and the Biáh, which we are certain still flowed in its old bed. These canals were the Rájírah and Ag͟hamání. They were brought from the northward of Karnál, and flowed a distance of eighty *kuroh* to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár.[227] This is about the first time, if not the very first time, that the Sutlaj is mentioned in the Muḥammadan histories of India by a contemporary writer. After the new town and *ḥiṣár* were finished, and water supplied, this part was separated from the district of Sahrind, formed into a separate one, and named the district of Ḥiṣár-i-Fírúzah, that is, of, or dependent on the Ḥiṣár *of* Fírúz S͟háh.

The Táríḵh-i-Alfí, written in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and compiled from the best histories then available in India, says, that "In the year 762 H. (1360-61 A. D.), the Sulṭán set out for a *nahr* or stream which is called Astímah, which really embraced two considerable streams, and contained never failing water, and between which a high *pus͟htah*—a spur or hill—intervened. The Sulṭán set 5,000 *beldárs* or pioneers to work in order to remove this obstruction; so that the waters of the

still stands within the walls. The *láṭh*, also erected by him, is still visible among "the mounds and broken bricks and tiles, which lie scattered profusely on the plain to the south of the modern city, and tombs and temples still remain standing to tell of by-gone splendour. These remains cover a wide area."

227 Firis͟htah (the often quoted, because translated)—the original, I mean, not "Dow," nor "Briggs"—says: "In 762 H., Sulṭán Fírúz S͟háh heard, that near Haradwár, there was a hill [*pus͟htah* or *koh*] out of which water flowed towards the river Sutlaj, and that it was called Sursutí; that, on the other side of the hill was a rivulet [*jú'e*] called Salímah; and, that, if this intervening hill were removed, the Sursutí would be able to flow and unite with the Salímah rivulet, and their waters might be made to flow on to Sahrind, and Manṣúr-púr, and from thence to Sunám, and would keep constantly flowing. The Sulṭán accordingly [after cutting a canal separating the Sahrind district from that of Samánah, and founding Fírúz-ábád, a totally different place from the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, which is upwards of sixty miles to the east-south-east of Fírúz-ábád], proceeded to carry this into effect."

Firis͟htah is merely a servile compiler; and, as every one knows who can read the originals from which he copied, copied others almost word for word. This may be judged of from the following note 230. The Táríḵh-i-Alfí supplies him with a deal of information, as well as the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, especially regarding the events happening out of Hind; and he copies both almost word for word.

Sursutí might be brought to the *nahr* in question, and, when united, might flow on to Sahrind, Manṣúr-púr, and Samánah."

'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, the Budá'úní, one of the authors of the Táríkh-i-Alfí above mentioned, says in his history of India, that "the water is that which issues from a mound or hill of a sandy nature, of considerable size, and which water falls into the *nahr* or stream of the Sutlaj, which is also called the Suttladr," and that it—the water falling into the Sutlaj—is called the Sursutí;" that "it was distributed by means of two canals, and *used to flow* by Sahrind, Manṣúr-púr, and Samánah. The whole of the mound or hill was not removed." It was, perhaps, merely cut through sufficiently to permit the water to pass freely.

"While employed in these excavations, the bones of elephants and human beings were discovered in this great mound or hill, among which were their arms [*dast*—the hand, including the arm to the elbow], measuring three *gaz* in length, some of which were petrified, but the rest still remained unchanged.[228] It was represented to the Sulṭán, that, when Sikandar [Alexander the Great] reached that place, the people, having made images of Núsháabah,[229] used to keep them in their dwellings and worship them; and that, now [in the time of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh], her image had become the deity worshipped by the people of these parts."

Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, likewise, when proceeding towards Debál-púr on a hunting excursion in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), "determined," it is said, "on opening a canal from the Suttladr (Sutlaj) to Jhajhar, a distance of forty-eight *kuroh*," or about eighty-four miles. Here there must be some error in the names, because the Sutlaj where it issues from the hills at Rúh-paṛ, its nearest point to Jhajhar, is about one hundred and seventy miles, and the nearest of its old channels to the west—the easternmost "Nyewal N." of the maps, is one hundred and forty miles to the westward of Jhajhar. Consequently, if Jhajhar is correct, the Sutlaj cannot be meant, and if the Sutlaj is meant, then some other place than Jhajhar must be meant, to which it would have been far easier to have brought water from the Yamúnah.

228 "Being therefore unresolved what course to take, he [Alexander] leaped from the tribunal, and shut himself up in his tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those with him. Thus he sacrificed two days to his passion, and on the third he appeared publicly again, and ordered twelve altars to be erected of square stone, to remain as a monument of his expedition. He also caused the fortifications of his camp to be extended, and *beds to be left of a larger size than the ordinary stature of man required*, designing to impose upon posterity by this excessive outward appearance of things" "QUINTUS CURTIUS." More respecting these altars will be mentioned farther on.

229 Núsháabah is the name of the ancient queen of Barda', in Shirwán, on the west bank of the river Kur.

In the following year he had another canal excavated from the Yamúnah or Jún near Sirmúr. He connected it with seven small rivers, and brought their waters to Hánsí [which canal still exists], and from thence to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár; and a great lake [or *ḍhanḍ*, as it is called in those parts], close to the *kushk* or castle there, was filled therefrom. The same Sulṭán brought yet another canal from the river Ghag-ghar, and conducted the water into the *nahr*-i-Khirah [نهر كهيره], and erected a fortress between, which he named Fírúz-ábád, near which there also used to be a great *kol* [the Persian of *ḍhanḍ*] or lake, several miles long, filled from the Ghag-ghar.[230]

His reasons for making all these canals are obvious. They are doubtless, connected in some way with the drying up, diversion of, or fluctuation in, some of the tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah; but

[230] The Budá'úní says—and the "Haft Iḳlím" agrees with his statement—that the Sulṭán went to Debál-púr in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), and caused a canal to be made from the Sutlaj to Jhajhar, which is forty-eight *kuroh* distant. In 757 H. (1356 A. D.), he opened a canal from the territory of Mandú and Sirmúr, and connected seven other *nahrs* or streams with it, and conducted the waters to Hánsí, and thence to Rásín; and there the Fírúzah *ḥiṣár* or fortress was founded. Beneath the *ḳaṣr* or palace or castle, a *ḥauẓ* or reservoir was constructed, and filled with water from the canal in question. Another canal was opened from the Kandar *Nahr* [نهر كندر], and brought under the walls of the *ḥiṣár* or fortress of Sarastí, and from thence conducted to Birí Kháráh [Khíṛah?]; and there a city [town] was founded which was named Fírúz-ábád."

In his extract from the Tárík͟h-i-Mubárak-S͟háh-í Elliot says (Vol. IV., p. 8) that, "Firishta closely follows our author," or, more correctly, *copies* from him. He adds "and helps us to understand him," as we shall see. He continues: "There are several inaccuracies in the passage as given in Brigg's translation, so the following is offered as a more correct rendering of the lithographed text. "In the month of Sha'ban, 756 H. (the Sultán) went towards Díbálpúr hunting, and having dug a large canal (jú'e) from the river Sutlej, he conducted it to Jhajhar, forty-eight *kos* distant. In 757 he cut a canal from the river Jamna, in the hills of Mandawí [Mandúṇ or Mandú is well known, the other is an error] and Sirmor, and having turned seven other streams into it, he brought it to Hánsi, and from thence to Abasín [Rásín?], where he built a strong fort which he called Hisár Fírozah. * * * He formed another canal from the river Khagar [it is *Ghag-ghar* in the original], and conducting it by the fort of Sarsutí, he brought it to the river Sar-khatrah (نهر سركهتره), where he founded the city of Fírozábád He also brought another canal from the Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city." Then the Editor, apparently, adds: "The words "river of Sar-khatrah" are clearly wrong. In the translation, which was made from *MSS.*, the name is given as "Pery Khera," which is more like Harbí-khír of our text. The real name is possibly Harí-khíra." All this speculation is about the words mentioned above; and it will be seen how "closely Firishta follows our author." It will be noticed that نهر سر كهتره is an error for نهر بيري كهيره with ي not ت.

nothing whatever is mentioned, or even hinted at, on this subject, under the events of his reign, although we find, as related in detail farther on, that he followed the route from Debál-púr, Ajúḍḍhan, and across to Fatḥ-ábád and Hánsí on more than one occasion, and which same route was followed by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, some forty-three years after.[231]

Having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, in the year 763 H. (1361-62 A. D.), Sulṯán Fírúz S͟háh turned his attention to Sind, the expedition against Ṭhaṭhah having had to be abandoned on the death of Sulṯán Muḥammad S͟háh, his predecessor, on the banks of the Sind, in the vicinity of that town, about eleven years before. His forces on this occasion amounted to 90,000 cavalry, and 480 war elephants; and yet, strange to say, although it has been stated before, that water was scarce in the neighbourhood of his new town and fortress of Fírúzah in the hot season, he marched across that very part; because it is plainly stated by the historians of his reign, that he again went across to Ajúḍḍhan, and offered up his prayers at the tomb of S͟haik͟h Faríd-i-S͟hakar-Ganj, and that, after that, he reached "the confines of Bakhar and Síw-istán. Boats were collected from Debál-púr, and other places lower down, to the number of 5,000; and part of the troops, the baggage, and heavy equipments were embarked on them; while the Sulṯán, with the rest of his army, accompanied the fleet of boats, marching along near the river's bank. The father of S͟hams-i-Saráj, the author of the Tárík͟h-i-Fírúz-S͟háh-í, had charge of one division of boats containing troops, on this occasion.

The Sulṯán was unsuccessful in his operations; for a disease broke out among the horses in lower Sind, and three-fourths of them died. The hot season being near at hand, he determined to retire into Guzarát, obtain reinforcements, and return as soon as the season opened, having first beaten off the forces of the Jám of Lower Sind, who had become so emboldened from the Sulṯán's losses, as to venture out and attack him.

231 The author of another Tárík͟h-i-Fírúz-S͟háh-í, Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní, states, that, on one occasion, when he, the author, "was within the fortress of Bhaṭnír, in the cold season, some little disorder arose, and the people from the *tal-wandís* [villages] round about the neighbourhood came flocking in to the shelter of the fortress; and from the excess of dust raised by the horses and cattle, the broad light of day became so darkened therefrom, that people could not distinguish each others faces. Out of a thousandth part of the people and their animals, it was possible for *one part* to find a place within the walls. I entered the stable of the Ḥajjam, Ik͟htiyár-ud-Dín, Madhú, and counted therein thirteen horses of 1,000 and 2,000 *tangahs* each in value; and the rest of the other property who shall calculate." All this does not indicate any scarcity of water; for horses and other animals cannot exist without water any more than human beings.

The guides proved treacherous, and brought the Sulṯán into the Kúnc͟hí *ran* or marsh[232] [the *ran* of Kac͟hc͟hh], and his whole army was on the point of perishing for want of water. The author says it was "such a howling desert that no bird ever flapped its wings over it; not a tree was to be seen; not a blade of grass; not even a miserable, noxious weed."

[232] This word is spelt *ran*, but never *riṇ*, because *riṇ* means 'battle,' while *ran* means 'a marsh' or 'marshy ground.'

The Tárík͟h-i-Ṯáhirí states, that this *ran* extended from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzarát. Abú-l-Faẓl, in his A'ín-i-Akbarí says, that "between Jháláwáṛah [Jhálawáḍ] of the *Sarkár* of Aḥmad-ábád, and the Pattan or City [*i. e.*, Anhal-wáṛah], and Súraṭh [*i. e.*, Saurás͟hṭrah] there is a great depression, in length ninety *kuroh*, and in breadth from eight to thirty *kuroh*. This they call *ran* (with short 'a' to 'r,' and the 'n' quiescent)."

When Sulṯán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín returned from the expedition to Somnáṭh, towards Manṣúriyah, he was led by his Hindú guide into this *ran*, and on this occasion, according to the Baihaḳí, one of the Sulṯán's huntsmen killed an enormous serpent,—a python or boa-constrictor—which was skinned, and found to be thirty ells [*gaz*] in length, and four in breadth. The Baihaḳí adds, "Whoever doubts the correctness of this statement, let him go to the citadel of G͟haznín, and see for himself the skin in question, which is hung up like a canopy." See note 105, page 196.

It is a wonder that Sulṯán Maḥmúd ever ventured to attack this hot-bed of idol-worship; and that he and his army escaped is more wonderful still, because, in a book published at Bombay and in London in 1882, entitled "Tarikh-i-Soraṭh: A History of the Provinces of Soraṭh and Hâlâr in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, by Ranchoḍji Amarji, Divân of Junâgaḍh, and edited by Jas. Burgess, LL. D, F. R. G. S., etc., etc, etc.," who considers it "a genuine native history," and so it is in a Hindú point of view, we are told (p. 111) that, "The hateful Sulṯán Maḥmúd Ghaznavî marched with an army from Ghaznin to Gujarât with the intention of carrying on a religious war. In Saṁvat 1078 (A. D 1021, A. H. 414) he demolished the temple of Srî Somnâth and returned. This act so provoked the Mahârâja Maṇḍalika, who was a protector of his own religion, that he marched with Bhim Deva, the Râja of Gujarât, in pursuit:

They ran like fawns and leaped like onagers,
As lightning now, and now outvying wind!

The Muḥammadans did not make a great stand, but fled; many of them were slain by Hindu scymitars and prostrated by Râjput war-clubs, and when the sun of the Râja's fortune culminated Shâh Maḥmûd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers, of both sexes [sic], *were captured*. Turkish, Afghân, and Moghal female prisoners were, if they happened to be virgins," etc., etc. So much for the "genuine native history." It is strange the valiant Rájah of the Hindús did not make the Sulṯán "take to his heels" *before* he captured the place, and that he did not bring back the four fragments of their stone deity, instead of allowing the Musalmáns to carry them off to G͟haznín, where a fragment was cast before the entrance of the great masjid and the Sulṯán's palace, respectively, to be trodden under foot (and where they might have been seen a little over a century since), and the others sent to Makkah and Madinah.

The season having come round, he returned from Guzarát with recruited forces, and reached the banks of the Sind; but, although he had boats, the breadth of the river was so great, and the opposition of the Sindís so determined, that it was found to be impracticable to cross it.[233] The author states that the Sulṭán was consequently under the necessity of sending a portion of his army up-stream, to cross at Bakhar, a distance of one hundred and twenty *kuroh*, then march down again on the other side, and attack Ṭhaṭhah.[234] When this force had appeared before Ṭhaṭhah, and fighting commenced, the breadth of the river was so great at this point, that, although the fortifications of Ṭhaṭhah were visible from that [the east] side, the land around could not be distinguished, and it could not be discovered whether his troops had been successful or not.[235] In this state of uncertainty, the Sulṭán sent a messenger across, with directions to the leader of the troops to march up-stream again, re-cross at Bakhar, and re-join his camp, he having determined to occupy his position on the east bank, and await the arrival of additional troops from Dihlí. At this juncture, the Sindís besought the Makhdúm-i-Jahánián, the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, son of Aḥmaḍ, Bukhárí, the saint of Uchchh, who was in the Sulṭán's camp, to make overtures on their behalf; and the upshot was that an accommodation took place, the Jám and his brother came and made submis-

233 Fearing that those first sent across would be annihilated before others could arrive to support them.

234 The town or city of Ṭhaṭhah had only recently been founded by one of the early Sammah rulers, as mentioned farther on. The name of Ṭhaṭhah, as a city or fortified town, will not be found in any history written previous to the historian of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh's reign—Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní.

235 The Sulṭán could not have had any boats with him then, or perhaps they had been sent with the troops which marched upwards to Bakhar, otherwise, with a considerable part of his army on the Ṭhaṭhah side, he might surely have crossed with his army to their support, unless the Sindís with their vessels commanded the river, which is not improbable; for his troops had to march all the way back again by Bakhar to rejoin him. It will be noticed, that, when the Sulṭán returned after the accommodation with the Sindís, he came up the west bank of the river to Siwistán, the modern Sihwáṇ, and from thence to Bakhar where he passed to the east side.

If we take into consideration the state of the river and delta near Ṭhaṭhah now, and, that although that place could be distinguished from the opposite side of the river, the land around could not, we can calculate how broad it must then have been, in the beginning of the cold season, too, after the inundation subsides. The river now, at the height of the inundations attains a breadth of about 1,600 yards—not quite a mile—and at its lowest is about 480 yards broad. A great part of the delta south of Ṭhaṭhah has been formed since these events happened.

sion, and the Sultán marched back to Dihlí by Síw-istán, Bakhar, Multán, and Debál-púr, crossing once more, what has been assumed to have been, at that time, a great, waterless desert, on his way to Dihlí.

If there then was such a scarcity of water, and all the rivers between Ajúḍḍhan and the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár had been dried up, he certainly would not have chosen that route on so many different occasions.[236]

Sultán Fírúz Shâh died in the ninth month of 790 H. (1388 A. D.). Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, his grandson, who succeeded his father, Sultán Muḥammad Sháh in 796 H. (1393-94 A. D.), despatched one of his Amírs, Sárang Khán, to Debál-púr, to gain possession of that fief and also Multán, and to put down Shaikhá, the Khokhar,[237] who was in rebellion. In the eighth month of that same year (796 H.), Sárang Khán proceeded to Debál-púr. * * * In the eleventh month of the same year (just five years before Amír Tímúr appeared upon the same scene), Sárang Khán, having taken along with him Rá'e Dul-Chín, the Bhaṭí chief, (the same who surrendered Bhaṭnír to Amír Tímúr), and Rá'e Dá'úd, and Kamál-ud-Dín, the Ma'in[238] chief, and the forces of Multán and Debál-púr, crossed the Suttladr (Sutlaj) near the town of Tiháṛah, and afterwards the Biáh near Duhalí or Dohalí, and entered the territory of Láhor. Shaikhá, the Khokhar, hearing of these movements, having previously mustered his followers, took advantage of

236 Shams-i-Saráj (as well as others) states, that, "in the hot season, numbers of *gor khar* or wild asses congregate between Debál-púr and Sarastí," where Akbar Bádsháh hunted them in after years, as he also did in the neighbourhood of Ajúḍḍhan.

237 See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 367 respecting these Khokhars, who are invariably made "*Gickers*," "*Gukkurs*," "*Ghakkars*," "*Gakkhurs*," and the like, by different English writers, unaware of the existence of the great tribe of Khokhar who are Jaṭs, and of the Gakhaṛs, a comparatively small tribe, being a totally distinct race. The Khokhars extend from the northern Panj-áb, where their chief places are Bharah and Khúsh-áb, down into Lár or Lower Sind, Kachchh, and even Káṭhiáwáṛ. They cannot number at present less than 50,000 families, and are probably nearly double that number. Cunningham, who falls into the same error as others respecting them, says, "*Gakar*"—turning them into Gakhaṛs—is most probably *only a simple* [!] *variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abári*," but the Khokhars are never even named by him! The Gakhaṛs at this period were of no account whatever, being then a small and weak tribe, dwelling much farther west. They afterwards became somewhat stronger, and finally extended as far east as Gujarát (in the Panj-áb), the farthest point east ever reached by them. This was but for a short period, however, while they never extended farther south than the parallel of the Salt Range, about 32°-20′ N. Lat., while the Khokhars overran nearly the whole of the remainder of what, in after times, was called the Panj-áb, east and south, and even contemplated the seizure of Dihlí and its territory. See also Amír Tímúr's encounter with them on the Biáh near Multán at page 281.

238 Also written Mahín.

them, and moved into the neighbourhood of Debál-púr, and invested Ajúḍḍhan; but, on gaining intelligence that Sárang Khán had passed Hindú-paṭ, and had sat down before Láhor, he gave up the investment of Ajúḍḍhan in the night, and made a forced march towards Láhor. Next day, the hostile forces having drawn near each other, came in contact at Sámú-talah, twelve *kuroh* from Láhor, in which Shaikhá was overthrown, and fled towards Jammú.

There is a very important passage contained in the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í, of Yaḥyá, son of Aḥmad, the Sahrindí, whose work embraces events up to the year 852 H. (1448 A. D.). After the departure of Amír Tímúr from Hindústán, little was left to Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh. He says: "In 803 H. (1400-1 A. D.), Tághí Khán, the Turkchí Sulṭání [that is, the Turkish *mamlúk* or slave of a former Sulṭán], who was the son-in-law of Ghálib Khán, the Amír of Samánah, assembled a large force, and moved towards Debál-púr against Khiẓr Khán [afterwards ruler of Dihlí, who had been left by Amír Tímúr in possession of the whole of the Multán province, and the territory dependent on Debál-púr, both of which tracts of country extended eastwards as far as the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahindah].[239] Khiẓr Khán,

[239] This fact, not generally known, or not well understood, has led some to assume that all this central tract, constituting the eastern parts of the Multán *ṣúbah*, the western parts of the Dihlí *ṣúbah*, *i. e.*, the *sarkár* of Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, and the northern and western parts of the Ajmír *ṣúbah*, was left out altogether by Abú-l-Faẓl. Elliot in his "Memoirs on the Races of the N.-W. Provinces (Vol. II, p. 17)," says: "It will be observed, by referring to the map of Dastúrs, that the Western boundary of Sirkár Hisár Feroza has been extended only to the bed of the War river, which runs not far to the westward of the Ghaggar, the new Parganah of Wattu and Bhaṭṭíáná, being altogether excluded: for this tract, full of sandy plains and Thals, seems to have been little known in the time of Akbar, nor with the exception of Muland, which was in Múltán, does it appear to be included in any Sirkár of the adjoining *Súbahs.* It is to be observed, that Abu'l Fazl, in mentioning the breadth and length of the several Súbahs, measures from Hisár in the Dehli Súbah, from Ferozpúr in the Múltán Súbah, from the Satlaj in the Lahore Súbah, and from Bíkanir in the Ajmír Súbah. He appears, therefore, with the above exception, *to leave the tract between all these places as neutral ground.*"

All this is entirely erroneous: Abú-l-Faẓl plainly says, and as the printed text will show, that the Dihlí *ṣúbah* extends from Palwal to Lúdhiánah on the banks of the Sutlaj, and from Ḥiṣár to Khiẓr-ábád; and among the *maḥálls* or districts of the Ḥiṣár *sarkár* are the districts of Bhaṭnír, Ṭihwánah, Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, Sirsá, Fatḥ-ábád, Anbálah, Bhaṭindah, Sahrind, Sunám, Samánah, etc., in all twenty-seven districts.

Bhaṭnír and Bhaṭindah extended to the former channel of the Sutlaj, which flowed past Uboh-har, and the Debál-púr *sarkár* of which Uboh-har on the bank of that channel was the frontier town, adjoined the Bhaṭindah district on the other bank. The Debál-púr *sarkár* included the *maḥálls* or districts of Fírúz-púr, and Muḥammad-oṭ (vul. "Mumdot"), which joined the *maḥálls* of the *sarkár* of Sahrind

who was at Debál-púr at the time, advanced into the *khittah* or district of Ajúḍḍhan to meet him; and a battle was fought between them on the 9th of Rajab of that year, near the banks of the Bahindah [بهنده] or Wahindah [وهنده 'b,' and 'w' being interchangable. In this word the و, in *MSS.* is liable to be mistaken for د and ر, and *vice versa*], in which Tághí Khán was overthrown and fled to Uboh-har." Here we have one of the names of the Hakṛá, but, most unfortunately, the writer did not think it necessary to say whether it contained water or not, but, from the manner in which he relates these events, it would appear that it did contain water, or he would have mentioned such an important matter. It is very certain that large bodies of troops could not have moved about in those parts so continually unless there had been sufficient water for them. It is also proved beyond a doubt, that, at this time, the Sutlaj[240] flowed between Uboh-har and Ajúḍḍhan, about sixteen miles from the former, and nearly double that distance from the latter place; while we know, from subsequent events, that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed.

Nearly five years after the events above related, in Muḥarram, 808 H. (July, 1405 A. D.), Iḳbál Khán, brother of Sárang Khán, chief rival of Khiẓr Khán, in the struggle for power among the feudatories of the Tughluḳ dynasty, marched against Samánah, and afterwards moved towards Multán, and arrived at Tal-wanḍí. From thence he reached the banks of the Wahindah or Bahindah, in the direction of the *khittah* of Ajúḍḍhan (*i. e.*, the district depending on it), and was encountered

in that direction. Indeed, Abú l-Faẓl says that the Láhor *ṣúbah* extended on the south to the frontier of Bikánír.

On the other hand, he describes the *ṣúbah* of Ajmír as extending to the *sarkárs* of Multán and Debál-púr of the Multán *ṣúbah*; and one of the *sarkárs* of Ajmír was that of Bikánír, consisting of eleven *maḥálls* or districts, of which Jasal-mír, Bikam-púr, Birsil-púr, Púgal, Bíkánír, and others, adjoined the Debál-púr and Multán *sarkárs* in the other direction; consequently, *every portion is filled up*, and the so-called "*neutral ground*" is as unsubstantial and illusive as the *mirage* which prevails on the borders of these *ṣúbahs*. The error appears to have occurred through not knowing that both *sarkárs* of Debál-púr and Multán extended eastwards to the ancient bed of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and, farther north-east-wards, to the banks if the Sutlaj as it flowed in its old channel. As to its being so little known in the time of Akbar Bádsháh see *ante* note 236, page 273.

240 This, its last deserted, independent channel, is now known as "the great *ḍanḍah*." The author of the Survey I have been quoting in this paper, says, that, "The people of this part apply the term *ḍanḍah* or *ḍanḍá* to the *south* or left bank of the Sutlaj. See the notice of that river farther on, but, I may observe that ḍanḍah —ڐنڐه—is differently written from Wahindah—وهنده—or Bahindah—بهنده—referred to in the text above, and must not be confused the one for the other

by Khizr Khan at the head of a considerable force, defeated, and put to flight; and, in the pursuit, Ikbal Khán was slain.

This was in the height of the hot season, it must be remembered, and that these two armies were operating against each other in the midst of what could not then have been a sandy, waterless desert although much must have been uncultivated waste.

In the time of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, son of the Ráyat-i-'Alá, Khizr Khán,[241] who succeeded his father in 824 H. (1421 A. D.), Jasráth, the Khokhar, Shaikhá's son,[242] rebelled. Among some

241 This was the title assumed by the Sayyid-zádah, Khizr Khán, who never took that of Sultán, as he acknowledged the supremacy of the Amír Tímúr, and after him, that of his son and successor, Sultán Sháh Rukh, Bahádur Khán.

242 In every translation of these events, Shaikhá, *the father*, has been mistaken for Jasrath, *his son* (just as we have in Elliot, for example, Vol. IV, page 54—"rebellion of Jasrath Shaikhá Khokhar"), precisely in the same way that Kásim, the father of the conqueror of Sind, has been mistaken for his son, Muḥammad, merely because the translators did not understand the proper use of the Persian *izáfat*, and that an *izáfat*, expressed or understood, was required between the names of Jasrath and Shaikhá, and between Muḥammad and Kasim, thus—Jasrath-i-Shaikhá, and Muḥammad-i-Kásim—after the idiom of the Persian, instead of writing Muḥammad *bin* Kásim, or Muḥammad *ibn* Kásim, according to the 'Arabic usage.

Scores of errors on this account occur in translations of the kind referred to, through want of knowledge of the use of the *izáfat* of the Persian grammar; for, considering the two names thus following each other like the Christian name and surname of Europeans, such, for example, as James Thomas, or Thomas James, and the like, the translators generally manage to drop the first and retain the second, as in the case of Muḥammad, whose father, Kásim, was in his grave long before his son set out for the conquest of Sind; and in the events above related, we have Shaikhá, who had been dead for some years, doing what his son, Jasrath performed.

In the same manner, we have Muḥammad-i-Sabuk-Tigín, written exactly in the same way in Persian *MSS.*, but, as most writers appear to have been aware that Sabuk-Tigín was the father of Maḥmúd, the translators have seldom failed to add "son of," after Maḥmúd's name *when it did not occur* (except in the form of an *izáfat* expressed or understood), *in the original.*

Such errors cannot be too much guarded against, when we find such scholars as Elliot, who must have known all this, falling into the same error, even after writing the names Muḥammad *bin* Kásim in his extracts from 'Arab authors; yet, when he comes to Persian and other non-'Arab writers, forgetting what he had written before, he constantly writes the two names as that of *one person*, and sometimes leaves out the first, the actual performer of the action, altogether, and makes the defunct father perform what his son had effected. It may not be amiss to give an example here. Elliot, Vol. 1, page 432, has: "Muhammad Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biládurí [the Balázarí was an 'Arab author], "Muḥammad bin Kásim," and by Abú-l Fidá [another 'Arab or of 'Arab descent who wrote in 'Arabic], "Muhammad bin Al-Kásim;" but, at page 397, he actually writes the word "Md. Kásim," as one would write "Rd. Smith" for Richard

of his acts was the plundering of some of the *parganahs* around Láhor (the Budá'úní, and Firishtah—who copies the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í and other writers almost word for word—say, that he destroyed Láhor, which Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, is said to have rebuilt, after its destruction by the Mughals in the preceding reign), after which he crossed the Bíáh, and from it passed the Sutlaz,[243] and plundered the *tal-wandí* of Rá'e Kamál (Kamál-ud-Dín, previously mentioned), the Ma'ín, or Mahín, as it is also written. After this he moved towards Lúdhíánah, and, after that, re-passed the Sutlaz and invested Jálandhar. Sultán Maḥmúd Sháh had to move against the Khokhars in person; and in that same year he reached Lúdhíánah, although it was the height of the rainy season. The Sutlaz was, however, so much swollen, and all the boats in Jasraṭh's hands, that the Sultán was unable to cross; and Jasraṭh, with his forces, was posted on the opposite bank. Matters went on in this wise for about forty days; and when the waters began to

Smith! At page 488 he quotes Elphinstone thus, showing Elphinstone's terrible mistake at the same time. He says: "Elphinstone observes that, '*Kásim's conquests* were made over to his successor,'" etc., etc., and here again we have the *dead father* making conquests in Sind!

Lieut.-Colonel H. S. Jarrett, in his translation of "*A's Suyúṭis History of the Caliphs*," page 229, note **, after writing, that "*Muḥammad-b-ul-Ḳasim* commanded the army in Sind," immediately under refers to Elphinstone's India, "where will be found a sketch of *Ḳásim's* conquests"—the dead father for the son again.

I could mention scores of other instances in Elliot's "Historians," and in the writings of many others. The famous blunder of turning Tájzíks, Turk slaves, Jaṭs, Sayyids, and others, into "PATHÁN DYNASTIES," and their money into "PATHÁN COINS," arose entirely through reading the names of the ancestors of the Shansabání Tájzík Sultáns who ruled in Ghúr, namely, Muḥammad-i-Súrí, or Muḥammad *bin* Súrí—for the names appear in both ways on the same page—as that of *one man*, thus: "*Muhammad Súrí.*" On this, those who knew no better, at once jumped to the conclusion (since there was a Paṭán or Afghán Sulṭán of Dihlí *some centuries after*, styled Sher Sháh, *Sor* or *Soraey*, who belonged to the *Sori* subdivision of the Lodí tribe, but whose progenitor Sor or Soraey was *not born* at the period that Muḥammad, the Shansabání Tájzík, and his father, Súrí, flourished), that this "Muhammad Súrí" must be one and the same person, and at once turned all the Tájzík rulers of Ghúr into Afgháns likewise. See "Ṭabaḳát-j-Náṣirí," Appendix B, page VII, and a note farther on.

The Chach Námah contains scores of instances to prove the *iẓáfat*. All the headings have Rá'e Dáhir, *bin* Chach, but when we come to the text we find Dáhir-i-Chach; and Dharsiyah *bin* Chach in the headings, and Dharsiyah-i-Chach in the text. This occurs not only with respect to Chach and his sons, but the names of others are written in a similar manner, just as Muḥammad *bin* Ḳásim and Muḥammad-i-Ḳásim.

[243] This is the way in which the name of the river is written in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, and in other works of that period.

subside, the Sulṭán moved from Lúdhiánah to Kábul-púr, along the river's bank, followed by Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, on the opposite side. On the 11th of Shawwál, the tenth month, the Sulṭán managed to pass the Sutlaz, on which Jasraṭh retired to Jálandhar, and was finally pursued to the Chin-áb. The citadel and town of Láhor was then in ruins, but the Sulṭán had them repaired. This was in 825 H. (1422 A. D.).

At the time of these operations the usual ferry over the river Bíáh was at the *mauẓa'* of Loh-Wál (لوه وال) or Lohí-wál (لوهي وال) a dependency of Haibat-púr Paṭí or Paṭí Haibat-púr,[244] but the Sutlaj flowed a considerable distance—some eight miles or more—farther south-east.

In this same reign, the fort of Multán, which had become greatly dilapidated through the attacks of the Mughals, was rebuilt from its foundations by Malik Maḥmúd, the feudatory of the district, son of the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajab.

We notice from the foregoing, that Debál-púr was a place of great importance for some centuries. Up to the time of Malik, afterwards Sulṭán, Bahlúl, the Lodí, *the first* Afghán or Paṭán who sat on the throne of Dihlí, we hear of his holding the fiefs of Debál-púr, Sunám, and the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár. The first named place would have been useless to him without water; and there is no doubt whatever that the Bíáh, in his time, washed the walls of Debál-púr. It is certain, likewise, that it still did so up to the latter part of Akbar Bádsháh's reign (and down to recent times, as I shall presently show), and, in which reign, Debál-púr still continued to be the chief place of that *sarkár* or division of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and Uboh-har was its frontier town on the east.

244 This place is a little less than fifteen miles nearly due north from Dharam-Koṭ; fifteen miles and a half west of Nikúdar (the "Nukodur" of the maps, but named after the Mughal *míng* or *hazárah* which once held it, called the Nikúdarí *hazárah*), and six miles south of Haibat-púr of which Loh or Lohí Wál was a dependency. It is also just fifteen miles east of the Paṭan, Gháṭ, or Ferry of Harí ke, as the river ran in 1860. There happens to be a place about two miles west of Harí ke Paṭan of the present day, called بوه—Búh, or بوپور—Bú-púr, which appears in the maps as "Booh." During the operations against Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, there was a ferry at this place, which lies close to the old right or west bank of the Bíáh, but it was a ferry of the Bíáh only; for the Sutlaj and Bíáh had not then united even temporarily. This Búh or Bú-púr lies about fourteen miles west of the place where the junction of the two rivers took place in the last century, when they lost their respective names altogether, and the united streams became the Haríárí, Machhú-wáh, or Nílí, and, farther south, was known as the Ghallú Ghárah, or Ghárah.

As the first letter of بوه, when written rather long, may, without a point, be mistaken for ل, as in لوه and لوهي, some have supposed that لوه referred to بوه, and that the junction took place at this last named point, but such was not the case. See farther on.

When Pír Muḥammad-i-Jahán-gír, that is, Pír Muḥammad, son of Mírzá Jahán-gír, son of Amír Tímúr, attacked the reinforcements from Multán sent to the relief of Uchchh which he was investing, he fell upon them at Tamtamah (تمتمه) or Tantanah (تنتنه) on the banks of the Bíáh. Many perished by the sword, and many threw themselves into the Bíáh, and were drowned, and but a remnant of the force sent from Multán under Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, succeeded in reaching that place again.

I have compared three or four good copies of the Ẓafar Námah respecting Amír Tímúr's march from Bannú across the Indus to Multán and Dihlí, which lay through some of the very parts in which these vast changes in the courses of the rivers occurred, and the following is the result, omitting the operations by the way.

Leaving the banks of the Sind, so called in the Ẓafar Námah, and having crossed it at the same place where the Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, plunged in, Amír Tímúr marched to the river which, in that history, is called the Jamad—the Bihat or Jhilam, which flowed towards Uchchh. Proceeding downwards along its banks, he reached the banks of the Chin-áb, Chandrá Bhágá, or Chin-áo, as it is also called, at, or near a fort, opposite to which the Jamad and Chin-áo met,[245] and was astonished at beholding the waves, eddies, and whirlpools caused by the meeting of these two great rivers, or, as they are called in the history, seas. A bridge of boats had to be constructed; and, having passed over,[246] he marched downwards, and encamped on the river [the

[245] See a note farther on.

[246] The Malfúẓát says, that he halted that day and the next to enable the troops, materials, and baggage to cross.

In following Amír Tímúr's movements, the *former channels* of the rivers should be remembered; not traced according to their present courses. See the general map.

From whence these boats were obtained is not said, but, as Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, the Tammímí, Ḥákim of the "*jazírah,*" or *do-abah* or *bet*, or territory between two rivers—for the meaning of *jazírah* is not an island only—after his night attack upon the Mughals, who had appeared before Bhárah, his capital (also written Bharah, the "Bherah" of the maps) and his defeat, endeavoured to escape from thence by dropping down the Jamad, Bihat, or Jihlam towards Uchchh, with a fleet of two hundred boats or vessels, which he had collected, and most of which were captured before he had gone very far, it is probable that these captured boats, or a portion of them, furnished the means for constructing this bridge. By the time Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, with the remainder, reached the vicinity of Multán, the Mughals were ready to receive him on both banks to prevent his passing down. He first threw his wife and children overboard, and then took to the water himself, most of his followers who could do so following his example, and escaped to the *jangals* along the banks. Every boat was captured or sunk, the fugitives were pursued into the *jangals*, and many were killed.

Ráwí] opposite Tulamí [*i. e.*, Tulanbah], facing that town. He passed over with his forces, no bridge being mentioned, and pitched his camp in the plain near the fort of Tulamí."

From Amír Tímúr's own *Tuzúk* it also appears, that he crossed the united Bihat or Jihlam, which he calls the Jamad, and the Chin-áo or Chin-áb. He says: "There was a fort there, which was erected near the bank of these rivers [the point where the confluence then took place], and there I encamped, and amused myself in watching the force of the current, and the dashing and surging of the waters, where these two great rivers meet." Having crossed the river, he moved downwards towards Tulanbah, crossed the Ráwí, and moved nearer to that place, which, it is stated, "is thirty-five *kuroh* from Multán." It must be remembered, that, at this time, his grandson, the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, was in possession of Multán. The Amír then crossed what he calls "the Tulambí river," by which he refers, of course, to the Ráwí, and which, as I have before stated, then flowed more to the north of Tulanbah than at present. He subsequently moved towards the Bíáh as stated below.

The historian says, that no Bádshâh had ever before bridged the united rivers Jamad and Chin-áo; for, that, although Ṭaramshírín Khán had crossed the Chin-áo, he did not succeed in throwing a bridge across it. This is the 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ṭaramshírín Khán mention by Ibn Baṭúṭah, who was then ruler of Bukhárá. He was the son of Dowá Khán, and brother of Ḳutlúgh Khwájah, of the family of the Chingiz or Great Khán, who then ruled over Máwará-un-Nahr. Ṭaramshírín Khán invaded India in 729 H. (1328-29 A. D.), having entered it through the territory dependant on Multán; carried his arms to within sight of Dihlí, the ruler thereof, at that time being absent in the Dakhan; passed through Guzerát and Sind; and finally re-crossed the Indus near Multán. What these parts suffered from this raid may be imagined.

The Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí says, that he, Ṭaramshírín Khán, used his utmost endeavours to construct a bridge of boats, but without success, and had to cross his army by means of boats. This was what the people of that part told Amír Tímúr.

The often-quoted "Ferishta" says (*in the original*) that Amír Tímúr "keeping along the banks of the river reached a place where the river of *Jalandar* [sic. he did not copy his authorities correctly here] and the Bíáh join, and there *there were two strong fortresses called Talmaní* (تلمني). He passed the river by a bridge of boats, and encamped in the Talmaní plain [*ṣaḥrá*]. After having destroyed Talmaní, he arrived at the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáẓ on the bank of the Bíáh." Here it will be seen what a precious jumble he has made of matters. Again, in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í, by the Editor of Elliot's "Historians" after he had written "Tulamba" and "Talamí," a score of times, we have the following: "Intelligence came that Amír Tímúr, King of Khurásán, had attacked Talína, and was staying at Multán." To this "Talína" is a note, saying, "This name is also given in the Tabakát-i Akbarí, and in Badáúní." It never strikes him that "Tulanba" is the place, or that he had previously referred to it.

Amír Tímúr having gained possession of Tulanbah, together with its *ḥiṣár* or fortress,[247] moved from thence, and the next day encamped near a great *chál, kol-i-áb*, or lake, near the banks of the Bíáh, and near the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz, on or close to which *chál*, the Khokhar chief, Nuṣrat [brother of Shaikhá, previously mentioned] had fortified himself.

This *chál* or lake, so styled, appears to have been what is called in the Panj-áb and Sind, a *ḍhanḍ*. There is one still thereabouts, close to the old bed of the Bíáh, about thirty miles south-east of Multán, but, at the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, it appears to have extended much farther towards the north-east than at present, and was of great extent and considerable depth.[248] Amír Tímúr was in these parts just at the beginning of the year 801 H. (The year began 12th September, 1398 A. D.); for he crossed the Chin-áb on the 2nd of October of that year (1398 A. D.). All the rivers of this part are at their full in August in the present day; and the above shows what changes have taken place. One would scarcely attempt to bridge the united Jihlam and Chin-áb

247 The town and *fortress* was surrendered on the 1st of Ṣafar, 801 H., without any opposition whatever. There was, in fact, no one able to oppose him.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 224), that Tulamba must have had a remarkably strong fortress, "as Timur left it untouched, because its siege would have delayed his progress," and Briggs's 'Ferishta' is quoted. On the next page he says, "The *old* town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred, but the fortress escaped his fury, partly owing to its own strength and partly to the invader's impatience," etc., etc.

The Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí says, that the chief people of Tulanbah presented themselves in the Amír's camp before he reached that town, and that the sum of two *lakhs* of *rúpís* had been fixed as an indemnity for sparing the place; and Sayyids and 'Ulamá were exempted from payment. There was no opposition whatever. Provisions being exceedingly scarce, Amír Tímúr wished the people to pay the ransom in corn instead of money, but they refused to do so; and a large body of fresh troops having arrived in the mean time, but, unaware that terms had been concluded, and being distressed for want of food, entered the place and began to help themselves. As soon as intimation was brought to Tímúr of these doings, he says: "I gave orders to the *Tawáchís* and *Sazáwals* to expel those troops from the town, and commanded that whatever corn they had plundered or property seized, should be taken as an equivalent for so much of the ransom." I think most troops would have acted in just the same manner. No people were massacred, nor was the place burnt, but some of the refractory inhabitants of the parts around, who, after first submitting of their own accord to his grandson, Pír Muḥammad the previous year, on his march to Multán, and had acted in a rebellious manner after, and massacred some of his men, were punished. A detachment was sent against them, and they were harried, the men killed, and their families and cattle were brought in, and were distributed among the soldiery. Most European generals and their troops would have acted in much the same fashion and punished the "rebels," I expect, in the fourteenth century, as well as in the nineteenth.

248 See note 192, page 214.

near the point of junction in September even now, or attempt to cross the Ráwí with a large army at such a season by fording in that month. The rainy season, too (and now there is no rainy season hereabouts: the monsoon does not extend its influence so far west; and what may have been the climatic changes since Alexander's time?), just preceding Tímúr's arrival, had been very severe; and it was through its severity that the forces of his grandson, Pír Muḥammad, then in possession of Multán, had lost so many horses, that, when he presented himself in his grandfather's camp at Jinjan on the banks of the Bíáh, his men were mostly mounted on bullocks, and the rest on foot.

Round about this *chál*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake were bogs and swamps; and these rendered the stronghold of the Khokhar chief very difficult to approach. The *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz is described, at that period, as a very large village, but I fail to find any traces of it now,[249] but the *chál*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake, as previously observed, still exists or what remains of it, in the old bed of the Bíáh, six miles and a half north-north-east of Ṭibbah, in Lat. 30° 3′ N. and Long. 71° 45′ E. Up to this point it will be observed, Amír Tímúr kept along or near the right or north bank of the Bíáh.[250] Some of his nobles and their men had crossed the Bíáh in

249 It was still known, apparently, in the last century, when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who proceeded from Hindústán to Kábul on two or three occasions, with despatches from Governor Hastings, to Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, reached that part. The Sayyid crossed over on one occasion from Uboh-har to Baháwal-púr, and thence to Multán. Setting out from that city to proceed to the Derah of 'Ismá'íl Khán, he says: "My first stage from Multán was five *kuroh* in the direction of N. W. to Khan *Chál*; the second stage was ten *kuroh* in the same direction to the *Dih-i-Sháh Nawáz*, on the banks of the Bíáh; the third stage was ten *kuroh* N. to Sháh-púr; and the fourth another ten *kuroh* N. W. to Tulanbah." This journey was undertaken in H. 1201, which commenced on the 13th of November, 1796, only a few months previous to the time the Sutlaj is said to have "suddenly changed its course." Neither Khan Chál, the Dih of Sháh Nawáz, nor Sháh-púr are now to be found. When the Sutlaj changed its course, the Bíáh also deserted its old bed, and both rivers uniting, lost their respective names, and became the Hariárí and Nílí, upwards, and Ghárah lower down, as previously mentioned.

250 During the revolt of the Mirzá's in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, in the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), news was received at Láhor, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá, accompanied by his youngest brother, Mas'úd Mírzá, having been defeated at Nág-awr (*vul.* Nagore) by the Bádsháh, was making his way across to the Panj-áb territory; that he had crossed the Sutlaj, and was advancing towards Debál-púr, and plundering the country. The Khán-i-Jahán, Ḥusain Ḳulí Beg, the Turk-mán, the feudatory of the *Ṣúbah* of Láhor, with the forces of his province, at once moved against him, and came suddenly upon his camp—he had only about 400 followers along with him—in sight of Tulanbah, just as Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá was returning from hunting (Blochmann, in his printed text of the Akbar Námah, in which names, of places are often incorrect, has "*Paltah*" (پلته) instead of Tulanbah (تلنبه). A fight ensued, in

pursuit of the Khokhar chief; and the Amír followed, with the rest of the army, to the river's banks, opposite to a place called جنجان—Jinján [or خنجان—Khanján and خنجن—Khanjan, in two other copies of the MS. forty *kuroh*[251] distant from Multán, where the whole of the forces had congregated. He directed that they should commence crossing the same day. This was the 13th of the month Ṣafar. On the 15th (26th October, 1398), Amír Tímúr crossed the Bíáh, and his camp was pitched

which his followers were overcome and dispersed, and his brother, Mas'úd Mírzá, was captured. Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá now sought to re-pass the river Bíáh, as he feared an attack from Multán, Ḥusain Ḳulí Beg having intimated to Sa'íd Khán, the feudatory of Multán, that the Mírzá had entered his province. As the Mírzá had only a few followers with him, and night had set in, and no boat was procurable, he rested on the river's bank until day should appear. A party of fishermen, styled *jhíls*, and some Balúchís dwelling in that part of the Multán province, fell upon the fugitives in the night, and dangerously wounded the Mírzá in the throat with an arrow, a volley of which they had discharged among the party. He was captured, and taken away to Multán to Sa'íd Khán.

The Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí states, that he halted for the night "in order to cross the Gharah, which is the name of the river *formed by the junction of the Sutlaj with the Bíáh.*

Another writer relates this affair somewhat differently, and states, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá halted *on the banks of the Bíáh and the Sutlaj* (that is, where the rivers then met again, in the Multán district, after having separated, as subsequently described); that he was set upon and wounded by a low class of Multán peasants styled *jhíls*, and that he took refuge in the dwelling of a *darwesh*, Shaikh Zakaríyá by name, who sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'íd Khán at Multán. This agrees with Abú-l-Faẓl.

Faiẓí, the Sahrindí, says, that the Mírzá wanted to cross *where the Bíáh and Sutlaj unite and are known as Ab-i-Gharah*; while the Akbar Námah states, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá was crossing *the Sutlaj at Gharah* (see farther on. Ghállú-Gharah was then a *maḥáll* of the Multán *sarkár*), *where the Bíáh unites with the Sutlaj*, when he was taken prisoner by the fishermen and peasantry.

All this clearly shows that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed, but that the Sutlaj had re-united with the Bíáh some miles to the south-west of the *chál*, or *ḍhanḍ*, or lake near Sháh Nawáz, mentioned in the account of Amír Tímúr's movements, one hundred and eighty years before.

[251] Not "*four kos*"—eight miles—as in Elliot, but *forty*, as above. The "Ẓafar Námah," referring to this *chál-i-áb*, on the banks of which the Khokhar chief had fortified himself, says, that, "this sheet of water was of great expanse, like unto the mind of the pure in spirit, deep, and as the area of the inclination of the most beneficent, broad." The Editor of "Elliot's Historians," in his version of the Ẓafar Námah, contained in that work, turns this part into "*rúd-khána-i'azím*, and, translates it "*a strong river fortress!*" The original is: و آن آبیست عظیم and there is not a word about any "*rúd-khána*," or "*river fortress.*"

P. de la Croix, in his "History of Timur-Bec," *surrounds this vast lake with a wall*, behind which "Nusret Coukeri retired with 2000 men," and others copy this nonsense.

near the *karyah* of Jinjan, where he halted for four days and nights.[252] "In the mean time," he says, "in the course of two or three days, the whole army, some by means of boats, and some by swimming [their horses], effected the passage of that rolling river without a single accident."

There is no remark made, either by Amír Tímúr himself or by the historian, as to any difficulty in crossing the Ráwí, but here there was some difficulty experienced. Further, we find the Bíáh still flowing in its old bed, and that it was a "rolling river," and "*was not fordable.*" This fact is conclusive; and I shall presently show, that no Ghárah, Ghárá, or Haríárí[253] (miscalled Sutlaj, so low down, by English writers) flowed in this neighbourhood at this time, and that such names were unknown in these immediate parts, at the period here referred to.

Leaving Jinján, Amír Tímúr marched one stage to the *karyah* of سيهوال—Sihwál, or Sihwal—سيهول; and on the 21st from thence made another stage to اصوان—Aṣwán or Aṣúán, where he remained one day. Next day, leaving it, he made another stage to جهوال—Jhawál or جهول—Jhawal.[254] The people of Debál-púr, when the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, arrived in those parts, had submitted to him, and had been well treated; but, when they found that, through the mortality among his horses, he had been obliged to leave his camp outside, and retire within the walls of Multán, they, like others in the neighbourhood of that place, rose, and in combination with the Ghuláms of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, Musáfir,

[252] Tímúr's "Malfúẓát" says, respecting his camp at Janjan: "I directed that the whole army, with the war materials and baggage, should cross the river (Bíáh) to Janjan, and that my pavilion should be erected on a small *pushtah* (eminence) just outside the place, at the foot of which there was a pleasant garden. When this had been done, I crossed the river, after which I ascended the little eminence, and from it a verdant plain lay stretched out before me."

[253] Also written Harihárí.

[254] The names of these places vary a little in different *MSS.*, and in different works. Some have Khinján instead of Jinján, 'kh' and 'j' being often changed through the displacement of a point over or under, others Ṣaḥán, and even Saḥáḳ. The second name does not vary so much, and is written Sihwal or Sihwál. The third, likewise, does not vary much, being Aṣwán in most *MSS.*, and Aṣwál in one or two. The last is written Jhawál, Jhawal, and Jawál. The first reading given in the text above is the most trustworthy; but I fail to trace any of these four places.

Rennell, in his "Memoir on the map of Hindoostan," has Jenjian, Schoual, Asouan, and Jehaul respectively (from P. de la Croix's "History of Timur-Bec)," but, since his map was constructed, vast changes have taken place through the alterations in the courses of rivers, especially those of the Ráwí and Bíáh; and these places happened to lie in the very tracks of these vast changes, which altered the whole face of the country, and places which before were in one *do-ábah* were transferred to another. See note 272, page 293.

the Kábulí, who had been sent to Debál-púr as Dároghah, with 1,000 troops, were all massacred by them. On the approach of Amír Tímúr to the aid of his grandson, they abandoned the place with all their belongings, and went off to the *ḥiṣár* of Bhaṭnír.

When Amír Tímúr reached Jhawál or Jhawal he gave orders for the main body of his forces to move by way of Debál-púr, in order that, in the vicinity of Dihlí, at the *mauẓa'* of Samánah, he would re-join it. Then, taking a body of 10,000 cavalry along with him, he turned off towards Ajúḍḍhan; and making a forced march, and going on all night, on the morning of the 24th, at sunrise, reached that place. Many of the principal people of this town had also gone off to Bhaṭnír, and none remained but a few Sayyids and 'Ulamá, who came forth to receive him. They were well treated, and a Dároghah was left with them that they might not be molested by any other troops passing that way. On the morning of the 25th, after offering up prayers and paying his devotions within the domed building where is the tomb and shrine of the Shaikh, Faríd-i-Shakar-Ganj, he set out towards Bhaṭnír. Passing رودونه [Rúdúnah or Rawdúnah],[254] and proceeding ten *kuroh*, he reached Khális

[254] In the Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí, in "Elliot's Historians," it is said [p. 421], that, "*passing by Rúdanah*, I halted at Khális Kotalí;" but, in the extract from the Tímúr Námah in the same work, the same word or rather letters رودونه, are translated: "From thence he started for Bhatnír, and *crossing the river*, he arrived at Khális-kotalí." This is improved upon in a note to the word 'river,' which is exceedingly amusing to read by one who knows the parts in question. See Vol. III, p. 488 of the above work. If water is here referred to, which I do not think it is, رودونه would be the *plural* of رود—river.

Referring to the confluence of the "Biâs and Satlej," in his "Ancient Geography of India," Cunningham, quoting "Abul Fazl," says:—"For the distance of 12 *kos* near Firuzpur the rivers Biâh and Satlej unite, and these again, as they pass on, divide into four streams, the *Húr*, *Harê*, *Dand*, and Núrni," but this turns out to be "Gladwin's translation of the Ayin Akbari." *The* A'ín-i-Akbarí contains nothing of this sort. It says (see also Blochmann's text, page 549): "For about twelve *kuroh* above Fírúz-púr, the Bíáh and Sutlaj unite, and after that receive [that is the two united] the names—Hariharí, Ḍanḍ, and Núrní, and near Multán unite with the other four [rivers of the Panj-áb, before mentioned];" but, in a foot-note, Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, divides the word Hariharí, which is so well known, into Har *and* Hárí, as though two words, which it is not. This Gladwin also seems to have done, but there is *not a word* of "these again, as they pass on divide into four streams:" this is all Gladwin's own *if*, in his translation. It is a great pity that translators when they do not understand a passage, should *add words of their own*, because it misleads: better to merely give a literal translation, and say they do not clearly understand it. An example of this pernicious system is given in note 255, below.

Abú-l-Faẓl, as it happens, says, that, "between the Bíáh and the Sutlaj is a distance of fifty *kuroh*." See also page 296.

Koṭlah where he halted. This place is fifty *kuroh* [one copy says fifty-three] from Bhaṭnír; and three *kuroh* is a standard *farsakh*. At the fort of Khális Koṭlah Amír Tímúr remained until the time of afternoon prayer, then pushed on for the remainder of that day and the whole night, and halted not until he had crossed the *chúl* or desert tract in one stage. When morning approached, his advanced guard surprised the patrol from the side of Bhaṭnír; and, at breakfast time, Amír Tímúr appeared before it.

The historian says, "the fortress of Bhaṭnír is a very strong place, and one of the most notable of Hindústán, much out of the high road, and lying away on the right hand. Round about it is *chúl* (waste)[255];

The word as it appears in the different *MSS.* of the Ẓafar-Námáh available—and I have used five copies—are as in the text above, with the exception of one copy which has رودونه, with a و inserted over, showing, that, in copying the *MSS.*, a letter had been left out. If we suppose that these letters form two words, and that they might form رود - i - ونه, or even that the latter might be دنه, with '*d*' instead of '*w*'; still, that water or a river is *not* referred to, is evident from the fact, that, throughout the Ẓafar-Námah, when the crossing of a river or water is referred to, the verb used is عبور کردن, 'to cross from one side to another,' while here we have گذشتن, 'to pass by,' etc. Moreover, when rivers are referred to, they are called *áb*, as 'Ab-i-Chin-áo,' 'Ab-i-Tulanbah,' etc., and the Bíáh is styled '*áb*' and '*daryá*.' Further, if the plural form of رود—*rúd*—'river' was meant, we should have رودها—*rúdahah*, not رودونه—*rúdúnah*. From this it is quite clear to me, that the word in question refers to a place, not to rivers or river beds, although, *at the present time*, some small river channels do intervene between Ajúḍḍhan, on the *north side*. There is the dry bed of a small river which is known as the Ḍanḍí (the diminutive form of Ḍanḍah, probably); but, what is here referred to—رودونه—is *south-east* of Ajúḍḍhan, and between it and Khális Kotlah. This so called Ḍanḍí may possibly refer to what is left of the channel of the minor of the three branches into which the Haríárí, or Nílí separated, after the Bíáh and Sutlaj, farther north, had united, again to separate, but this junction took place *after* the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion; and, moreover, he had passed *south-east* of Ajúḍḍhan towards Khális Koṭlah before رودونه was *passed*, not *crossed*. It is quite certain that the great Ḍanḍah, or high bank of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj, is not meant in the text above; for, instead of being situated between Ajúḍḍhan and Khális Koṭlah, and *west* of the latter place, the great Ḍanḍah is fourteen miles *east* of it, and further more, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, in its inclination westwards, had not yet made that new channel for itself, and still flowed in that by Uboh-har.

255 In the extract given by the Editor from his own translation from the Ẓafar Námah in "Elliot's Historians," we have the following:—"It is situated far out of the road on the right hand, and is surrounded by *the desert of Chol*." Here he has mistaken the Persian word *chúl*—a wilderness, uncultivated waste, and unpopulated tract, or containing very few inhabitants, but not necessarily *a desert*—for a proper name! The Editor continues: "For fifty or a hundred *kos* there is no water." This sentence is misleading and incorrect, and will not be found in any copy of the

and the inhabitants of the place obtain water from a *kol-i-áb* or lake, which is filled in the rainy season. It was said that no foreign army had ever reached it; and, on this account, the rebels who had fled from Debál-púr and Ajúḍḍhan, and other places, had assembled there. Such a number had reached it, that there was not room for them within; consequently, there were many people, and a vast number of animals and loads of property, left outside. This place, and the territory around, was held by Ráo Dúl-chín,[256] who collected revenue from those parts, and from all who passed that way, either merchants or travellers; and *karwáns* of traders were not safe from his exactions." Suffice it to say, that the place was nearly carried when the defenders called for quarter, and next day Ráo Dúl-chín came out. After this, however, the people again rose, closed the gates, were again attacked; and when Tímúr's troops had gained the walls, they again sued for quarter, which was once more granted. The fugitives from Debál-púr and Ajúḍḍhan, and other places, having however gained an entrance, in conjunction with the Bhaṭís, again broke out, and closed the gates. This, as might be expected, raised the ire of Tímúr; and the place was stormed and captured. Many of the defenders burnt themselves, along with their women, and other belongings. Of the Debál-púr fugitives who had been concerned in the massacre of Musáfir, the Kábulí, and his force of 1,000 men, 500 were put to death, and their families made slaves, and the remainder spared, but the defences of the fort and town of Bhaṭnír were levelled with the dust.[257]

Ẓafar Námah, nor is such a word as *kos* to be found throughout the whole work. Compare also pp. 421 and 422 of Elliot's work.

256 The name is written Dúl-chín, and those who copy from the Ẓafar Námah alter it into Khúl-chín, but, in Elliot, it is made "Khal-chín" of.

257 All these matters are set down against Tímúr by history compilers to make him out a monster, but they leave out what caused him to act with stern severity. Here persistent treachery, after being twice forgiven, is shown. I wonder whether in the present enlightened days Skobeloff and Komaroff, and other "divine figures from the north" or west would have acted differently? or even if, during the late Afghán campaign the Afghán "rebels" would not have been served much after the same fashion, if they had acted in the same manner after once surrendering? It would have been very strange if they had not. And yet one writer sets down what he supposes to be "Abu'l Fazls *little knowledge* of Bhaṭṭiána," which knowledge is, however, very great, as the A'ín-i-Akbarí shows, to "the depopulation caused by 'the firebrand of the universe,' Tímúr." The Chingiz Khán put more people to death *after surrendering*, at Bukhárá and Samr-ḳand alone, than fell in all the wars in which Tímúr engaged during his whole lifetime; and yet some, unacquainted with these historical facts, sing the praises of the "*great* Jangez," without knowing even how to spell his name correctly, and exclaim against "the *ruthless tyrant* and barbarian, Taimúr." Such writers would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly

Having disposed of this affair, on the 3rd of the month Rabí'-ul Awwal, Amír Tímúr with his force marched fourteen *kuroh* to a place styled the Ḥauẓ-i-A'b—The Reservoir of Water—and on the following day reached and passed the fort of Fírúzah [in one copy Fírúzkoh—the "Feerozabad" of the maps, not the Ḥiṣár Fírúzah] and reached the town of Sarastí[258] now Sirsá ["Sirsuh" of the maps], on the Ghag-ghar. It was deserted by its inhabitants on his approach. Halting a day there, his next stage of eighteen *kuroh* took him to near the fort of Fatḥ-ábád [the "Futtehabad" of the maps]. On the 7th, having passed by the fort of Rajab-púr [رجب پور][259] he reached the fort of Ahroní, which, showing hostility, was sacked and destroyed, and nothing left to mark it but some heaps of ruins. He moved again on the 8th, and brought up in the open plain near the *karyah* of Ṭibwánah [turned into "Tobanuh" in our maps]. There he came into contact with "a large and powerful tribe called Jatán [Jaṭs] who, for a long period of time, had acquired sway over that part, plundered on the high roads, and way laid *karwáns* and massacred their people, especially if Musalmáns.[260] Some of these had taken shelter among the hills [low, rocky hills] and *jangals*, the last consisting chiefly of sugar-canes.[261] A party sent against them

digest the account of the "Invasion of Islám by the Mughals" in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," and then they would know more about these matters. Those who would write history should be strictly just and impartial, and also know something of it from the originals, and not from translations only. See Elliot's "Races of the North-West Provinces of India," Vol. II, pp. 17–19.

258 Sarastí is the old name of Sirsá: Sursutí, not Sarsutí, is the name of a river the ancient Saraswatí, described farther on.

259 This place is called "Rajabpúr," in the extract from the "Malfúẓát," in Elliot's work; and a few pages farther on, in his extract from the "Ẓafar Námah," it is "Rajabnúr." There is very little doubt that the place called "Ryepoor" in the maps, eleven miles and a half to the north-east of Fatḥ-ábád, is the place referred to, and which lies on the route from Fatḥ-ábád to Ahroní, the "Arnaunee" of the maps.

260 See Ibn Baṭúṭah, page 263.

261 This tract appears to have been notable for the cultivation of sugarcane from early times. Sulṭán Mas'úd, son of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, having entered Hind for the purpose of crushing the rebellion of his governor of the province east of the Indus, Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín, in 426 H. (1034–35 A. D.), marched against the fortress of Sarastí [now Sirsá], said to have been, at that time, one of the most celebrated strongholds of Hind. It had been invested by his father, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, but he did not succeed in taking it. After having been before it some days, the ruler of that part and stronghold, finding he could not cope with the Musalmán forces, despatched an agent to Sultán Mas'úd, offering to pay down a very large sum, and to afterwards pay a certain yearly amount as tribute. These offers were accepted, and hostilities were suspended. This Rájah, however, in order to raise the sum to be paid at once, seized on a number of Musalmán merchants and traders, who happened

slew about 200, and returned with a number of captives, and many head of cattle. On the 9th of the month, Amír Tímúr started from Ṭihwánah, and the families and followers, heavy materials, and boot were sent off towards Samánah under the Amír, Sulímán Sháh; and he, having that same day, passed the Kala' of Múng [Múng Alá—turned into "Moonuk" in our maps] halted. Amír Tímúr, in the mean time, made a forced march in order to beat up the quarters of those Jaṭs who had concealed themselves in the *jangals* in the neighbourhood of Ṭihwánah. Some 2,000 of them were put to the sword the same day, and many captives, and much cattle, were taken. In the part entered there was a village

to be in the place when the investment commenced, and were unable to get away, and sought to extort this money from them. The merchants managed to acquaint Sulṭán Mas'úd with their helpless state and the Rájah's tyranny; and also informed him of the weakness of the Hindús and their inability to oppose him, and stating, that, if he remained before the place for five or six days more, the enemy would have to come out and surrender at discretion. The Sulṭán was not inclined to wait; and when he became acquainted with the Rájah's tyranny, he resolved to attack the fortress at once. The country round was remarkable for the extensive growth of sugar-cane; so "*he directed that they should fill the ditch with sugar-cane,*" and assault the place. This was done, and the stronghold of Sarastí was stormed and captured.

The drowning of Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín—not "Binál-Tagín," as some have written the name—near Manṣúriyah on the Mihrán of Sind, has been already recorded. See note 105, on Bahman-no, page 196.

In the following year Sulṭán Mas'úd captured Hánsí, after which he moved against the fort of Soní-paṭ, belonging to Deobál or Debál of Hariánah, as he is called. Several other strongholds are said to have fallen into the hands of the Sulṭán during this expedition, which had never been assailed by the Musalmáns before. His father had despatched an army against one of these, the name of which is written Narsí—نرسی in three *MSS.* and ترسی—Tarsí in one—but was stopped on hearing of that Sulṭán's decease. Sulṭán Mas'úd attacked and captured it. He subsequently, just before his return towards Ghaznín, compelled the ruler of another part, whose name was Rám, to submit to his supremacy.

Ibn Aṣír, the Shámí, has a wonderful account of the capture of this place—Narsí—which, he says, is related by "the most trustworthy chroniclers." Among other wonders, "the city was," he asserts, "a day's" journey in length"; that it took the whole army of 100,000 horse," a night and a day to sack the *bázár* of the 'aṭṭárs and jewellers; that no other part of the city was molested"; and that, "in that *bázár* alone, such a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels fell into the hands of the captors, that it was found impossible to compute it, and therefore the shares among the soldiery had to be dealt out by measure"!

It is strange, with his "trustworthy chroniclers" not named, that the only two chroniclers who were contemporary with Sulṭán Mas'úd, and were in the government employ, Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳí, who was his biographer, so to say, and the Gardaizí, should not mention anything of this wondrous place and its booty; while Ibn Aṣír should have it at his fingers ends, who wrote more than a century and a half after—about thirty years before the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" was finished—and who was never in Hind or near it in his life.

inhabited by Sayyids, who were well treated, and a Dároghah was left to protect them from molestation. On the 10th, Amír Sulímán Sháh who with the families, etc., was in the neighbourhood of Múng, moved again nearer towards the city of Samánah, and remained there that night. On the 11th he again moved and reached the banks of the Ghag-ghar; and Amír Tímúr, who had set out from Ṭihwánah to punish the Jaṭs, joined Amír Sulímán Sháh on the banks of that river near to Samánah.[262] Having halted there some days to rest the forces and arrange matters, Amír Tímúr again moved on the 15th, and reached the vicinity of the bridge of Kopilah [or Gopilah—کوپله] over the Ghag-ghar as it then flowed. There, the Amírs who had been despatched from the grassy plain—the *Jal-gáh*—of Dúrín[263] at Kábul on particular services [which, unfortunately, are not mentioned], who had reduced all the places met with on their way, this day effected a junction with the rest of the army. The march was resumed on the 16th; the bridge crossed; and, in a verdant plain beyond it, a great camp was pitched. The troops despatched from the banks of the Bíáh by way of Debál-púr, here likewise rejoined. On the 17th the whole army moved from the camp near the bridge of Kopilah, and marching a distance of five *kuroh*, reached the bridge of Bakrán or Bagrán [بکران] over the river Sursutí. On the 19th of the month the army marched from thence and reached the *karyah* of Kaithal, which is distant from Samánah seventeen *kuroh*, which is equal to five standard *farsakhs* and two *míl*." Here the army of Amír Tímúr was marshalled in order of battle preparatory to advancing upon Dihlí; and here I shall leave him, after merely giving what the historian of his campaign afterwards says, and in his own exact words, respecting the different rivers of the territory now known (correctly) as "the territory of the Panj-áb."

He says: "The river flowing through the city of Nagar [Srí-Nagar, which he writes with gh—نغر], they call Ab-i-Dandánah, and Ab-i-Jamad. Above Multán it unites with the Chin-áo, and both having passed Multán, unite with the Ráwah, which passes on *the other side* of that place,[264] and approach each other. After that, the Ab-i-Bíáh reaches them, and all these, near to Uchchh, unite with the Ab-i-Sind, and the whole are then known as Ab-i-Sind, which, on the skirt of the territory of Tatah [Ṭhaṭhah], unites with the *'ummán* or ocean."

According to the tradition current among the people of this part, at the time of my Survey record, Amír Tímúr is said to have crossed

262 That river ran under its walls up to the close of the last century.

263 See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 689, and compare Elliot here. In the latter's work the Ghag-ghar is always turned into "*Khagar.*"

264 I shall refer to the fact noticed here, farther on.

the Chín-áb, that is the Bihat or Jihlam[265] and the Chin-áb united, two *kuroh* south of the *Kaṣbah* of Neko-kárí, now shortened to Ko-kárí,[266] near where the hamlet known as Jaso ke stood, but which has now disappeared. The ferry over it, which appears now to have been abandoned, was known as the Jaso ke Paṭan; and there was another at Neko-kárí above, likewise, called the Neko-kárí or Ko-kárí Paṭan, the routes from which ferries led by Shor Koṭ to Tulanbah. The crossing place was, certainly, not far off, but it was nearer four *kuroh* than two south of Neko-kárí.

Thus we find from the foregoing, that, at the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Hind, the Jihlam and Chin-áb united not far from Shor, or Shor-Ḳot, which is an ancient site, and was inhabited by Langáh Jaṭs. It was, in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, a considerable town, the chief place of the *maḥáll* of that name, and where the Dároghah was located. It had been in ancient times a large and important walled-town, but it has been in a state of desolation for a long period of time. When I last saw it in 1850, the mound on which the old place stood, was covered with extensive ruins, and surrounded with the remains of a wall of burnt bricks; and it was of sufficient elevation to be prominently seen for several miles round about. I believe it to be the site of the very fortress near, or in the fork between the confluence of the two rivers, more particularly since there is no trace of any other old fortress in the neighbourhood near where the confluence of the two rivers anciently took place. Shor, I may mention, means 'noise,' 'tumult,' 'agitation' or 'commotion of water,' etc., but that is a Persian or Tájzík word, and we might expect to find it called by a Hindí name.[267] I merely mention the coincidence.

265 Both the historian, it must be remembered, and Amír Tímur, himself, al ways call the Wihat or Bihat or Jihlam river, the *Jamad*.

266 This *Kaṣbah*, which appears in our maps as "*Nee Kokaruh*," and "*Neekokarah*," no two maps being alike, at the time of the Survey referred to above, was peopled by Sayyids; and in a grove of trees, a little to the south-east thereof, is the grave of the Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jahánián, of the Uchchh family of Bukhárá Sayyids, apparently; and he is held in such veneration that they would not even use the dead wood of the trees for fire-wood. The defunct was a man of such great *neko-kárí*—that is, benevolence and goodness—that the place was named, after him, the *kaṣbah* of the Neko-kárí, but which, through constant use became shortened to Ko-kárí.

267 Unless, as is not improbable, the fact of these parts having been under Muḥammadan rulers, who used the Tájzík language, certainly for four centuries before the appearance of Amír Tímúr in this neighbourhood, if not from the occupation of Multán by the 'Arabs, seven centuries before his time, was the cause of the Hindí name (if it ever had one: the additional "Koṭ" is comparatively modern) being discontinued. One of the descendants of the 'Arab tribe of Ṭammím was still

The old bed of the Chin-áb, or rather the most prominent, and probably most recent, of its former channels, can still be distinctly traced within three miles of Shor-Koṭ on the east and south to this day. At the period in question, and for sometime after, Shor-Koṭ was in the Chin-hath Do-ábah,[268] as shown from the movements of the Mughal raiders, who yearly entered these parts up to the year 834 H. (1430-31 A. D.); but, subsequently, on the Chin-áb inclining farther towards the west, like the other three rivers east of it continued to do, it was shut out of that *Do-ábah* and transferred to the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, in which it still continues, and lies some six miles east of the left or east bank of the united Chin-áb and Bihat or Jihlam. These two rivers, at the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion, had, for some time, separated from the Ráwí and Bíáh,[269] and flowed on the west side of Multán, while the two latter still passed on the east as heretofore. More respecting them, and the great flood which devastated the whole northern Panj-áb territory, between the Chin-áb and the Sutlaj, anterior to the arrival of Tímúr in these parts, and the probable changes caused thereby, will be found in the account of the rivers farther on.

Then as to the rivers farther east, let us take into consideration that Amír Tímúr's forces, including followers, could not have been less than 80,000 or 100,000 persons, and as many horses; and, that while he crossed from Ajúḍḍhan to Bhaṭnír with 10,000, the more numerous portion, with the followers, baggage, and heavy materials of the army, crossed direct from Debál-púr to Múng Alá, and all re-assembled on the banks of the Ghag-ghar near Samánah. In doing this they must have crossed the beds of all the rivers but one tributary to the Hakṛá or Wahindah, including the old channels of the Sutlaj, whether they contained water or were dry; and it is strange, that, although Amír Tímúr must also have crossed the channel of the Sutlaj, whether it

in possession of territory on the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb when Amír Tímúr crossed the Indus. See note 246, page 279, and a note farther on.

There is an old saying, that, "Shor is notorious for tumults, as Chandaní-oṭ is for the quarrelsome proclivities of its inhabitants."

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," "identifies" Shor Koṭ as "one of the towns of the Malli," and with "the town of *Po-lo-fa* visited by Hwen Thsang;" and supposes the tradition current in the neighbourhood of its destruction by "some king from the westward about 1300 years ago," to be the "White Huns." We need not go quite so far back, and may leave the "White Huns" and "Hwen Thsang" for what they are worth.

268 Like the names of towns and villages, this *do-abah* appears in our maps under the incorrect names of "*Jech Doab*" and "*Jech Dooab*," and, certainly without the meaning of the word being understood, or how written in the original. See note 277, page 296.

269 See page 291 and note 265.

contained water or not, between Ajúḍḍhan and Khális Koṭlah, the Ghag-ghar is the only river mentioned by name between the Bíáh and Samánah. At the same time, although a *chúl* or waste tract is mentioned between Khális Kotlah and Bhaṭnír, there is no mention of other *chúls*, neither is there the least allusion to any scarcity of water, and of which such large bodies of troops and animals must have required a considerable quantity. I have estimated the number of Amír Tímúr's forces at a low figure, and have reason to suppose that they weie much more numerous; for it cannot be supposed that he would have invaded Hindústán, intent on reaching Dihlí, at the head of a smaller number. In recent times, say in the last century, it would have been a dangerous experiment, if not an impossible matter, to take such a numerous army in two bodies by these routes.[271] While there is no mention on the part of the historian that the beds of these rivers were passed, or that any rivers had dried up, or were running, at the time—a matter much to be regretted—but as no scarcity is mentioned, and the halting places were merely the ordinary ones, and not specially chosen, we must conclude that there was water in the beds of some of these rivers (including the Hakṛá), but not sufficiently deep as to require remark in crossing them.

Let us now see what the A'ín-i-Akbarí says respecting the A'b-i-Sind and other rivers, and the Do-ábahs and *Ṣúbahs* of the Panj-áb territory and parts adjoining it on the east, after which I will give some extracts from the Survey made of these parts about a century since, to which I have before alluded.

"The *Ṣúbah* of Láhor," he says, "extends from the Sutlaj [not the Ghárah or Harihárí, but higher up: above the present junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj] to the A'b-i-Sind, a distance of one hundred and eighty *kuroh* in length, and from Bhimbar to Chaukhanḍí,[272] a dependency of Sat Gaṛh,

271 The Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah Sháh, who, with only a small following, when he was despatched to Kábul in 1780-81 by Governor Hastings, found the route from Bikánír by Phúgal and Moj Gaṛh to U'chchh, sufficiently difficult. He lost a son, and a number of his people, between Bikánír and U'chch. The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone also passed by the same halting places on his way to Kábul, but he went to Baháwal-púr from Moj Gaṛh.

I hope shortly to give the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad's account of his father' mission and his own to Kábul in his own words. See note 249, page 282.

272 Chaukhanḍí was a *maḥáll* of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah of the Multán *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and belonged to the Khaṛ'l Jaṭs. It is now an insignificant place, and at this time is in the Bárí Do-ábah, showing how places have been changed from one *do-ábah* to another, fourteen miles E. N. E. of the town of Huṛappah, and about a mile from the south or left bank of one of the old channels of the Ráwí, three miles and a half from the high bank farther south-east. It appears in the maps as "Chowkundee." Sath Gaṛh, under the name of "Sutgurrah," and "Shutgurrah,"

eighty-six *kuroh* in breadth. Six rivers run through it, all coming from the Koh-i-Shamálí. 1. *Sutlaj*, the old name of which is Shutlaj [but شتدر in the printed text. See note 205, page 259], the spring-head being at Káhlúr. Lúdhiánah, Rú-paṛ, and Máchhí Wáṛah are on its banks. At the *Guzar* or ferry of Loh [لوه][273] it unites with the Biáh. 2. *Biáh*, the old name of which is Bipáshá [بپاشا], rises at Biáh Kund, near the Koh-i-Galú [گلو]. Sulṭán-púr is near this great river. [It now lies eight miles west of it, and three miles north of Loh or Loh-Wál]. 3. *Ráwí*, the old name of which is Iráwatí [ايراوتي]. It issues from the Koh i-Bhadrál [بدرال, or بهدرا], and the Dár-ul-Mulk of Láhor is on its banks. 4. *Chin-áb*, the old name is Chandar-Bhágá [چندر بهگا]. Two rivers rise on the slopes of the Koh-i-Khatwár [in some, Khishtwár], one the Chandar, the other the Bhágá, and having united near Khatwár, the names become changed to Chandar-Bhágá. It [the united rivers] passes by Bahlúl-púr, Súdharah, and Hazárah.[274] 5. *Bihat* [بهت], the old name of which is Bidastá [بدستا]. Its source is a *ḥauẓ* or small lake in the *parganah* of Wir in Kash-mír. It flows through Srí-Nagar, and Bhirah[275] is situated on its bank. 6. *Sind*. This river is said to rise between Kash-mír and Káshghar, some say in Khitá. It passes by the confines of Suwad [or Suwat], Aṭak Banáras, and Chau-párah to the Balúchistán.[276]

is about thirty miles north-east of Chaukhandí, and between two and three miles from the south of left bank of the Ráwí, near which Chaukhandí lies, and thirteen miles to the eastward of Fatḥ-púr Ghugherah, "Fattehpoor Googaira," of the maps. Hereabouts, the valley of the Ráwí is some thirty-four miles broad, cut up with several channels, showing the great changes the river has made at different periods. Khaṭ-púr, the chief place of a *maḥáll*, mentioned in the Mughal raids, and the place, where, at one period, the Ráwí used to be forded, was the northernmost part of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and is repeatedly mentioned in history, but that seems to have dis appeared.

Sath Gaṛh is the place to which Mr. M. L. Dames's (See the "*Journal*" for 1881) "mighty Chákar Rind," a petty Balúch chief, retired, when he had to leave the Balúch country. He did not "*found*" any "*kingdom with its capital Seví (Síbí)*," and did not "*wage war with Human Chughutta*," as Humáyún Bádsháh has been styled by him. More respecting Chákar, the Rind, will be found farther on. See also my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. page 347.

273 See ante page 278 and note 244.

274 Or Takht-i-Hazárah on the west bank of the Chin-áo, 8½ miles N. N. W. of Jalál-púr, and 34 miles below Rám-Nagar, in the Chin-hath *do-ábah* of Láhor *ṣúbah*, with a fort of burnt brick, belonging then to the Khokhars.

275 Also written Bhíhrah (بهيهره) in some copies of the *A'ín*. This is the fortress of the Ṭammímí, Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, which Amír Tímúr captured, but he calls it Báhrah, as does his descendant, Bábar, who took possession of it before he succeeded in his designs upon Hindústán. See note 246, page 279.

276 The present age may be called the "Age of Gazetteers," but, unfortunately,

"The Bádsháh named the part between the Sutlaj and the Bíah, Bíst-Jálandhar; that between the Bíáh and the Ráwí, the Bárí [*not* between the Harihárí, Núrní, or *Ghárá*, and the Ráwí, it will be observed. This is important, because, even now it is considered to extend from the dried up Bíáh to the Ráwí]; that between the Ráwí and Chin-áb, Rachin-áo or Rachin-áb; that between the Chin-áb and Bihat, Chin-

many of them contain much arrant nonsense, old statements re-dished up, and the stories of Dow and Briggs renovated. There is a compilation issued from the "Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master General's Department" in India, called the "PE'SHÍN Gazetteer," which is called Part III of a "confidential" Gazetteer of Afghanistan, "*intended for Political and Military reference.*"

"*Péshín*" means '*anterior*,' '*antique*,' and also '*the afternoon*,' but the tract of country which the compilation in question is intended to give information upon chiefly, is that part of the southern Afghánistán called Púshang (which 'Arab writers called Fúshanj, according to their system of writing old Tájzík words), through which part we are carrying a Railway (a good part of which, from a recent "Report" has been found useless), and call it in public documents "*Balochistan*," because it is in the Afghánistán.

I will give a specimen of the historical information contained in this "Antique" or "Afternoon" Gazetteer, suggested by the above statement of Abú-i-Fazl. It says:—"*The Baluch tribes to the west* [the Balúchistán is referred to], *being the inhabitants best known to Nádir Sháh, that monarch bestowed their name on the country, which properly should be styled Bráhúístán, if supremacy and numbers are of any weight.*" I venture to say that there is no authority for stating that Nádir Sháh gave name to the Balúchistán, which was known by that name centuries before his time.

It will be seen from what Abú-l-Fazl states, that it was the well known name of their country, ages before Nádir Sháh's time, and also before the Bráhúís were known to history. Of course, it is not to be supposed that the above was intended to mislead, but it is misleading nevertheless. It is the outcome of persons writing on subjects respecting which they have no special knowledge, and copying the incorrect statements of others, upon which they have to depend.

The compiler of the "*Péshín*" Gazetteer, however, is not the only one: there is a "pamphlet"—written for some political purpose apparently, entitled "Our Western Frontier," London, 1887—containing much after the same fashion, by Mr. C E. Biddulph, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service. At page 8 he assures us that "*the terms Afghanistan and Beloochistan, are arbitrary and fictitious;*" that "*they are terms we have adopted from motives of convenience;*" that "*the region called by us Baloochistan* (p. 13)," is a "*term invented by us* (p. 15);" and that, "*the term Afghanistan is one of European invention* (p. 16)."

It is very evident that the writer is unacquainted with Abú-l-Fazl, much less with older writers by five or six centuries. When a person sets himself up as a teacher of others respecting the geography, history, and ethnography of a country, he ought, at least, to know something of its past history. The author of the pamphlet in question will find considerable information on this head from the Muhammadan writers in the Fifth Section of my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTÁN."

hath;[277] and that between the Bihat and the Sind, Sind-Ságar.[278] The distance from the Sutlaj to the Biáh is fifty *kuroh;* from the Biáh to the Ráwí, seventeen; from the Ráwí to the Chin-áb, thirty; from the Chin-áb to the Bihat, twenty; and from the Bihat to the Sind, sixty-eight *kuroh.*"

"The Multán *Ṣúbah,*" he says, "before the territory of Ṭhaṭhah [that is middle and lower Sind—Síw-istán or Wiḉholo, and Ṭhaṭhah or Lár, making five *Sarkárs*] was included, extended from Fírúz-púr to Síw-istán [that is, their boundaries: not to those particular places], a distance of four hundred and three *kuroh,* and adjoins the *Sarkár* of Sahrind on the east; Shor on the north; the *Ṣúbah* of Ajmír on the south;[279] and Kíḉh and Mukrán on the west.[280]

"The Bihat unites with the Chin-áb near the *parganah* of Shor,[281] then running for a distance of twenty-seven *kuroh,* near Ẓafar-púr,[282] they unite with the Ráwí, and all three become one river. Sixty *kuroh* lower down, near Uchchh, they enter the Sind. For about twelve *kuroh* above, to near Fírúz-púr, the Biáh and Sutlaj unite, and after that lose their names, and are styled Haribárí [هرءاري],[283] Ḍanḍ [ڏنڏ],[284] and Núrní [نورني]. Near Multán, having united with the other four [rivers], they flow together.[285] Every river that enters the Sind [river] acquires the name Sind."

277 Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 154, says: "The names of the Doâbs [Do-ábahs?] were invented by Akbar, by combining the names of the including rivers. Thus, *Chaj* is an abbreviation of Chenâb and Jhelam; *Richna* of Râvi and Chenâb; and *Bâri* of Biâs [there is no river so called except by Europeans] and Ravi." What Akbar Bádsháh called them may be seen from Abú-l-Faẓl's statement above. There is no such *do-ábah* as "*Chaj.*" This is a mere mistake for Chin-hath. This name is obtained, as mentioned in the Survey I have before alluded to, from 'ch' and 'n,' the first two consonants in Chin-áb, and 'h,' and 't,' the two last consonants of Wihat or Bihat (also called the Jhilam)—Chin-hat, to which compound word a final 'h' is sometimes added, making it Chin-hath, as above described. The name Bist-Jhálandar is obtained in the same manner from 'b' and 'í' of Biáh, and 's' and 't' of Sutlaj. In Blochmann's printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, the 's' has been left out.

278 Abú-l-Faẓl gives his master rather more credit here than he is entitled to. Sind-Ságar is as old as the time of Ibn Khurdád-bih and the Mas'údí. See page 210.

279 See note 239, page 274.

280 After Ṭhaṭhah and its dependencies were included therein. See A'ín.

281 Shor, at present, is some twenty-five miles below the place of junction. See page 291, and note 267, and also a note on this subject farther on.

282 This place is not now known. The junction must have been a few miles lower down than the present place of meeting.

283 Also written Hariárí [هرياري].

284 Or Ḍanḍah as it is sometimes written. See also note 240, page 275.

285 I have given his words literally here. See note 239, page 274, and note 254, page 283.

It will be noticed that Abú-l-Faẓl mentions, that, after this junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj, the newly united river is known by these three different names above-mentioned, and that they unite for twelve *kuroh* only. He says not one word such as can be construed, by the greatest stretch of the imagination, into *three* rivers, much less *four*. It will also be observed here that he mentions in rotation where the other four rivers unite, but that he leaves out the name of the place of junction of the Harihárí, Ḍanḍ, or Núrní (he never uses the name Ghárah here, it will be remarked) with the others, merely mentioning the fact of its uniting with them.[236] It seems strange that he should have omitted to name the place of junction in this case, because Multán is a little over seventy-one miles, as the crow flies, above Uchchh.

"At Ṭhaṭhah," he continues, "the Sind is called Mihrán,[237] and all six rivers, in one stream [sic in text] pass under [the walls of] Bakhar, one portion north, and the other south of the fort. The Sind river every few years goes from south to north, and causes great ruin, consequently, the dwellings are constructed of sticks and rushes."[238]

In the record of the Survey, completed about a century since, the following account is given of the different rivers noticed by Abú-l-Faẓl above. It matters little, in regard to the present subject, what course this and the other rivers took within the hills, as there changes in their courses seldom take place; therefore, I shall confine myself chiefly to an account of them after their entry into the more level tracts.

THE SINDHU, NAHR-I-SIND, ÁB-I-SIND, OR INDUS.

I need not mention in the present paper what the author of the Survey says respecting the upper course of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, and its source, and shall only notice it here from its junction with the river of Kábul just above Aṭak Banáras.[239]

[239] It may not be amiss to mention here what the old European travellers say respecting the Indus and the changes in its channel, as well as of the rivers constituting the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad. What they mention about the places on their banks will be found farther on.

Sir T. Herbert, writing in 1626, says: "The River Indus, called by Pliny Sandus, and Arrian Sinthus, is now called Sinde. After a course of 3,000 miles from

[236] See note 250, page 282.

[237] It is so called, by his own account, much higher up than Ṭhaṭhah; and at the period in question, *seven*, not six rivers, flowed past Bakhar.

[238] See page 217, note 151.

"One *kuroh* above that place," he says, "the Sind unites with the River of Kábul, called Landaey Sind, or Little Sind or River, by the Afghāns. The Sind contains a whitish deposit, and looks milky in consequence, while the other, from its great clearness and purity, is very blue, and therefore the Tájzík people of these parts call it the Níl Ab, or Blue River, or Blue Water. At different points it is called the Aṭak and Níl Ab indiscriminately. * * * Near Uchchh[290] it unites with the Panj Ab, or Panch Nad, or Five Rivers; and towards the *bandar* (port) of Láhrí it unites with the ocean."

the Casnirrian [Kash-mírián] Mountains, part of Caucasus, it empties itself into the Ocean at two great Ostiums. * * * The Rivers Bohat [Bihat], Ravore [Ráwí], Damiadee [See the old map, p. 297], Obchan, Woihy or Hydaspes, Ascines, Cophis, Adris, etc., all fall into it." See pages 207, and 229, and note 175.

Mandelsloe, who was in India in 1639, says: "The Persians and Indosthans themselves, having given the name of *Pangah* [Panj-Ab], *i.e.*, Five Waters, to the River Indus, because it is joyn'd with so many Rivers before it exonerates itself into the Sea. The first is the River Bugal, or Begal [in other places he has Nibal—the Níl-áb], whose source is near Kabul; the second is call Chanab, which rises in the Province Quesmir, or Cossimer, fifteen days' journey to the North, above Lahor. The third is that of Ravy, or Ravee, which rises not far from Lahor, and runs by it. The two others, *viz.*, the Rivers Via [Biáh] and Osuid [Hakrá?] have their sources at a vast distance, *their confluence being near Bakar* [this is an important statement], which lies at an equal distance between Lahor and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this river with that of *Diul* [*Debal*], and placed it 24 degrees on this side the Line. * * * The Province of Tatta is a congeries of many Islands made by the same River. * * * The Province of Attack is seated upon the River Nibal (which falls into the Indus) and is by it divided from the Province of Haca Chan, or Hanji Chan [the Dera'h-ját of the present day]. * * * The city of Lahor is seated on the River Ravy, one of those that with four more joins its Waters with the Indus." The Jihlam he does not mention.

Thevenot, who was in India in 1666, says: "The Moguls have given that Province [Lahor] the name of Pangeab, which signifies the five Rivers, because five run in the territory of it. These Rivers have received so many particular names from the Moderns that have spoken of them, that at present it is hard to distinguish them one from another; nay, and most part of these names are confounded, though Pliny distinguished them by the names of Acelines, Cophis, Hydarphes, Zaradras, and Hispalis. Some Moderns call them Behat, Canab [Chin-áb], Find [Sind], Ravy, Van [Biáh]; and others give them other Appellations, which are not the names of [*i. e.*, in use in] the Country, or at least, which are not given them, but in some places of it they run through. However, all these Rivers have their Sources in the Mountains of the North, and make up the Indus, that for a long way, goes by the name of Sinde, into which they fall; and that's the reason why this River is some times called Indy, and sometimes Sindy."

290 See page 296. Abú-l-Faẓl also says "near Uchchh." He likewise say that the rivers of the Panj-áb are *six*, and include the Ab-i-Sind, which is not correct.

The Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which we call Indus, has, in the lapse of ages, changed its course very considerably, though not so much perhaps, considering its size, as some of the other rivers presently to be noticed.

Traces of ancient channels are met with every here and there, especially to the immediate westward of Multán, between that place and the present channel of the river, and south of it again, between it and U'chchh, the intervening tracts of country being literally seamed with old channels. The whole of the southern part of the present Muzaffar Gaṛh district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, below that part of the *Thal* or elevated alluvial waste,[291] running down through the southern part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah from north to south, and which terminates a little to the north-west of the town of Muzaffar Gaṛh, in about 30° 10′ N. Lat., is low and depressed, and consists entirely of stretches of alluvial soil running parallel to the banks of the two rivers, Sind and Chin-áb. This extensive tract is seamed with channels, showing, beyond a doubt, that nearly the whole of what now constitutes this district was a river bed.

Respecting this *Thal*, it is necessary to state that, like the district, it is somewhat in the shape of a triangle, the base on the north being about thirty-five miles in breadth, and the sides about fifty; that it is highest on the west, and that it slopes downwards from the banks of the Indus towards the Chin-áb, from west to east. The western part of it consists of sandy soil, with sand-hills here and there, which latter increase in number and in elevation as you move eastwards, and run north and south in detached ridges or waves, between which, narrow flats of stiff clayey soil occur, which the people bring under cultivation, and which yield good crops, and finally terminate in the hollow, or valley, in which the Chin-áb flows.

It must not be supposed, however, that because these ridges of sand-hills increase in height from west to east, that the bed of the Chin-áb lies highest, for the contrary is the fact. There is a regular slope from the Indus towards the Chin-áb; while the southern part of the district, from a little above Shahr-i-Sultán,[292] is so depressed that the waters of the Chin-áb and Indus find their way during the inundations into the very middle of the delta. This difference in the beds

[291] Also known, in history, as the Chúl-i-Jalálí. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 338.

[292] In the hot season of 1754, the Shahr-i-Sultán was swept away by the river, together with the shrine of one of the Bukhárí Sayyids of the Uchchh family, named Pír-i-'Alam. They were subsequently re-built about two miles from the previous site.

of these rivers was noticed by Wood, in his "Report on the Indus."[293] He says: "The depth of the bed of the Chin-áb is lower than the Indus; for they cut canals from the Indus in July, when both are in flood, and the surplus water flows down into the Chin-áb, proving that although their beds, for a distance of sixty miles, are not more than ten miles asunder [they are fourteen *now*, at the narrowest part], yet, in their relative level, there is a considerable difference."

Since the Survey, the record of which I have been quoting from, was made, towards the end of the last century, the main stream of the Indus has been pushing westwards considerably, notwithstanding the fact of the land sloping eastwards. At present there is a strip of *kachchhí* land, some ten miles in breadth, between the *Thal* and that river, which fifty years since did not exist.

Four miles south of the ancient town of 'Alí-púr,[294] as far as the

[293] "*Journal*:" Vol. for 1841, page 557. About the parallel of Koṭ Addhú, in the extreme north-west part of this district, the bed of the Indus is about forty feet or more higher than that of the Chin-áb.

If we draw a line from Multán by Basírah west to the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then southwards to Ghauṣ-púr—close to which the Ab-i-Sind flowed when it was a tributary to the Hakṛá, and went to form the Mihrán of Sind—a distance of 107 miles from the former and 86 from the latter, we shall find what a vast depression exists hereabouts, which accounts for alterations in the junctions of the different rivers so often and so easily. By this depression from Ghauṣ-púr water still reaches the old channels of the Hakṛá. Thus, Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basírah, 410, and the Derah of Ghází Khán, 440. Then again, Baháwal-púr is 375, 'Alí-púr, 337, Islám-púr, 368. Ghauṣ-púr is but 209, and is the lowest point in the neighbourhood; while about ten miles east and west, the height increases to 301 and 295 feet respectively, and about the same distance south, to 296 and 288. The height of the country generally is greatest along the west bank of the Indus as it now flows, down as far as a little north of Kin or Kin Koṭ, where the height above the sea on both sides is 305 and 304 feet. Below this point, at Kin, it falls to 270 feet, and then declines again 245 at Kashmúr, between which places the country slopes away lower towards the depression, locally called the "Sind Hollow," referred to farther on; while the country on the east bank is a little higher than that on the opposite side down to near Aror, near which, to the south-eastwards, is the low tract of land in which the waters from near Ghauṣ-púr find their way into the old Hakṛá channels, and which waters form the so-called "Eastern Narra."

[294] To judge from the height of this place above the surrounding country, it must be an ancient site, and at one time stood near the confluence of the Chin-áb and its tributaries with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus. The present town is supposed to have been founded by one of the chiefs of the Nághar tribe, mis-called Náhars, named 'Alí Khán. Much information respecting this tribe is contained in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. 'Alí-púr lies twenty-five miles north of Uchchh, thirteen south-westwards of Jalál-púr in the Multán district, and a little over seven miles west of the present point of junction of the Gharah with the Chin-áb and its tributaries forming the present Panch Nad, or Panj Ab.

present junction of the two rivers thirty miles farther south, the whole space between is subject to inundation, that from the Indus extending farthest. When the two rivers rise, they begin to draw near each other, but, at last, the Indus water manages to force its way across towards Jaṭú-í,[295] and reaches its old channel of the last century, passing by 'Alí-púr, and meeting the Chin-áb near the village of Pakkah Ná'íchh, four miles and a quarter farther southwards. This state of things continues from June to September, during which period, all the district to the southwards of those places and beyond, is under water, and the only means of communication is by boats. During this time the inhabitants, washed out of their dwellings, live on small platforms raised on poles, with one or more of which each homestead is provided, called *machán* in Hindí, and also *manchán*, both words being from Sanskrit मंच, and are often not able to leave them for weeks together.

At this time, however, the modern town of Khair-púr, a little over five miles west of Pakkah Ná'íchh, just midway between the two cold season channels of the rivers, and which is protected all round by a strong *band* or embankment, becomes an island and a port; for cargoes of grain and other commodities are sent off from thence in large boats down to Sind. Should this *band* give way at any time the place would probably be washed away.[296]

There is no doubt but that the Indus, in former times, flowed through the middle of the present Muzaffar Gaṛh district, in a direction almost due north and south, but inclining a little eastwards towards Multán and Uchchh; and history confirms the tradition respecting it, as I shall presently show. The tradition extant among the people is, that the river once flowed through the middle of this *Thal*, but rather nearer towards the Multán side,[297] after which it began to alter its

295 This was the chief place of the *maḥáll* of Jaṭú-í, one of the twelve constituting the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and was so called after a Balúch tribe of that name, once very powerful. In the time of Akbar Bádsháh they paid revenue to the amount of 2,346,873 *dáms*; held free grants to the amount of 156,841 *dáms*; and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 800 foot as militia when called upon. In computing the amount of revenue, forty *dáms* were equivalent to a *rúpí*.

296 The sand hills of the *Thal*, and several *bands* or embankments, alone prevent the surplus waters from the Indus sweeping over the whole district, and hence there is a constant danger of such happening, should any of the *bands* give way.

297 Elliot ("Historians," Vol. II, page 28), in his extracts from the Táríkh-i-Yamíní, where Sulṭán Maḥmúd is said to cross the Indus [Siḥún in the original, but often applied to a great river] "in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and march towards the city of Bhátia," he adds in a foot-note—"Literally, 'behind' or 'beyond'—[and Ibn Asír uses the same expression], but the position of Múltán is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful." Here the meaning is made quite clear: the river did not flow then as now, as Elliot supposed. See note 349, page 347.

course more to the west; and that the sand hills were produced by the action of wind, blowing the deposits left by the river in its deserted bed into heaps, and into their present shapes. The proof of the correctness of this tradition, which is corroborated by the old 'Arab writers, lies partly in the fact, that, in the middle part of this *Thal*, and farther towards the east, are villages, still existing, with the addition of the words '*kachchh*,' '*belah*,' and '*bet*' to their names, and that it is literally seamed with the old channels in which the Ab-i-Sind or Indus once flowed. As an example of this, I may mention a village called Basírah, west of the town of Muzaffar Garh, and now in the middle of this *Thal*, just midway between the Indus and Chin-áb as they now flow, and about thirteen miles from each. That village stood on the banks of the Indus in the last century;[298] for, in a deed of sale of this particular village at that period, it is designated *Bet* Basírah. The Revenue Settlement Records, no doubt, would furnish many more proofs. At Sháh Garh, likewise, which lies but six miles and a half farther south of it, and about the southern and terminating point of the *Thal*, a long *kol-i-áb*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake, still exists, part of the channel in which the river then flowed.

In former times, as elsewhere mentioned, it united with the rivers of the Panj-áb territory opposite Uchchh, which now is forty miles above the confluence near Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ; and what now constitutes the 'Alípúr sub-division of the Muzaffar Garh district, then lay on the *west*, instead of the *east* bank of the Indus; and Jaṭú-í, Síṭ-púr,[299] and Ghaus-pur

[298] For other information respecting these parts on either side of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, as it flowed in the last century, see my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 656–660, and 673–676.

[299] The present town is situated on an eminence, the remains of older buildings. Here also stands a fine tomb of one of the Nághar chiefs, called Náhars by the Sindís. The dome is covered with the usual glazed blue tiles of this part.

The country round about towards the junction of the rivers is covered with low tamarisk *jangal*, and tall, coarse reeds.

One of the "Punjab Gazetteers," in an account of these parts, presents us with some wonderful history—Gazetteer history it may be styled. Therein it is mentioned, that it was in the time of the Langah dynasty that *the independent kingdom* [*sic.*—much like the kingdom of "the mighty Chákar Rind"] *of the Náhars was established* in what is now the 'Alípúr Tahsil [they must have been content with a small "kingdom"]. It was during *this dynasty* that the Biloches first emerged from the Suliman Mountains [in which they were not located, and from which they did not come at that period, but from Kich and Mukrán], and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus." It also states, that, "of the twenty-six generations of *the Náhar princes*, the last is Bakhshan Khán, Jamadár of the 'Alípúr Tahsil." Here he would probably get pay at the rate of twelve or fifteen rúpís per month—*Sic transit gloria* Náharán! See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 4 and 648.

in the Baháwul-púr territory, were all three places on the *west* bank of the river. The Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam and Ráwí, flowed some miles farther east, the junction being then a few miles east of Shahr-i-Sulṭán.[300] Just at the close of the last century, the Indus suddenly forsook its channel about twenty miles above Uchchh, and took a direction more to the south-south-west towards Miṭ-hí dá Kot, thus placing 'Alí-púr, Jaṭú-í, and Síṭ-púr in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in which Uchchh was once situated.[301] The Janúṇ Canal (the "Jamoo Canal" of the maps) now runs in this deserted channel, and unites with the Panj Ab or Panch Nad below Makhan Belah.

Another *puránah*, *buḍḍh*, or old channel, of which there are several others in different parts of the district, called the *ḍhanḍ* of Sháh Gaṛh, can be traced a short distance from the present Ḳureshí *Paṭan* or Ferry. It takes a tortuous course among the sand ridges of the *Thal*, and

The same "authority" states, that "Sitpur was first called Kanjan Mal, then Khúdi Bhír—the hunting seat of Rája Khúdi," only *ber* - بیڑ - signifies an enclosure —the hunting seat, so called—not *bhír*. There is no mention whatever of Rattá-Mattá, which famous place is situated only four miles and a half from Jaṭú-í. See a subsequent page and note on this subject farther on.

300 See note 292, page 299.

301 The cause of this change, according to native statements, and which are probably correct in the main, is, that from near Kinjhír, the point where the Indus formerly turned eastwards to unite with the Chin-áb, one of the modern Náhar chiefs of Síṭ-púr, excavated a canal to irrigate some land farther west in the direction of the present course of the river. All at once (at the commencement of the inundation it may be presumed), it suddenly left its old channel and took to the canal, and very soon made a new channel for itself; and in it, with occasional minor changes, it has since flowed, thus showing how easily great changes can be brought about in such a sandy, alluvial tract, and that the feat of Saif-ul-Mulúk near Aror, according to the tradition elsewhere related, and which is said to have caused such mighty changes in Sind, was not so difficult to effect after all.

It will be noticed, that it was at this same period, when the Ab-i-Sind or Indus thus suddenly changed its course, and taking to the abovementioned canal speedily cut a new channel for itself, that the Bíáh and Sutlaj likewise changed their courses, and united into one river, and that the Chin-áb and Ráwí, instead of uniting as before, a short distance west of Siḍhú kí Sará'e, turned some ten miles farther towards the south-west. All this shows that the same causes produced the same effects—all the rivers were more or less affected. This is said to have happened about the year 1202 H. (1787-88, A. D.).

The place where the Ab-i-Sind or Indus changed its course farther to the west, as noticed above, was near Kinjhír (the "Keenjur" of the maps) on the west, which place lies about twelve miles west of Khán Gaṛh in the Muẓaffar Gaṛh district.

After the Ab-i-Sind or Indus made this sudden change, the Nawwáb of Bahá-wal-púr, who considered that river his boundary on the west, wherever it might be, annexed the whole of the intervening tract between the old channel and the new to his territory, and managed to hold it up to about the year 1820.

terminates near the old *gaṛh* or fort of Sháh Gaṛh, north-west of Muzaffar Gaṛh. Another is the Panjihár *ḍhanḍ*, which can be traced from a little west of Kinjhír to near the village of Rohilán-Wálí, and from thence for about twelve miles farther to the southwards of Khán Gaṛh. Hereabouts the land lies so low that water finds its way into the middle of this part of the delta, where quite a network of *ḍhanḍs* exist, which for the most part tail on to this one.

Without being aware, apparently, of these facts, it is in the tract I have been thus describing, that the "archæological experts" venture to *identify* places as "the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines [Chin-áb] with the Indus," after the lapse of some twenty-three centuries, when such mighty changes occur in less than one![302]

In the same manner as in the tracts north and west of Uchchh, just described, and between it and Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, called by us Miṭhan Koṭ, below those places again, other ancient channels exist, but not of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus only; and it is beyond a doubt, that it and other tributaries of the Mihrán of Sind, have, at different times, flowed over great part of the alluvial plain of Sind between Uchchh and Aror, and farther south, but much nearer towards the hills westwards than has generally been imagined.[303]

It appears to me that what the old 'Arab writers say respecting the "tributaries, which go to make the Mihrán of Sind," has been overlooked, or not understood. Al-Mas'údí, for example, says (page 206), that, "it comes from the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind," and adds, that, "with its tributaries, which rise in those countries [lying

302 See farther on where these changes are described.

303 Vast changes have taken place, and have continued to occur down to the present time, in the course of the Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, above Aṭak (see my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 32), as well as below Kálá Bágh where it issues from the mountain tracts, particularly between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Níází Afghána and Mián Wálah. (See "NOTES" page 322, and 343, note ¶). There is, as already mentioned in note 116, page 207, of this paper, a tradition, that in ancient times, the country round Laka'í of the Marwat Afghána was a vast lake, as the ancient name Ḍanḍ or Ḍhanḍ indicates, and was so called long before these Afgháns gained a footing therein. See also a note farther on.

Between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Níázís and the modern Derah of Isma'íl Khán, the course of the Áb-i-Sind appears likewise to have changed considerably; and the Gumul and its tributary, the river of the Jzíobah Darah and its affluents, and other streams from the range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyáh, Tor Ghar, Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, between the Gamílah or Gambílah and the Súrí River near Kashmúr, mentioned in note 116, above referred to (which now are for the most part dry, or their waters drawn off for irrigation purposes, and which only find their way to the Áb-i-Sind in time of flood, if they reach it at all), once contributed greatly to the volume of the great river, as I shall presently show.

towards the *kohistán*, bounding it on the west and nórth he means], it flows on towards Multán." Now from this it is quite clear that none of the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb can be meant or referred to here, because the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind,[804] which he is describing, only united with the other great river into which the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb fell, three days' journey, or seventy-one miles as the crow flies, to the *southward* of Multán [that was, near Uchchh, but, it must be remembered, that Uchchh is never mentioned by these old writers by that name], consequently these tributaries were quite distinct from the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, and united with the "Mihrán Rúd" or Áb-i-Sind, to the *northwards, and rather above Multán*.[805]

This is further confirmed by the statement of Al-Mas'údí (page 207), that, "the fourth river of the five which go to form the Mihrán Rúd[806] comes from the boundary or frontier of Sind towards, or in the direction of, Bust, Ghaznín, درغوس, نعتيرا [?], Ar-Rukháj, and the territory of Dáwar; and another of these five rivers [the tributaries] comes from Kash-mír." This, superficially regarded, might seem to refer to the Bihat or Jihlam, which does come out of Kash-mír, but then again, the Mas'údí refers to a river which had entered and become part of the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind, *before it united with the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb*, of which the Bihat was one.[807]

[804] See note 117, for what is meant by "Mihrán Rúd," and the difference between that name and the "Mihrán of Sind."

Strabo says, in his Fifteenth Book, that it is stated that there are, altogether, fifteen considerable rivers which flow into the Indus. Arrian says the same, who takes the number from Megasthenes: Pliny says there are nineteen. Of course, the united rivers refer to the "Great Mihrán," or "Mihrán of Sind."

[805] In the same way that the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, which these Hindí and Persian names signify, the junction of the whole into one stream is known to this day, in the Muzaffar Garh district and vicinity, as the "Sáth Nad," or Seven Rivers; while after the junction of the Ráwí with the Chin-áb and Bihat, farther up, the united waters are known locally as the Trim Áb," or Three Rivers.

[806] Because in the Turkish language *múr-án* means a river, Tod, in his "Raja-s'than" (Vol. I, page 19), supposed that *Mihrán* is one and the same word. He says: "the 'sweet river,' the Meeta Muran [Hindí and Turkish together!], a Sythic or Tartar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known from the *Panj Nud* to the ocean."

To "Panj Nud," he adds a note, that they "are the confluent arms or *source* of the Indus"!

[807] From all this it is clear, that the "tributaries" which go to form the "Mihrán Rúd," Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, refer to rivers uniting with it on either side *above* the parallel of Multán. There are several of these, but some may have been scarcely worthy of the name of rivers in those remote days, or, since that

Al-Istakhrí also says (page 211): "*The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrán of Sind,* is said to issue from a mountain range in which

time, may have changed considerably; while others may have been more important then than they are at present. I will mention these rivers in rotation. First: the Harú from the mountain tract of Maláçh, bounding Kash-mír on the east, with a course of some sixty miles, which unites with the Indus on the east near the ancient town of Níl-Áb below Aṭak. Second: the Kághzí, or river of Koháṭ, on the west, with a course of about ninety-five miles. Third: the Sú-hán, rising in the *kohistán* of Gharál, with a course of about one hundred and twenty-four miles, broad and rapid; and though not more than knee-deep in the cold season, is, in the time of inundation, quite impassable. It enters the Indus on the east side, between Makhhaḍ and Kálá Bágh. Fourth: the Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kurram") from the west, with several important affluents. It has a course of over ninety miles, but its feeders which go to form it, rise still farther to the west. The Kurma'h rises in the mountain range so called, the particulars respecting which will be found in my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 78. Near its junction with the Indus it is joined by two considerable tributaries. This is still an important river, and from proofs remaining, and from what tradition asserts, it was, in former times, a great river. This, I conceive to be, without doubt, one of the five tributaries referred to. Fifth: the Gumul, which rises on the east slopes of the great western range of the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, separating the Afghánistán from Zábul-istán—the Ghaznín territory under the Turkish sovereigns, including Ḳandahár. A few miles west of the great eastern range of the same Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, it receives from the south-west the river of the Jzíob or Jzíobah Darah (*vul.* "Zhob"), and farther west again, the Kwandar river, flowing through the Darah of that name. All these under the name of Gumul now scarcely reach the Indus except in time of flood, but tradition relates that it was, as it must have been, in by-gone times, a river of considerable magnitude. It has a course of about one hundred and eighty miles; while the river of the Jzíob and Kwandar Darahs have, respectively, courses of about one hundred and twenty-five, and sixty-five miles. The Gumul must at one time have sent a great volume of water into the Indus, and is, undoubtedly, one of the "tributaries" referred to by the old 'Arab writers. These are the principal rivers above the parallel of Multán; but there are others, and important ones, lower down, which must be noticed here. Sixth: the Káhá river, or rather, the river of the Káhá Darah, which takes its rise in the slopes of the south face of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, which, after a course of between eighty-five and ninety miles, enters the Derah-ját near Harand, where the waters are drawn off for purposes of irrigation. This river, with its feeders, which come from still farther west, is the most considerable of south-east Afghánistán, and appears in ancient times to have been a perennial stream, and to have contributed a considerable body of water to the Indus. Seventh: the river of the Sárí Darah, which rises in the same range, and has a course of some eighty miles. It drains the Shúm plain, but its waters now seldom reach the Indus. It would have entered it between Kin Koṭ and Rúján near where the Indus bent west and flowed in the "Sind Hollow." Eighth: the Nárí, which rises among the southern slopes of the same great mountain range north of Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, which it passes on the west. Lower down, it receives the waters of the Bolán river, once much more considerable than at present, and the Lahrí river from the east, passes Bhág, also called Bhág-i-Nárí on

the Jíḥún rises." These old geographers can scarcely be expected to have known much respecting those tributaries of the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, north

the east side, and runs southwards in two main branches towards Shadád-púr; and after a course of about one hundred and seventy miles, much of its waters having been drawn off higher up for irrigation purposes, it is lost in the dense *jangal* in the thirsty soil of the great *Ran*, or "Sind Hollow," about twelve miles south of Tanbbú ("Tumboo," "Tambú," and "Tambu" of as many different maps), but, in time of flood, even now, its waters reach the Manchhar lake, one hundred and thirty-four miles farther south, for it then contains a vast body of water. Ninth: the Ghár or Ghaj which rises in the Balúchistán near Kalát-i-Nichárah (*vul.* "Khelat"), which, flowing through the Múlah Darah, and making, so to say, the Múlah Pass, after receiving some minor tributaries by the way from the direction of Gand-ábah, issues from the hills; and, after a course altogether of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty miles, is, like the Nárí river, some forty miles farther to the south-east, lost in the great *Ran*—the "Sind Hollow"—about twelve miles north-west of Shadád-púr, but it is generally flooded twice every year. At such times, the waters of these two rivers, Ghár and Nárí, meeting the overflow from the Indus by the old channel I have referred to, causes vast damage, and lays a great tract of country under water, as related in the text farther on.

This great *Ran* of Upper Sind, or "Sind Hollow," may be said to form the natural boundary of the territory of Sind on the north and north-west, from Kashmúr to Kháiro Gaṛhí, and the Kahtar range on the west.

That the fourth river of the five referred to by Al-Mas'údí, as coming from the side of Bust, Ghaznín, Ar-Rukháj, Dáwar, etc., can refer to the Ghár and its tributaries, is out of the question, because it is impossible for any other river to be referred to as coming from the side of Bust, unless the Kojzakh range has been thrown up since Al-Ma'súdí wrote, a thing not impossible, and diverted the *Lorah*, that is, "*the River*," which now flows through Pushang (incorrectly written *Péshin* in official documents) to the west side of that great range, into Shorá-wak and the sandy desert farther south. There are certainly traditions current among the Afgháns and Tájzíks of these parts, that that river did find its way eastwards in bygone times, and that its old bed lay in the part now constituting the Bolán Pass and defile, and that a great convulsion of nature changed the face of the country, turned up hills, and diverted rivers. Whether the geological appearances are sufficient to warrant our placing faith on these traditions I am unaware, but I believe that all traditions have some foundation of truth.

This may also account for the fact, that such a route as the Bolán is never once mentioned in any history whatever up to quite recent times; and the route from Sind, and sometimes from Multán also, to Kwaṭah and Ḳandahár, was always by Síwí and Sangán, about twenty-five miles east of the present Bolán route.

The Gumul river, and its tributaries also, certainly rise in the range, which, in Al-Mas'údí's time, and in all time, formed the eastern boundary of Zábul-istán.

Farther south again than the Ghár, in the "*kohistán*" of Sind, is another important river bed, the Baran of the maps, which drains a large extent of country, and, after a course of about ninety miles or more, unites with the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, a few miles above Koṭrí. Though now chiefly dependent on rain, it appears not to have been always so; and it is, together with some lesser river beds or mountain torrents, as they now are, its tributaries, the rivers referred to by the

of the junction of the river of Kábul and its tributaries with it, seeing that, until comparatively modern times, the tracts through which they flow have been scarcely known to ourselves. The Istakhari immediately after also mentions the "other great river, the Sind Rúd," distinct from the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind, which former, he says, "is three days' journey or stages [that is, lower down stream] from Multán," and adds, that "the waters of the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Hind wo Sind" of the Masálik wa Mamálik] are sweet and pleasant, even *before* its junction with the Mihrán."

Ibn Ḥaukal also mentions (page 216), the junction of the "Mihrán Rúd" with the Sind Rúd *and* the Jand or Chand Rúd. He subsequently refers (page 218), separately to the Sind Rúd uniting with the "Mihrán Rúd" three days' journey from Multán, that is below or to the southwards of Multán.

Bearing these important facts in mind respecting the tributaries received by the "Mihrán Rúd" or Ab-i-Sind before it reached down as far southwards as Multán, we find, that up to or about the time that Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, ruled over the territories of Multán and Sind, from about the parallel of Kin or Kin Koṭ, and between it and Kashmúr where there is a depression westwards,[308] the "Mihrán Rúd" or Ab-i-Sind, made a more sudden bend towards the west than in more recent times. At the present day, one of its old channels, which is broad and winds considerably, can be traced westwards from near Kashmúr. It passes Yárú, Kumbrí, Kanḍ Koṭ of the Parni Afgháns, and Ghauṣ-púr (of Sind: a different place from that mentioned at

Istakhari, who says, "Mukrán is mostly desert waste, and contains but few rivers. Their waters run into the Mihrán [of Sind] on either side of Manṣúriyah [the territory dependent on]," and through which that river flowed.

We may consequently assume that "the five rivers which went to form" the Mihrán Rúd or Ab-i-Sind (not the "Mihrán of Sind." See note 117, page 208), according to the Mas'údí, were:—1. The River of Kábul, the Lanḍaey Sín of the Afgháns; 2. The Harú; 3. The Sú-hán; 4. The river of Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kurram"); and 5. The Gumul with its tributaries. We may rest assured that the Nári could not possibly have formed one of the five, because it could not have united with the Mihrán Rúd, or Ab-i-Sind, *before* it reached Multán, which all are said to have done.

As recently, however, as Akbar Bádsháh's reign, we know that the course of the Nári river was changed by an earthquake, and to such like convulsions of nature all the tracts around are constantly liable, and were often subject.

That the River of Kábul is included among the five rivers of Al-Mas'údí there can be little doubt, and particularly since, at this day, after the junction of all the rivers now forming the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, the united stream is locally called the Sáth Nad, or Seven Rivers. See note 305, page 305.

308 See note 293, page 300.

page 302), then, changing from the direction of south-south-west more westwards, it passes north of Jágan, between Shikár-púr and Jacob-ábád, and finally reaches the Sind Hollow of Europeans, presently to be noticed, near Kháiro Gaṛhí—the "Khairagari," "Khairo Garhi," and "Khyrah Gurhee," of as many different maps. This ancient channel was, in comparatively recent times, utilized for what became known as the Begárí Wá-hah, or Canal, the largest in Siro or Upper Sind. In still more recent times another channel appears to have branched off from near Ghauṣ-púr, above mentioned, more to the southward and westward, which passed near Laṛ-kánah, or Laṛ-káno as the Sindís call it, and from thence made a bend more directly south, passing near Khanḍiáro, and a few miles east of Noh-Shahrah or Noh-Sharo (the "Nowshera" of the maps), which leaving Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ, some sixteen miles or thereabouts on the west, united with the old channel of the river called the Kunbh, which intervened between Síw-istán and the Mihrán of Sind when Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, marched from Nírún to attack Bahman-ábád, as related at page 232. This old channel can be traced from the existing mounds and hollows as far down as about eight miles east of Lakhhí, near which the rise of the country towards the hills on the west turned it aside, on which it took a more south-easterly course towards Hálah (the "Halla" of the maps), passing between it and Shadád-púr towards its former place of junction with the Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, some distance south of Manṣúriyah and Bahman-ábád. I may add that the whole of Siro, or Upper Sind, and Wíchholo or Middle Sind, is so cut up with *ḍhanḍs* or beds of lakes, and *puránahs*, *buḍḍhs*, *ḍhoṛos*, or deserted channels, many of which have now been utilized as canals, as to show, as previously noticed, that there is scarcely any part of this vast alluvial tract, over which in the course of ages, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus has not flowed at some time or other, and the Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, or Wahindah also, but to a much less degree.

After some further changes in Siro or Upper Sind, another channel appears to have branched off from the main stream, which ran in a more southerly direction from the first, towards Laṛ-kánah, constituting what is called in our maps "the Western Náṛa," and "Narra," and which channel is still open.

I now come to the most important of the channels, and the oldest of which we have any record, which branched off between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr in a westerly direction, passing between six and seven miles north of Kumbrí, before mentioned, then within two miles south of "Sanri" and "Sundree" of the maps, then more towards the north towards the fort of Dil Murád, to within seven miles of Uchchh (this

is the third place of that name previously noticed, and which lies immediately at the skirts of the outer waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, (described in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 5, and 658), after which it bends southwards at about eleven miles west of Khán Gaṛh, now called Jacob-ábád, towards Kháiro Gaṛhí and Shadád-púr. This ancient channel, which is likewise the largest, marks the boundary of our territory in Upper Sind, and separates it from Kachchhí. It has since been utilized, I believe, for the new "Frontier Canal," or at least, such was proposed.

From what the historian of Sind, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, says in his work, we know that as late as his day, the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind, made a sharp bend westwards below Rúján (the "Rohjan" and "Rojhan," etc., of the maps), a few miles above Kin Koṭ, and that the distance from the river to Síwí, (one of the *maḥálls* of the *Sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, in the southern part of the Afghán state lately annexed), in one direction, that is from the river bank near Rúján in the direction of Síwí westwards, was then one hundred *kuroh*, equal to one hundred and seventy-five miles. It is now only one hundred and fifty-two miles; while, in the opposite direction, that is towards the south, in about the direction of Bakhar, the river was, in Mír Ma'ṣúm's time, but sixty *kuroh* distant from Síwí, equal to one hundred and five miles, but now its nearest point is distant one hundred and thirty-two miles, just in the position where the other old channel I have referred to at page 308, which runs from near Kashmúr by Kanḍ Koṭ, lies. This ancient channel or great depression which I now refer to, is what is called, locally, the *Ran* or Marsh, the *Paṭ* or Desert, and "*Dasht-i-Bedárí*," by the people, and the "Sind Hollow" by Europeans. The land slopes down from the banks of the present channel of the Indus towards the west as far as this depression. For example:—Kashmúr on the river bank is some eighty feet *higher* than Khán Gaṛh or Jacob-ábád, and the latter place is lower by some ninety feet than the bed of the Indus at Mithrí, between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr, twenty-one miles farther north. There is nothing really to keep back the river until the country north and west of this great depression begins to rise in the direction of the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh on the north, and the Kahṭar range[309] (turned into "Kheerthur," in the maps) on the west; for the country along the right or west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus continues higher than the level of this great depression down beyond Mihar on the west, as far down as which the overflow from the river between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr finds its way; and on some occasions as far down as the Manchhar lake, as I shall presently show.

309 See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 558, and note ††.

High mounds, the sites of former towns, and the substantial ruins of others, such as Fatḥ-púr,[310] Uchchh, and Sháh-púr; the fact that the tract of country north of Shikár-púr, which is now known as the "Frontier District," is cut up, so to say, with *ḍhoṛahs* or old channels, and *ḍhanḍs* or hollows, in which water accumulates; and that it is still flooded from the Ab-i-Sind or Indus for twenty miles north of Ghauṣ-púr; all tend to confirm the statements of former historians, that the northern parts of Sind, as anciently constituted, lying north of Shikár-púr, and between Rúján and Gand-ábah, contained a number of flourishing towns and villages, and was in a high state of cultivation, and, that the lands lying along the banks of the Ghár or Gháj river used to be some of the most productive in all Sind.

Only fifteen years ago an incident occurred illustrating what I have here stated. The waters of the Indus rose in the month of July some eight or nine feet higher than usual between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr, which, flowing in two branches in the direction of about west-south-west, entered the ancient channel in the great depression, the so-called "Sind Hollow," and reached the district of Laṛ-kánah. The two branches having united at Kháiro Gaṛhí, forty miles west of Shikár-púr, were joined by the overflow of rain-water from the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Pahár, and the Koh-i-Siyáh or Kálá Pahár ranges, bounding the Kachchhí plain on the north, and the water from the Ghár river from the Múlah Pass. The united waters then continued their course towards the south, passing near the town of Shadád-púr,[311] and finally entered

310 This place was, in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, the chief town of the *Maḥáll* or sub-district, one of twelve into which the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah* was divided. The inhabitants then were Samíjahs, and Ẓháríjahs; they had 8050 *bígahs* of land under cultivation; were assessed thereon in 477, 858 *ḍáms* (equal to just 11,446 *rúpís* and a-half); and had to furnish 200 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

311 Dr. R. H. Kennedy, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Bombay Column of the Army of the Indus, crossed part of this great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," marching from Laṛ-kánah upwards towards Shadád-púr, in March, 1839. He says ("Campaign of the Army of the Indus," Vol. I, page 189): "The third march brought us to Shadadpore: the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval between spring tides, than an inland district." On leaving Shadád-púr, he says: "In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy colour, and showing signs of *being sometimes under water.* At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognized." In another place (Vol. II, page 165) he says: "Betwixt Mehar and Baug [Bhág], we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-convulsion; the strata of soil distinctly show-

the Nárah branch of the river and the Manchhar lake. A vast area of country was flooded in the Shikár-púr, Laṛ-kánah, and Mihar districts; and upwards of five hundred villages, great and small, were flooded, and many substantial buildings swept away.

It therefore may be assumed that it is not beyond the range of possibility, that, some day, the A'b-i-Sind or Indus, may leave its present channel and choose a new one, notwithstanding that it has not altered very materially for nearly a century, but a slight obstacle might bring about a great change.[312]

ing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface bursting upwards and elevated by volcanic action. See note 307, page 305. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky [Lakhhí]; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of *the silt of the Indus*, or whatever *inland sea* once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Daudur [Ḍháḍar] to Sukkur [Sakhar] is one uniform flat of the same character.

Masson, who travelled in Sind some years previous to the annexation of the country, mentions (Vol. II, page 130), that latterly, the inundations of the Indus had increased westerly, and that, near "Dérá Ghaibí," which is nearly forty miles to the southwards of Kháiro Gaṛhí, mentioned above, "is a branch of the Indus," (page 132.).

312 We may judge of the vast changes which must have taken place in the lapse of many centuries in the tracts lying in and under the south-eastern parts of the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, and the outer and lower range of Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, the tracts in which the Marí and Bughṭi, and other Balúchís now dwell, in which the Dáwí and Nághar Afgháns previously dwelt, and likewise in the parts still farther west. Al-Idrísí refers to marshy places west of the A'b-i-Sind between Kashmúr and Sharú-sán or Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ; and the A'rá'ish-i-Maḥ-fil, a more modern work, states, that between Bakhar and Síwí, nearly one hundred and fifty miles to the north-north-west, the towns and villages are often laid waste through the A'b-i-Sind flowing from the south towards the north [sic. in *Mss.*] at intervals of some years. For half this distance towards the north and north-west, between Bakhar and Síwí, the half nearest the latter has now few villages to be laid waste; for the country has been for more than two centuries, a howling desert, over which, for four months together, the deadly *simúm* blows, and in the other half, nearest Bakhar, the villages and towns are not numerous; but, in both portions, the ruins of several ancient towns and villages are even still to be traced. These statements contained in the A'rá'ish-i-Maḥ-fil, are confirmed by the statements of Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, already referred to, who describes the state of that part in his day.

We read in the native historians—the originals I mean—of these parts being in ancient times well cultivated and flourishing, and of numerous gardens, particularly around Síwí of the Paṛní Afgháns, now, or very lately, a complete waste. Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, would scarcely have *selected* Síwí as his future place of residence, when under the necessity of evacuating Ḳandahár, and previous to his conquest of Sind, in preference to Kwaṭah (*vul.* "Quetta") and Kalát-i-Ni-

The Ghár river, previously referred to, appears to have sent another branch into the A'b-i-Sind in recent times, and in a more easterly direction. This old channel, which is broad and deep, can be traced from about fourteen miles to the southward of Kháiro Gaṛhí. It runs in the direction of about east-south-east, passing Laṛ-kánah and the ruins of Mahortah on the north, and after passing them about three miles, it turns sharply to the northward, and unites with the A'b-i-Sind a little over sixteen miles west of Bakhar, and about eight miles higher up than the point where the Western Nárah, as it is called by Europeans, branches off from the A'b-i-Sind, or Indus. Some have mistaken this

gh́árah (*vul.* "Khelat"), if it had been, and the tracts surrounding it, anything like what they subsequently became, and lately were. After his time, and within two generations, a great change took place. Síwí became so very sickly, that Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the feudatory of Bakhar and its dependencies under the Arghúns, of which Síwí was a dependent district, had to replace its garrison yearly; for most of the men perished through the badness of the climate and water. Of the badness of the water on the way from the Derah of Ghází Khán to the Shrine of Sakhhí Sarwar, I can, myself, testify. This continued until the time of Akbar Bádsháh, after the death of the above mentioned Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, when Bakhar and its dependencies became annexed as a *Sarkár* to the Multán *Ṣúbah*. Shortly after, a great flood came, accompanied by some volcanic action (See what Dr. R. H. Kennedy states in the preceding note, 311), and the spring-head, the source of this river, which supplied the place, became changed, and the river's course likewise, and the deleterious nature of the water at the same time. Previous to this change, the river used to flow a distance of fifty *kuroh*, and its waters collecting in the Sar-Wáh district—about the position of the great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," already referred to, and once the channel of the A'b-i-Sind, or Indus—used to be drawn off for irrigation purposes, and what remained reached the Manchhar lake, about one hundred and twenty miles farther to the south, in WíchFolo or Middle Sind.

Alexander's march, according to the map given by Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 248, is represented as leading straight down from "Uch," which he calls "*Alexandria*" [see the observations on this subject in note 192, page 244] to "Ubaro" along the Indus, and then by "Aror" to "Mahorta" across the Indus as it at present flows, and from thence down the west bank to "Sehwán," and subsequently, by "Brahmanabad," "Hala," "Kotrí," and "Thatha" to "Kurachí." In another direction Alexander is taken from "Kotri" to "Lonibari ost," just according to the present course of the river, as though it had never changed from his time to this day. Of course, all this is pure imagination, while we know what mighty changes have taken place, even since the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and that the river has been constantly changing.

The same writer makes "Kraterus" cross the Indus at "Fázilpur," and then takes him by "Kusmur" and "Khangar" to "Dadar" and "Bagh," and so through the "Bolan defile;" and quotes Curtius as his authority for all this, but I fail to find any confirmation of it in the latter's history after careful search, but I know quite well that none of the places mentioned were then in existence, and that the Indus did not run then as supposed.

old branch of the Ghár for the Nárah; but the latter is a natural branch or offset from the Ab-i-Sind, and not a canal, as some have imagined, but it may have been artificially improved in recent times.

Mahortah, near Laṛ-kánah, on the Ghár channel, is the site of an ancient fortified town, on a great mound, and, in former times, must have been a place of some importance.

The Nárah, which is navigable, runs in a very tortuous channel, hence its name of Nárah or Snake, like the so-called Eastern Nárah, elsewhere described, but the channel of the one under description winds very much more than its eastern namesake. It pursues a course almost parallel with the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and on the northern side falls into, and forms, the Manchhar lake. Its continuation, known as the Aral, issues from the eastern side of the lake, and unites with the main channel of the Ab-i-Sind below the town of Sihwáṇ, the ancient Síw-istán, which gave name to the province of which it was the capital.

This Nárah channel is probably the continuation of that in which the diverted branch of the Hakṛá, or Mihrán, first flowed, when diverted from the east of Aror.

Farther south again, and within the limits of the old *Sarkár* of Síw-istán, or Wíchholo, or Middle Sind (which has been mistaken for Síwí and its district, more than two hundred and ten miles, as the crow flies, farther north),[313] the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, was kept within bounds,

[313] This is the name, which strange to relate, nearly every English writer manages to mistake for Síwí of the Paṛní Afgháns, because some stupid or careless map-maker or engraver, in former years, before correct surveys were made, happened to write the name of this well-known province of Wíchholo or middle Sind, and its chief town, a little too far north.

Professor Lassen, too, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," taking his information, apparently, from English writers, makes the usual error of mistaking Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ, for the hilly tract of country forming the southern boundary of the Afghán state, where the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Sulímán range, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Paháṛ, becomes mixed up with the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Paháṛ (as they are called in various languages used in this neighbourhood where so many different peoples adjoin each other), around Síwí of the Paṛní Afgháns, while, at the same time, he calls it correctly, "Sindomana—Sihwan." This ought to have opened his eyes to the fact, that Síw-istán or Sindomána, or Sihwáṇ, is not Síwí, and never was Síwí.

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (page 264): "I agree with all previous writers in identifying Sindomána with Sehwán; partly from its similarity of name [I fear "similarity," after this fashion goes too great a way in these "identifications"]. * * * At page 266 he says: "Its present name is said to be a contraction of Sewistán. * * * It seems strange that a notable place like Sehwán should not be noticed by Ptolemy under any recognizable name. * * * I, therefore, reject the reading of Sewistán [the

and prevented from encroaching farther westwards, through the rise of the country in that direction towards the Kahṭar range, and also by the rocky nature of the country, the lower skirts of the Lakhhí mountains. This rocky barrier intervened from Síw-istán Ḥawelí, the Sindú-stán, Sharúsán, and Síw-istán of the old geographers and the A'ín-i-Akbarí—the modern Sihwáṇ—down to within a few miles of Ṭhaṭhah, north and west of which it once flowed.[314] Even this rocky

name is not written "Sewistán," but Síw-istán] as a modern innovation of the Hindus, to connect the place with the name of the god Siva, etc., etc.

It would have been passing strange if Ptolemy had mentioned it under the name of "Sehwán," since it was not known by the name of Sihwáṇ for ages after Ptolemy. I, however, beg to say, that the name Síw-istán, *is perfectly correct.* It was so called when the 'Arabs conquered Sind,, and the Chach Námah shows that it was so called before that time ; while the statements of early Muḥammadan geographers show, that it continued to be so called, and likewise Sharú-sán and Sindú-stán, for the first three centuries of the Muḥammadan era. That such was the fact, every native writer, (including the historians of Sind), from the earliest time that Sind is mentioned in history, shows, as all may see who can read the originals for themselves. The author of the "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," who wrote in 1260 A. D., was not a Hindú, yet he calls it Síw-istán and Sindú-stán (pages 532 and 539) ; and Ibn Baṭúṭah, who likewise, was not a Hindú, calls it Síw-istán. It was still best known by that name in Abú-l-Faẓl's time, and the province also. It is not surprising, therefore, that "Hwen Thsang does not notice Sehwân," it would have been surprising if he had, because it was not known as Sihwáṇ in his day any more than in Ptolemy's.

Another modern writer—Tod—in his "Rajas'than" (Vol. II, page 230), on the other hand, mistakes Síw-istán for "*Seistan*, region of cold—'sei'—cold," but in what language he does not say, and he places it "on both sides of the Indus." Sistán is *hot* enough, but it does not lie on both sides of the Indus ; but then Tod's geographical, like his historical statements, are often of the wildest.

The most serious error made respecting Síw-istán is by a Government official. Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, formerly assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Balúchistán, in a very lengthy "Report" to Government on *Síwí* (which he calls "*Sewí*"), and other Afghán districts, *some three degrees farther north than Síw-istán or Sihwáṇ*, (taken, apparently, from some incorrect extract from the A'ín-i-Akbarí) bases all his theories, and even calculates the revenue settlements on this, the chief town of Wicholo or middle Sind, also giving name to a large province, being Síwí in southern Afghánistán which, of course, it is not. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 553, and Erratum.

[314] There is no doubt whatever that, in comparatively modern times, the main channel of the Áb-i-Sind, leaving the great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," took a more directly southern course than at present, from a point a little west of Darbelo. In the account of the campaign against Mírzá Jání Beg, the Tar-khán, the last independent ruler of the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭhah, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, who was present in that expedition, says, that "the Áb-i-Sind is six *kuroh* [about eleven miles] from Síw-istán, or Sihwáṇ, and that Jání Beg arrived in the river from Lár, or lower Sind, with a fleet of *Ghurábs*," thus showing that there must have been plenty of water in that branch, even at that comparatively modern period, namely, 994 H. (1585 A. D.) See pages 112 and 229.

barrier has felt the force of the great river; for the roadway over the Lakhhí range, which existed when the troops going to Ḳandahár in 1839 passed over it, was soon after washed away, and Sihwáṇ, which was close to the river some years ago, is now three miles or more inland; and three remarkable detached rocks lower down, between Bahman jo Púro and Ṭhaṭhah, which forty years ago were eight miles inland, are (or very lately were, for the changes are unceasing) now in the bed of the river.

Thus the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, A'b-i-Sind, or Indus, from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it, was a tributary, along with the other rivers now forming the Panch Nad, or Panj A'b, of the Hakṛá, or Wahindah, which having all united into one great river at the *Dosh-i-A'b*, as related by the old 'Arab and Sindí writers, formed the Mihrán of Sind, or Sind-Ságar. Lower down than this point of junction it sent off a branch to the westwards which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, on the east, which again united with the main channel above Manṣúriyah, and entered the ocean sometimes by one, and sometimes by two principal mouths. The Aror branch having been subsequently diverted, and other changes having taken place, the A'b-i-Sind began to incline more towards the west from near Ghauṣ-púr, in the great depression referred to at page 304, and by which its surplus waters still find their way towards Aror, and deserted the other tributaries of the Hakṛá. It then passed between where Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr stand, took a direct westerly course, and cut a new channel for itself in what is now known to us as the Sind Hollow, and found its way south as before described. Then other changes succeeded—for they were constantly taking place more or less—through the Bíáh and its tributaries, which formed the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, inclining to the westwards, when it joined the A'b-i-Sind, and formed a new Panch Nad, or Panj A'b, and deserted the Hakṛá altogether. This appears to have caused the A'b-i-Sind to alter its course, and, instead of turning so suddenly westwards as before, it inclined more to the south-westwards, leaving the Sind Hollow and cutting a new channel for itself by Kanḍ Koṭ, as before described, passing the present Laṛ-kánah on the west, and then inclining southwards in the direction of Siw-istán. Other changes succeeding, when near the parallel of Aror, it found its way into the channel into which the western branch of the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind had been diverted, and began to cut its way through the limestone hills where Rúṛhí and Bakhar now stand. From thence it passed Darbelah

Mír Ma'ṣúm also says, that, at that time, there was "a small fort on the river bank at Lahorí above Naṣr-púr." The last named place is now sixteen miles east of the river.

or Darbelo, flowed to the southwards, and got into the old channel of the Kunbh, which flowed between Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád when Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, marched to attack them, and through the Noh-Shahrah district of Sind, passing the range of low hills on which the modern Ḥaidar-ábád stands on the east, and about sixteen miles or more east of the Mukhahlí hills, entered the ocean, at one period to the east of Debal and at another on the west, a little to the south of Mughal-bín, which, in comparatively modern times, was near the sea-coast.

The ancient sea-port of Sind, Debal, or Dewal, was well known to the English traders down to within the last two hundred years; and this part of the channel was navigable for small sailing ships up to within a short distance of Ṭhaṭhah. A vast deal of the delta is of comparatively recent formation; for the small district dependent on Bádín was the most southerly part of Sind in Akbar Bádshāh's reign, and now it is over seventy miles from the southernmost part of the delta. The river, no doubt, formed several smaller channels therein, and, in later times, inclined farther west a little below Ṭhaṭhah, and formed a new channel, the Bhágar, which still passed near Debal and was still navigable as far up as Ṭhaṭhah. Hence, in all probability, the error and confusion arose, because Debal was known as "the Port *of* Ṭhaṭhah," that it must be Ṭhaṭhah itself, which had not been founded until after Debal had gone to comparative decay. It was the first place in the territory of Sind attacked by the 'Arab leader, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the Ṣaḳifí, early in 93 H. (711 A. D.)[515]

[515] See page 206. Mr. A. W. Hughes, in his "Sind Gazetteer," on the conquest of Sind, says (p. 24): "Muhammad Kásim [here we have the usual error. See note 242, page 276] left Shiráz on this expedition in H. 92 (A. D. 711), with a fine army [the 'fine army' amounted to about 10,000] and *would seem* (sic.) to have reached [There is not the shadow of a doubt about it] the seaport of Debal (*supposed* by some to have been Manora, near Karáchi, but by others Tatta) early in the following year, which he soon captured." At page 123 of the same "Gazetteer," under the heading of "Bambura," he states: "It is stated [by whom not said] that *there are reasons for supposing* that this ancient place was known during the eighth century under the names of Debal, Dewal, or Dawul [!]; and that it was the first town that was stormed by the Muslim invader, Muhammad Kásim Sákifi." At page 323, again, we have:—"*It is supposed* that Bambura may very possibly have been the Dewal (or Debal) * * * Others, again [who?], have *presumed* that Tatta was the ancient Debal, or that even Manora was the place stormed * * * At page 414, the compiler tells us, under the head of Karáchi, that, "By some writers *it is supposed* to occupy the same position, or to be at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient seaport of Dewal (or Debal)," etc.

Here it will be seen that we have three different "suppositions," or "it is saids," and the like, respecting this one place, and all incorrect, as I shall now show. See also a deal on this subject in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India,"

THE WIHAT, BIHAT, OR ANCIENT BEDASTA.

The Wihat, Bihat, or Bedastá, constituted one of the seven rivers

pp. 297 to 302. The opinion of Mr. Crow, who was for many years stationed at Ṭhaṭhah (not "Tatta") is the only one nearly correct.

Abú-l-Faẓl was the first to make a blunder on this subject in stating that Ṭhaṭhah was Debal, and, after the same fashion, telling us that Bakhar was "Manṣúrah," which it was not: its site is one hundred and twenty-one miles south of Bakhar. These errors are the more unaccountable seeing that he described the ruins of Bahman-ábád correctly (see note 105), page 196 and must have known that Ṭhaṭhah was not founded for some centuries after the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs. Bambhúrah cannot possibly be Debal of the 'Arabs for the reasons given at page 224, and as also shown in the map from the "Masálik wo Mamálik" at page 213.

Cunningham has also gone astray with regard to the position of Debal or Dewal. In his "Ancient India," p. 279, after "identifying *Haidarabad* as *Nirunkot*," he says, "Abulfeda [Abú-l-Fidá ?] makes it 25 farsangs from *Debal*. * * * *Lâri bandar* I will presently show to have been the most probable position of the ancient *Debal*."

I may mention, however, *en passant*, that Bú Riḥán says Lári Bandar—Lohárání—was twelve *farsakhs* from Debal. See also Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 65–66.

At page 297 of his work Cunningham says: "The position of the celebrated port of *Debal*, the emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, is still unsettled. By Abul Fazl and the later Muhammadan writers, *Debal* has been confounded with *Thatha*; but as *Debal* was no longer in existence [indeed !] when they wrote, I conclude that they were misled by the name of *Debal Thatha*, which is frequently applied to Thatha itself. Similarly, *Brâhmana*, or *Brâhmanâbâd*, was called Debal Kángra [?], and the famous seaport of Debal was named *Debal Sindi*. But *Diwal* [sic.] or *Debal*, means simply a temple, and therefore *Debal Sindi* means the temple at or near the town of *Sindhi*. Burton says that the shawls of *Thatha* are still called Shâl-i-Debali, but this only proves that Debal was the place where the merchants procured the Thatha shawls."

I may mention, however, that silken cloth or fabric of various colours, brocade, is called *debá* in the Persian language, and that *debá-í* is its adjective, but the noun is certainly not derived from Debal or Dewal, because *debá* is a purely Persian word, and the place was so called on account of its great *budh* or temple. See page 231.

Cunningham then quotes Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," I. 130, who is understood to say, that "the river Sindhi" is only a small branch of the Indus, which appellation is now lost in the country [?] which it so plentifully waters and is called *Direllee*, or Seven mouths," and he adds: "This statement shows [?] that the branch of the Indus leading up to Lâri bandar was called *Debali* or the river of Debal, etc. * * * That this was the Piti branch of the Indus I infer from its other name of Sindhi, which I take to be the same as *Sinthon* Ostium of Ptolemy, or the second mouth of the river from the west." From this we are supposed to understand that the "Piti" mouth of the Indus existed much the same in Plotemy's time as now, and that *Sindhí* means second !

After saying at page 279, that he is going to "identify" it (Debal) as "Lâri bandar," in another place he tells us, that, "if *Debal* cannot be identified with either Karâchi or Lâri bandar, it must be looked for somewhere between them."

mentioned in the "Vedic Hymns," as the "Saptah Sindhún, or Sindha-

He should have added something more that Hamilton says, namely, that "The river of *Sindy* would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a *Mahometan* Saint, who has a high Tower built over him, called *Sindy* Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a land mark. This writer, according to his map, places "Duill" (Debal) in Mackraun (Mukrán).

There is plenty of *proof*, however, that neither of the above statements are correct as to its situation, nor the assertion that it was no longer in existence when Abú-l-Fazl wrote.

As late as the time when the Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh was written, the author of which was an official of the Dihlí empire in the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gir Bádshah, and a native of Paṭiálah, Debal is said, by him, to be the chief port of Sind; and Karáchí was unknown. I may add that the place on which Karáchí stands is considered really to be part of Mukrán rather than of Sind.

The author above quoted says: "Debal is a great place for pearls and other valuable commodities; and it has salt and iron mines, *which pay a considerable revenue to the Government*. Near it, at six *kuroh* distant, is a mine or quarry of yellow stone of great value for building purposes. About 4,000 vessels and boats belong to the port of Debal."

Salt in vast quantities still exists in the Sháh Bandar *ta'allukah* of the Karáchí District or Collectorate.

Wood, too, with all his acumen, fell into the same error, that Ṭhaṭhah and Dewal, and even Bahman-ábád, were all one.

The earliest notice, probably, that we have respecting the seaports of Sind and the river Indus, from the writings of an Englishman, is contained in a "Tractate written by Nicholas Whithington, who was left in the Mogolls country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612." He says: "Concerning Sinda, no city is by general report of greater trade in the Indies than *Tatta*, the chief port, *Lowri bandar*, three days journey from it; a fair road without the river's mouth, clear of worms, which, about Surat, and other places of the *Indies*, after three or four months' riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder return. In two months from hence by water they go to *Lahor*, and return in one down. The ports and roads of *Sinda* are free. * * * Goods may be conveyed from *Agra* on camels to *Buckor* in twenty days, which is on *Sinda* river, thence in fifteen or sixteen days aboard the ships. One may go as soon from *Agra* to *Sinda* as *Surat*, but there is more thieving which the *Mogoll* seeks to prevent."

The distance, in a direct line, is rather greater to Bakhar than to Súrat, but now, for half the way, the route lies through Jasal-mír and the waterless desert, and would certainly not be preferred to the other to Súrat. It is evident from this, that, at the period in question, that part was not so waterless as it has become in recent times.

Whithington continues: "The inhabitants of *Sinda* are mostly *Razbootches*, *Banians*, and *Boloches*: in Cities and Towns the Governors are *Mogolls*. * * * The *Boloches* are of *Mahmets* religion. They deal much in ca els; most of them robbers by land, and on the river, murthering such as they rob. When I was in *Sinda*, they took a boat with seven *Italians*, one *Portugal* Friar, the rest slain in fight. The last named was ripped open by them for gold."

Next we come to Walter Paynton, who accompanied Captain Christopher

waḥ," here to be noticed from west to east; and, according to the same

Newport in 1612, on the twelfth voyage to India, and who kept a journal. He gives a long account of Balúch treachery on the coast. They sent a boat on shore in which was Sir Thomas Powell, accompanied by two Persian servants of the Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, on his way to Iṣfaḥán. He says: "It was for the purpose of discovering the countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little village, called *Tesseque* [Jask ?], they spake with camell men, and others of the countrey people, by whom they understood, that that countrey was called *Getche Macguerona* [Kích-Mukrán], and the inhabitants *Boloches*: all living under the government of one King, named *Melicke Meirza*, whose chiefe residence was some five or six days' iourney from hence, at a port called *Guader*."

They discovered the intended treachery in time, however, and by a stratagem, managed to reach the ship again. This was on the 19th September, 1612. "The ship," he continues, "was steered for *Sind*, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the *Indus* in 24 degrees 38 minutes, in the Mogolls dominions. Variation 16 degrees 45 minutes, in five fathoms, less one foot of water, and in good ground. * * * Boats were sent from DIUL [Dewal] for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people, 29th September, and the Ambassador left the ship under a salute of 11 guns. * * * *Tata*, a great citie one dayes iourney from DIUL, *both cities* standing in the Great *Mogolls Dominions*."

Láhrí Bandar is mentioned separately, and was a totally distinct place from *Diul* or Debal. Bú-Riḥán says they were twelve *farsakhs*, or leagues apart.

Walter Paynton, and Joseph Salbancke [the same who proceeded from Ajmír to Iṣfaḥán by Ḳandahár. See the account of his journey in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 547], who were merchants on board, were sent on shore to proceed to *Diul* in one of the country boats; and the former, in his narrative states, that, "at the time, the ship was riding about four or five miles from the River's mouth *from whence they had fifteen miles to the city or town of Diul*, where the Ambassador had gone. He stayed in a house in *Diul* itself, and there they lodged while the party remained there. They went "through the city to the castle, and were received by the Governour, Arah Manewardus [*sic* in text]." Compare Cunningham's "Ancient India," pages 297—302."

"The *Portuguese* incited the Governour of *Diul* against the party, and endeavoured to cut them off. Sir Robert Shirley wished to be allowed to proceed to *Tatta*, but the Governour would not give permission, so he left, with one *Persian* servant, without leave, and had by the way to pass a river where he could get no one to take them across, the Governour having prohibited it under pain of death. They made rafts of boards and timbers, and the Ambassador "shipped himself" with his servant to help him in navigating it, and had no sooner put off, than 20 or 30 horsemen came in great haste, despatched by the Governour [the Hindú "Dás"] to seize them. They were brought back, men swimming to the raft, which *Nasr Beg*, the servant, was not able to guide against the tide, and they narrowly escaped drowning. The Ambassador's followers "disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward, shot off his pistol in their faces, and was instantly slain by another shot, and the rest carried away prisoners to *Diulsinde* [*i.e.*, Dewal on the Sind, by which name others also mention it], being pillaged by the way by the souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to *Tatta*, where

legends, the tracts originally occupied by the "Vedic people," were the

they were friendly entertained of the Governour [he] being a *Persian*. Sir Thomas Powell and Master Francis Bub were then dead before in *Diulsinde*. He (Sir Thomas Shirley) remained at *Tatta* till fit opportunity for *Agra*, the way being long and in danger of thieves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong convoy, for whom he waited also two months.

"The Lady Powell in this place was delivered of a son, but she and it, together with Master Michael Powell, brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his (Sir Thomas Shirley's) coming to *Agra*, the *Mogoll* [Jahán-gír Bádsháh] gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint, sent for the *Banian* Governour of *Diulsinde*, to answer at the Court, promising him his own revenge, if he would stay. But he hasting to *Persia*, after many presents from the *Mogoll*, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for *Persia*, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber, his Apothecary, returned to *Surat*, and John Heriot dyed at *Agra*. There remained with him of his old Followers only his Lady, and her Woman, two *Persians*, the old *Armenian*, and the *Chircassian* [Circassian]: His Dutch Jeweller came from *Agra* to *Surat*, with Master Edwards." See the map from *Purchas*, opposite, also the old map at page 297, which will show where Debal was, and the changes in the mouths of the Indus.

The above will, I think, conclusively show that Dewal was not Ṭhaṭhah, nor Láhrí Bandar, and that all three were totally different places, as is distinctly stated by the native authors of Sind.

Subsequent to this unfortunate affair, and ill-treatment of our people by this mild Hindú, W. Paynton, then Captain Paynton, mentions "*Diul*, near the mouth of the River *Indus*," as well as "*Diu* in *Guzurat* where the *Portuguese*, among other places, have a very strong castle."

Sir Thomas Herbert left England in 1626, and was also landed at *Diul*. Paynton says: "*Tutta* is one of the most celebrated Marts of *India*, so encompassed with the River *Indus*, that it makes a Peninsula. *Loor Bander* [Láhrí Bandar] is the Port of it, but Ships that lie there are subject to the Worm [this is contrary to the statement of Whithington], as at *Swally*, *Goa*," etc.

In the account of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615, Terry, his Chaplain, writes: "*Tatta*, a very fruitful and pleasant country, made so partly by the branchings of the *Indus*, that spreads itself into various Circlets, and forms many little Islands up and down. * * * The main Current of this River meets with the Sea at *Sindee* [*i. e.*, Dewal, as shown in the previous notices], a place noted for many curious handicrafts."

Thevenot, who reached Súrat about fifty years after, namely, in 1665–66, says, respecting the "Province of *Sindy*, which some call *Tatta*," that "The chief Town of this Province is *Tatta*, and the most Southern Town *Diul*. It is still called *Diul-Sind*, and was heretofore called *Dobil* [Debal he means]. It lies in the 24th or 25th degree of Latitude. There are some *Orientals* that call the Country of *Sinde* by the name of the Kingdom of *Diul* [he is quite correct: it is called the territory of Debal or Lár]. It is a country of great Traffick, and especially the Town of *Tatta*, where the Indian Merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the Inhabitants, who are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts [and still are]. The *Indus* makes a great many little Islands towards *Tatta*, and these Islands being fruitful and

seven *do-ábahs*, or deltas, extending from the east bank of the Sindhu, or

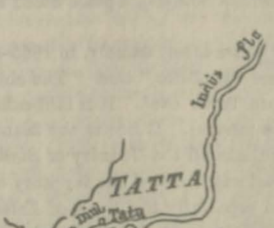
pleasant, make it one of the most commodious Towns of the *Indies*, though it be exceedingly hot there.

"There is also a great trade at *Lourebender* [Láhrí Bandar], which is three days' journey from *Tatta*, upon the sea ['Diul' or Debal, according to Paynton, was fifteen miles from 'Tatta'], where there is a better Road for ships, than in any other place in the Indies."

Tavernier, who was in India in the same year as Thevenot, says: "*Tata*, is one of the greatest Cities of *India*, a little above the mouth of the River *Indus*. * * * The Trade of *Tata*, which was formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the mouth of the River grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than another, the sand hills having almost choaked it up."

It will thus be noted, that a great change was then taking place in the course of the Indus hereabouts; that Ṭhaṭhah, Debal, and Láhrí Bandar were totally distinct places—"Bambura," as the site of Debal is wholly out of the question—and that such places as "Manora," or "Karáchí" were then unknown to fame, although some pretend to identify them, even in the time of the campaign of Alexander of Macedon in these parts. Is it to be supposed that the commanders of English trading vessels, who at the periods I have been quoting, frequented the ports of Sind, and the merchants who were passing up and down between Multán, Bakhar, Ṭhaṭhah, and Debal, would have been ignorant of Karáchí and its port if it had been of any importance, or as good as it was when we first occupied it? About the period in question, what was subsequently called Karáchí, was known as Rám Bágh; and Karáchí, as before remarked, was considered rather to belong to Mukrán than to Sínd.

Debal or Dewal is said above to have been in 1666, the southernmost town of Sind, and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport's landing of Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell there, and the melancholy events which befell his party therein. The distance given as fifteen miles from Ṭhaṭhah by the river, would bring us very near to the Shrine of Pír Patho, at the foot of the Makkahlí hills, and near the Bhágar branch of the Indus, about the period in question, a very great stream; and it will be noticed that Sir Robert Shirley tried to cross "a River" from "Diul" to get to "Tatta" on a raft. I therefore imagine that Debal lay in the vicinity of that Shrine, but a little farther south-westward perhaps. The Bhágar branch was navigable for vessels of 200 tons as far as Láhrí Bandar two centuries since, which latter place was then some twenty miles distant from its mouth.



In De Witts' Atlas, published at Amsterdam in 1688, in map No. 74, of which a tracing is here inserted, both Debal and Ṭhaṭhah are situated on the right bank of the Indus, showing, that, after Sir Thomas Shirley's time, another change had taken place, which had placed Debal on the same side as Ṭhaṭhah. It is in Lat. 24° 50′ in that map.

It is said, that when our embassy was sent to Sind in 1809, the Shrine of Pír Patho was visited by a party

*Á*b-i-Sind—for that was not included among the seven rivers, or "Saptah Sindhún"[316]—to the west bank of the Saraswatí.

who sailed thither from Ṭhaṭhah down the Bhágar branch of the river. When Pottinger was in Sind along with that Embassy, the Bhágar branch is said to have been "the chief outlet of the water of the Panjaub and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth."

In the year 578 H. (1182–83 A. D.), Debal—or Díbal, as its name is written in the Musalmán histories—was taken possession of, together with its territory lying along the sea-coast, by Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭán of Ghaznín, the same who established the Muḥammadan rule over Dihlí, the "Shabudin," and "Shahab-ood-Deen" of Dow and Briggs, and their copyists. Near Debal was Damṛílah, both of which places were taken possession of by Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, the Khwárazm Sháh, when he came into Lower Sind in 621 H. (1224 A. D.). Having gained possession of Síw-istán, the modern Sihwáṇ, he marched from thence to Debal; and its ruler, named Chanísar, whose Musalmán title was Sinán-ud-Dín, of the Sumṛah tribe, and who was ruler of Lár, or the Debal territory (and subject to Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah of Multán and Úchchh, which included all Sind), who is called a Ḥabash in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí (page 294, which see, also note), fled by sea and escaped. The Sulṭán from thence detached a force against Nahar-Wálah, which returned with immense booty. He then founded a Jámi' Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple, the same, in all probability, which was demolished when the 'Arabs captured the place, and from which it took its name.

At the period in question Ṭhaṭhah was not in existence, neither was it when Ibn Baṭúṭah was at Láhrí Bandar in 734 H. (1333–34 A. D.). The ruins noticed by him I believe to be those of Damṛílah. See note 173, page 224, and note 195, page 255.

There is a deal in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 374, respecting Debal which he "identified" as Karáchí, and Manorah as the site of its idol temple, but, as he also "identified" Manṣúriyah *and* Bahman-ábád as Ḥaidar-ábád, we may be permitted to ignore its correctness. No allowance whatever is made by writers of the present day for the changes which are hourly taking place in the course of the Indus and its tributaries, and in the formation of its deltas, some of which changes, in rather less than three centuries, I have shown from the extracts previously given.

The author of the well known and valuable history, the Jahán-Ára, Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, the Ḳazwíní, died at Debal in 975 H. (1567 A. D.), on his way to Hindústán from Írán.

In the reign of Báḳí Muḥammad Khán of Balkh, about 1006 H., an Úzbak noble of high rank, Manṣúr, the Dád-Khwá, set out on the pilgrimage to Makkah

316 Dr. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" says, that Prof. Max Müller states ("Chaps." 1–63), that the seven rivers are "the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjáb, and the Sarasváti." This is a mistake; and the Indus appears to have been adopted because he left out the *Ghag-ghar*, which flows between the Sutlaj and the Saraswátí, but which river, although its ancient name of Dṛishádwátí is given by both the writers named, they do not appear to have been acquainted with its more modern name. It is never once mentioned by that name in Dr. Muir's work.

The following description of the Wihat, or Bihat, is from the Survey record previously quoted.

by the Dasht-i-Ḳibchák, Ming-Ḳishlák, the Caspian, the Shirwánát, Gurjistán, and Kurdistán, to Istámbúl. From thence he proceeded through Rúm, Shám and Miṣr, and from thence to Makkah. Having performed the *ḥajj*, he returned by sea to the port of *Debal*, passed through Sind and Multán to Lahor, and from there returned to Balkh.

Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Ṭhaṭhah, nor "Bambura," nor Láhrí Bandar, nor Karáchí, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arab conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, when it was.

For about one hundred and thirty years after the time Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, subdued Sind in 93 H. (711–12 A. D.), it was held by the Ṭammímí 'Arabs, who acknowledged the 'Abbásí Khalífahs as their sovereigns. In 186 H. (803 A.D.), when Hárún-ar-Rashíd assigned the eastern half of the Khiláfat to his son, Muḥammad-al-Mámún, among the territories named is "the territory on the Áb-i-Sind" or Indus, "including a part of Hind," referring, of course, to Sind and its dependencies, and Multán.

In 205 H. (820–21 A. D.), the same in which Ṭáhir-i-Ẓú-l-Yamanain received the investiture of Khurásán and its dependent territories from the Khalífah, Al-Mámún, and to which Sind and Multán also appertained, the Wálí of Sind, Dá'úd, son of Yazíd, having died, it was conferred upon Bashar, son of the deceased Dá'úd (Thomas says the coins of the rulers of Manṣúryah bear the words "*Bano Dá'úd,*" which he supposed, but erroneously, might refer to the modern Dá'úd-putrahs, but this family was referred to. It will be noticed that Dá'úd is a favourite name among the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán), under the stipulation that he should yearly pay 100,000 *dirams* to the Dár-ul-Khiláfat. Subsequently, the Khalífahs, losing power, were obliged to commit distant provinces into the hands of feudatories more powerful than themselves; and in 257 H. (871 A. D.), Ya'ḳúb, son of Lais, the Ṣuffárí, among other parts, held Sind, the local Wálís being subordinate to him. In 258 H. (872 A. D.), the Wálí of the territory of Sind, Muḥammad, son of Sabḥún died; and in 261 H. (874–75 A. D.), the then Khalífah, Al-Mu'tamid B'illah, gave his brother, Abí Aḥmad, the title of Muwaffiḳ B'illah, and assigned him the government of the whole east, including Sind. In 265 H. (878–79 A. D.), however, the Khalífah, in order to divert 'Umaro, son of Lais, who succeeded his brother, Ya'ḳúb, in that year, from invading 'Iráḳ, conferred upon him Khurásán, Fárs, Kirmán, Mukrán, and Sind, as well as Sigiz-stán, which he previously held. It was about this time that the Sumṛahs broke out, and acquired some power in Lár or Lower Sind, and, no doubt, acknowledged the supremacy of the 'Abbásí Khalífahs and their feudatories. They succeeded in holding power in that part for about one hundred and seventy-eight years, which would bring us to 443 H. (1051–52 A. D.).

Sind, and also Multán, had continued, nominally at least, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Baní 'Abbás and their feudatories for the time being, until the time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, who ousted the officials of the 'Abbásís, and annexed it; and the Sumṛahs of Lár had to succumb. At this period, the Sumṛahs, who appear to have embraced Muḥammadanism, outwardly at least, had become Ḳarámiṭah, as were the rulers of Multán, and many of their people. This heresy seems to have obtained firm root in these parts, which may partly be accounted for from their communications by sea with Egypt, 'Arabia, and Persia, where it flourish-

"This large river issues from the *kohistán* east and south of Kash-mír, flows through its capital, and after passing under Muzaffar-ábád is

ed, and from refugees from those parts finding it convenient to come by sea into Sind for shelter. Schism had been early sown in Sind, as may be seen from note 199, page 257. Amír Náṣir-ud-Dín-i-Sabuk-Tigín tried to put it down in Khurásán, and his son and successor, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, sought to root it out in Multán and Sind, as well as in Zábul-istán. He first moved against the Bháṭíah of Uchchh in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), as related in note 192, page 244. In the year following, 397 H. (1006–7 A. D.), he determined to attack Multán, because the Wálí thereof, Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, son of Naṣr, who hitherto had been subject to the 'Abbásís, began to assume independence, and read the *Khuṭbah* for himself, besides being guilty of other misdeeds, and making his stronghold the hotbed of heresy in that quarter. The 'Abbásí Khalífah had assigned all his claims on Sind and Multán—the Musalmán dominions east of, and on the Ab-i-Sind or Indus—to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, and he determined to enforce them.

This was the period that Anand-Pál, son of Jai-Pál, refused the Sulṭán a passage through his territory on his way to Multán, and was well punished for his hostility. Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, becoming aware of Anand-Pál's overthrow, speedily collected his treasures and other movables, loaded them on elephants (some say camels), and sent them off to Saran-Díp [Kachchh Bhuj], and abandoned Multán. The Sulṭán on reaching that part, becoming aware of the misdeeds of Dá'úd, devastated his territory, but those of his supporters who remained, having agreed to pay the yearly sum of 20,000 *dirams* as a capitation tax, treating them as infidels, he accepted it, because the Í-lak Khán was threatening his northern frontier on the Oxus, and his presence there was urgently required.

When he retired, Dá'úd again appeared, and the *jazíah* tax remained unpaid. In 401 H. (1010–11 A. D.), having disposed of his other affairs, the Sulṭán determined to finish the affair of Multán and the Ḳarámiṭah—or Mulḥáidah, as they are also styled, the word applied to the heretics in general—and annex the territory. Multán was captured, the greater number of the Ḳarámiṭah taken, of whom some were put to death, some deprived of a hand, and the rest sent to fortresses to be there imprisoned for lifetime, thus making an exemplary example of the heretics. As Multán and its territory was never "ruled by a Sumra dynasty," as asserted in Gazetteer history, no "idol of the Sun was again set up, under the Sumra dynasty."

I may add, that the Mulḥáidah of these parts and provinces adjacent, had rendered pilgrimages to Makkah impossible for some time past, infesting the routes, and completely closing them. Repeated complaints were made to the Sulṭán, and the matter became so serious, that, in 412 H. (1021–22 A. D.), Sulṭán Maḥmúd had to take efficient steps to remedy it.

The Ḳarámiṭah ruler of Multán, above referred to as overthrown by Sulṭán Maḥmúd, is the same who has been mistaken by Firishtah, and other modern compilers of his class, for an Afghán of the Lodí tribe (in order to make up the "*Pathán Dynasties*" perhaps), under the name of "Abu-l-Fath Dáúd, grandson of Shaikh Hamíd *Lodi*." There were no Lodís, nor Lodí rulers, there at the time, nor for centuries after. The rulers of Multán were Ḳuresh of the Baní 'Usmán, descendants of Sám, son of *Lawí*—لوي—mistaken for *Lodí*—لودي), and were still ruling there when the Sulṭán marched against it. See pages 189-190. An exhortation was addressed by

joined by the "Nad," or "River," coming from Little, or the Lesser, Tibbat. Subsequently it is joined by the Kishan-Gangá, and after leaving

the Muktanah, Bahá-ud-Dín, the chief *da'í*, or apostle, of Ḥamzah, one of the leading personages of the sect, at the commencement of the reign of the Sulṭán's successor, Sulṭán Mas'úd, in 423 H. (1032 A. D.), to the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán and Sind and Hind, and particularly to a Sumṛah, the chief of the tribe probably, whom he addresses as "The Shaikh, the son of Súmar [Súmṛah, as the word is also written] Rájah Pál," calling upon him, as though he, too, had been a *da'í*, to accomplish the mission wherewith he was charged, of bringing back backsliders to the Ḳarámiṭah heresy, and particularly, Dá'úd, son of Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, the heretic ruler of Multán, who had fled from thence, and whose son, Dá'úd, here referred to, had been thrown into prison by Sulṭán Maḥmúd, and had been set at liberty by Sulṭán Mas'úd, on his recanting his heresy apparently.

The Sumṛahs paid obedience to the sovereigns of Ghaznín, nominally at least, until the reign of the amiable, but weak, Sulṭán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the affairs of whose kingdom were in great disorder; and, in 443 H. (1051-52 A. D.), taking advantage of the state of affairs, the Sumṛahs assembled in the *Thar* or *Thal*, the sandy tract between Sind and Kachchh, and set up a Sumṛah to rule over them independently. His name is not given by the Sindí writers, and it is probable that he was no other than this same Rájah (or rather, Ráná; for that, and also Rá'í, were the Hindú titles by which the local chiefs were known) Pál. But whoever he may have been, he is said to have ruled several years, and to have left a son, Bhúngar by name, who, after reigning for a period of fifteen years, died in 461 H. (1068-69 A. D.), in the tenth year of Sulṭán Ibráhím of Ghaznín. Eighteen others of this race are said to have followed in succession.

After the fall of the Turk dynasty of Ghaznín, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrís held Sind and Multán, the former territory nominally perhaps to some degree, from 578 H. (1182-83 A. D.), when Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám marched against Debal, and possessed himself of all the territory on the sea-coast. See paragraph 15 of this note 315. After his assassination in 602 H. (1205-6 A. D.) by the disciples of the Muláḥidah, a name applied, as well as Báṭaníáh, to the Ḳarámiṭah, and who may have been, as stated, of the Khokhar tribe of Jaṭs nevertheless, since the Sumṛahs were Ḳarámiṭah (See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 485, and note 3), his feudatory of Multán, and Uchchh, the then capital of all Sind, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, one of the Sulṭán's four favourite *Mamlúks*, and a Turk, following the example of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, I-bak, the other Turk feudatories of Ghaznín and Dihlí (Bahá-ud-Dín, Ṭughril, the fourth of the favourite *Mamlúks*, had been dead some time), declared himself independent, and assumed the title of Sulṭán. At this period there were seven petty Ránás in Sind subject to his suzerainty, one of whom was Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of Karíjah *Sammah* Lohános, who dwelt at Túng in the Rúpah territory, and another, Sinán-ud-Dín, Chanísar, of Debal, who was the fourteenth of the *Sumṛah* dynasty, and the same who fled, and escaped by sea, from Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, when he attacked Debal and Damṛílah, as mentioned in the paragraph above referred to.

In after years it is said, during the reign of 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Sulṭán of Dihlí, the people of Lár or Lower Sind, complained to him of the tyranny and oppression of their chief, Rá'í Dúdah, and that the Sulṭán, to whom they must have been

the more hilly tracts, and reaching more open country, another considerable river from the direction of Púnch joins it. After this junction, and

from this, subject, despatched a body of troops against him, on which the Sumṛahs fled from Sind into Kachchh, and sought the assistance of the Sammahs, who, through the same Dúdah's tyranny, had fled from Sind and found refuge and a home there, and had prospered greatly. They took up the cause of the Sumṛahs, but the confederates were overthrown by the Sulṭán's troops; and the Sumṛahs were so completely broken, that not one of their tribe was left powerful enough to rule in Lár or Lower Sind, the territory subsequently known as Ṭhaṭhah from its capital of that name. From this period Lár or Lower Sind, again became tributary to the Dihlí sovereigns.

The facts, however, which have been somewhat obscured and confused, are, that the Sumṛah chief and ruler, Amar, turned into 'Umar by the Musalmán writers, and the same who gave name to Amar-Koṭ, son of Rá'í Dúdah above mentioned, was a great tyrant and oppressor. Among other bad acts, he carried off the wife of an 'Arab chief, 'Umar, the Ṭammímí, the same tribe which, in former times, had been all-powerful in Sind. 'Umar proceeded to the presence of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Sulṭán of Dihlí, who summoned Amar, Sumṛah, to appear before him. He, fearing the consequences if he did not go, went, and was cast into prison, where he languished for a considerable time; and he only regained his liberty through the intercession of powerful friends, and the payment of a heavy fine. This happened about 705 H. (1305-6 A. D.).

In the meantime, the Sammahs remaining in Sind had been prospering, and gaining influence and some power, and had got possession of most of the territory of Lár; but, when the feudatory of Multán and Uchchh, Ghází Malik, afterwards Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, in the year 720 H. (1320 A. D.), marched to Dihlí to oust the Parwáṛí usurper from the throne, Amar, Sumṛah, seized the opportunity and repossessed himself of the territory of Lár, and died after a reign so called, including the time of his imprisonment, of thirty-five years. On this, another Sumṛah, named Bhúngar, succeeded, who held possession for another ten years, when another, named Hamír (called Armíl and Abrá by some) succeeded him. Whether these were sons or brothers of Amar is not stated, but the final overthrow of the Sumṛahs was close at hand.

During the captivity of Amar, Sumṛah, a number of the Sammahs had returned from Kachchh and joined the others in Lár; and the tyranny and oppression of Hamír, Sumṛah, becoming unbearable, the Sammahs set up a man, among those who had come back from Kachchh, named Unaṛ, distinguished for his intelligence and exemplary conduct, who seized Hamír, the Sumṛah, and put him to death. He received the title of Jám from his tribe, "which is a title of respectability among these people." This was in 738 H. (began 29th July, 1337 A. D.).

During the time the Sammahs had been subject to the Sumṛahs, they had founded a town and a fort on the skirts of the Makkahlí hills, the first being named Sámú'í, also called Sá'í by some few writers, and the other Ṭhákúr-ábád—the Chief's abode or place of residence, the foundations of which had been laid by their then Ṭhákúr—for by this Hindú title, as well as Rá'í andRáná, although converts to Islám, they appear at different times to have been styled—but it had been left unfinished, probably because the Sumṛahs would not permit them to finish it. This they now completed, and also founded a number of other towns and villages. This

flowing between three and four *kuroh* farther southwards, it separates into two branches, which again unite lower down under the fort of

fort was subsequently called, or the name changed into, Ṭughluḳ-ábád, a Turkish, not a Sindí name; and the author of the Tuḥfat-ul-Kirám states, that some of the "present defences and erections in the fort of Ṭughluḳ-ábád, better known as Kalyáṇ Koṭ," were the work of the Nawwáb, Muríd Khán [a Turk, or Mughal], who was the feudatory of the Ṭhaṭhah province in 1099 H. (1688 A. D.), the thirty-second year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gír Bádshāh. This place, miscalled "Kalán Kot" (or "Great Fort," '*kalan*' being the Persian for great) by Mr. A. W. Hughes, the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," founded by the Ṭhákúr above referred to, he "supposes to have been built about 1421 A. D., during the Samma dynasty," in which supposition he is mistaken, "and is supposed to stand on the site of a still more ancient stronghold." *Kalyáṇ*, is a Sanskrit word, and Kalyáṇ Koṭ signifies the Fort of Prosperity, Happiness, or Well-being. The place is *now* situated on the right bank of the Bhágar channel of the Indus, about three miles south of Ṭhaṭhah, where the ruins may still be seen.

Although the Sammahs rose against the Sumṛahs in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.), and they finally fell four years after, still the Sammahs are not accounted among independent rulers of Lower Sind until 743 H. (1342–43 A. D.); and the question naturally arises why it was so. We have merely to turn to the events of the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, for a reply. His empire was, for the greater part of his reign, in a state of chronic rebellion and disorder; and as quickly as he moved in one direction to put down an outbreak, another broke out in a contrary direction. This was the half-mad Sulṭán who endeavoured to depopulate Dihlí, and to transfer the seat of government to Díw-gír (*vul.* "Deogir") or Daulat-ábád in the Dakhan; who proposed to conquer China, when he could not take care of, and hold his own territory; who would confer distant countries and kingdoms, which he did not possess, on his favourites; and who endeavoured to substitute a paper currency instead of gold and silver. It was at this period, when the Dilhí empire was in such a state of hopeless disorder, that the Sammahs became independent like other petty feudatories in the empire; but the traitor, Malik Ṭaghí, the *mamlúk* of one of his principal Amírs, being harboured by the Sammahs, brought Sulṭán Muḥammad, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, against them, to die, in the first month of 752 H. (1351 A. D.), in the neighbourhood of Ṭhaṭhah recently founded, and, subsequently, caused his successor, Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, to march against it, and to carry off their Jám and his son captives to Dihlí.

The first of the independent Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, Unaṛ, son of Dísar, descended from Jám Júnáṇ, son of Lákhah, son of Káhah, who died after ruling for a period of three years and a half, was succeeded by his brother, Júnáṇ, who ruled thirteen years, but some say fourteen. This brings us, for no dates are given, to the year 750 H. (1349–50 A. D.). He was succeeded by his nephew, the son of Jám Unaṛ, with respect to whose name the greatest confusion and discrepancy exists among the native writers generally, but I think I am able to clear up the matter.

I may mention, however, before doing so, that the Moorish traveller, Muḥammad, son of Baṭúṭah, came into Sind early in 734 H., and that he visited Síw-istán, subsequently called Sihwáṇ, Láhri Bandar, Bakhar, and Uchchh, but he never refers to the Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, for a good reason, that this was the very year in which the Sammahs rose against the Sumrahs. This also may be the reason

Jihlam. As at this place is the Sh̲áh Guẕr, or Royal Ferry, the river is, at times, called the river *of* Jihlam, but it does not mean that Jihlam

why he did not visit Debal, which he does not even mention. Ṭhaṭhah we could not expect him to refer to, as it was only founded some years after. He left India again in 743 H., just before the Sammahs became independent, or about that period.

It was this Jám who, soon after the Sammahs gained the upper hand in Lár, not far from Sámú'í, founded a new town as the capital of his territory, which was named Ṭhaṭhah; and therefore, the name he became familiarly known by was, the Jám, the Báni-i-Ṭhaṭhah—the Founder of Ṭhaṭhah—as is clearly written, and beyond a doubt, in several different historians, not of Sind only These words in the Persian, in which all the histories of Sind are written, are باني تهتهه, sometimes, but rarely, by ignorant scribes, as one word—بانيتهتهه; and, in others, it is written in various ways, but all tending to show what is meant when the key of solution is applied, thus:—نبیه - بنیه - باپدنه - بانیه - بابینه - بابنیه - بابینه - باپنه - بانی سهه - and بابینه and in other ways. This place, which some modern writers have "identified" as "Debal," as "Láhori Bandar," "Kalánkot," and other places, and to have been in existence in the time of the Macedonian Alexander's campaign on the Indus (as it now flows) another writer says, was only "founded in 900 H. (1495 A. D.), by the Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín, Nandah," which date is just twenty-seven years before the total overthrow of the Sammah dynasty and conquest of all Upper Sínd by Sh̲áh Beg K̲h̲án, the Arg̲h̲ún Mug̲h̲al!

It may not be amiss to point out here some of the errors made by different historians of Sind, according to their own showing, which have caused such confusion respecting the fall of the Sumṛahs, and the rise of the Sammahs to power in Lár or Lower Sind.

Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar is one of the chief offenders in this respect. He says, that Jám Júnah (but whose name is not written جونه but جونان., the final 'n' being nasal—Júnáṇ) son of بانيه and باهنيه and باپنه—for it is written in as many different ways in different *MS*. copies of his work—died after thirteen years' reign, in the time of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the K̲h̲alj Turk ruler of Dihlí, who reigned from 695 to 717 H. (1295-96 to 1317-18 A. D.), and Tamac̲h̲í, his brother—for he makes him, Júnáṇ, and Unaṛ, sons of this doubtful بانيه, etc.—his successor. He also makes Tamac̲h̲í to be taken captive by the troops of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, actually *before* the time of the Sammahs acquiring superiority over the Sumṛahs, and taken together with his family to Dihlí, where, after some considerable time not mentioned, Tamac̲h̲í dies; and his son, K̲h̲air-ud-Dín, who, in his infancy, had been taken to Dihlí with his father, was sent back to rule over Lower Sind. He then makes Sulṭán Muḥammad Sh̲áh, who reigned from 725 H. (1325 A. D.) to 752 H. (1351 A. D.), come into Sind against this *same* K̲h̲air-ud-Dín, who would not attend his summons to appear in his camp; and shortly after the Sulṭán dies in the vicinity of Ṭhaṭhah in 752 H. Thus, between the death of 'Alá-ud-Dín and of Muḥammad Sh̲áh is a period of twenty-seven years. Mír Ma'ṣúm merely adds, that, some years after, he (K̲h̲air-ud-Dín) died. Then a son of his, styled Jám بابيه (and in other ways, as before mentioned) succeeds, against whom Sulṭán Fírúz Sh̲áh, in 773 H. (A. D. 1371-72), no less than twenty-one years after, comes to avenge his predecessor. This Jám also is carried off to Dihlí, according to the same writer, where he is kept a prisoner for a considerable time, after which he is released, and

is its proper name. In the Kash-mírí language the river is known as Bedastá (بیدستا); and as in the Panj-áb territory 'w' (و) is used for

is reinstated in the government of Ṭhaṭhah and its territory, where he reigns in peace for fifteen years more. The writer gives not a single date until he comes to the thirteenth of the Jáms in 858 H. (1454 A. D.)

Now if we turn to his account of the reigns of the Dihlí sovereigns, which he gives in much greater detail in another part of his work, we shall not find a word respecting the Jáms in 'Alá-ud-Dín's reign, but there is in the account of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh's, and in Sulṭán Fírúz's, in the notice of which latter reign he states, that it was against Jám Khair-ud-Dín that that Sulṭán came, and that he and his family were carried off to Dihlí where he died, and that the Sulṭán sent his *son* Chúnah (Júnáṇ?) back to rule in Ṭhaṭhah, but no such name as that of the *son* is to be found in his account of the Jáms. There, he says, that Jam بانیه was released by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, who sent him back to Sind, and that his *brother*, Jám Tamachí, succeeded him.

Thus it will be seen, that Mír Ma'ṣúm makes one and the same Khair-ud-Dín and his father, Tamachí, to be carried into captivity both by Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, and by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, between the *death* of the first of which, and the latter's reduction of Ṭhaṭhah, is a period of fifty-six years! In another part of his work he also says, that Jám بانیه, son of Khair-ud-Dín, was carried off by Fírúz Sháh, and that his brother, Tamachí, was sent back. He has made one Jám Tamachí into two persons, and "made confusion worse confounded."

One of the greatest errors, probably, in the history of Sind, and respecting the foundation of Ṭhaṭhah, although no date for the latter is given, is contained in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí contained in Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 273–75. It is, that Jám *Nanda* founded Ṭhaṭhah; and immediately after says he was living in 912 H. (1506–7 A. D.), and that he reigned *seventy-three* years. On the other hand, Mír Ma'ṣúm says, that he came to the *Masnad* in 866 H. (1461–62 A. D.) in one *MS.*, and in another, in 896 H. (1490–91 A. D.), and reigned *forty-eight* years. If we take the first date as correct, it brings us to 914 H. (1508–9 A. D.). Thus, according to the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, as in the extract noticed, Ṭhaṭhah was only founded a few years before Sháh Beg Khán's first invasion of Sind, and fifteen before the final downfall of the Jáms; but we know it was invested in 752 H., and surrendered to Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh in 773 H. The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí has confounded Júnáṇ, probably, with Nandah, between whom is a period of nearly two centuries intervening, the first mentioned being the second of the Jáms, and Nandah the fifteenth.

Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-khán Mughal (for the origin of which term see my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 942), who succeeded Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal, in Sind, became involved in hostilities with Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the feudatory of the Bakhar province, in 962 H. (1554–55 A. D.). In the fourth month of 963 H. (March, 1556 A. D.), Mírzá 'Ísá appeared before Bakhar; and, during his absence from Ṭhaṭhah, a body of Farangís (Portuguese), whom he had sent for from Gowah (*vul.* "Goa") to assist him, reached it. On a Friday, when the people of Ṭhaṭhah were all assembled in the Jámi' Masjid, the Farangís entered the city, surrounded the Masjid, and set fire to the city on all sides. They then sacked it, slaying a great number of the inhabitants, and making many captive, besides which, a great number were burnt to death. Before they retired, having poured a *dárú* (com-

and interchangeable with 'b' (ب), the people of that part call it Wihat and Bihaṭ.

"From under the fort of Jihlam the Bihat passes below Jalál-púr-i-Garchák, and by Bahrah (then close to its bank) and Khúsh-áb, and within a short distance of the *karyah* of Chhautarah (چهوتره) unites with the Chin-áb, and loses its own name."

In the lower part of the Chin-hath *Do-ábah*, or delta, between the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb, there is an extensive tract of table land, or plateau, sloping gradually upwards on either side, at a distance of about three or four miles, or more in some places, from the rivers' banks, and beginning with a low, abrupt ridge, which separates the good lands lying along the banks from the waste in question. It extends from near Nún-Miání on the north, in the Sháh-púr district, down towards the junction of the Bihat and Chin-áb. In about the centre of this plateau there is a range of rugged hills, running in parallel ridges across the *Do-ábah.* They extend from east to west about twenty-one miles, and from north to south about ten or twelve. Some of their offshoots extend across the Chin-áb, which cuts its way through them, east of the town of Chandaní-oṭ, or Chandan-oṭ (*vul.* "Chuneeot"), part of which stands on them; and some of their minor offshoots, or waves, extend for some twenty miles or more into the Rachin-áb *Do-ábah*, as far as the Sángalá *Tall*, or *Tallah.* They are known as the Kiránah range, and this elevated tract or plateau is named the Kiránah *Báṛ* or waste after them.

All along the west bank of the Bihat, which river contains a much lesser volume of water than the Chin-áb, there is a belt or strip of alluvium, as its Hindí name of *kachchhí* implies, the same word as noticed in note 349, at page 348, and applied in the same way. It extends westwards from the river bank from half a mile to four and five, and, in some few places, as much as ten miles, but the average

bustible—napthah or petroleum probably) upon the waters, they set it on fire, dropped down the channel, and departed.

As to the origin of the name Ṭhaṭhah—ٹهٹهه—Cunningham states, at page 288 of his "Ancient Geography of India," that *ṭhaṭṭha* means a 'shore,' a 'bank,' so that Nagar Thatha would mean the city on the bank."

Ṭhaṭ—ٹهٹ—Sanskrit तट, signifies 'a bank,' 'a shore,' and ٹهٹهه, which is written like the name of the place, and the other mode of writing it—ٹهٹها in Hindí, signifies 'sport,' 'fun,' etc. The probability is that the name of the place does not refer to either of the significations mentioned above. There are scores of villages in the Panj-áb with the prefix *ṭhaṭhí* to their names, and the city in question, was not at all times on either 'a bank' or 'shore.' Ṭhaṭh—ٹهٹه—in Hindí, signifying 'a crowd,' 'throng,' 'assemblage,' is the more likely origin of the name of this place

breadth, roughly speaking, is from three to five, as far as the abrupt edge or steep bank of the *Thal*, another elevated desert tract, referred to with respect to the course of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, in the Muzaffar Gaṛh district, and its junction with the Chin-áb and tributaries. The Bihat, here and there, approaches close to this *Thal*, in part of the Sháh-púr district, and also in the upper part of the district of Jhang-i-Siálán, where it may be said to be wearing the bank of the *Thal* away; but, more towards the south, the *kachchhí* widens considerably, and, consequently, there is a greater distance between the river and the *Thal*.

Very little change, comparatively, appears to have taken place in the course of the Bihat, except towards its place of junction with the Chin-áb, which has changed often, and considerably. In former times it ran farther east, and passed nearer to Jhang-i-Siálán than at present. Abú-l-Fazl says, "the Bihat or Wihat unites with the Chin-áb near the *pargana'h* of Shor," that is to say, the *pargana'h* of which Shor or Shor Koṭ is the chief place. At the present time the junction takes place twenty-six miles north of Shor Koṭ, and eight miles above the place of junction at the time of the Survey I am quoting. Abú-l-Fazl refers to the time when the Chin-áb flowed some three miles and a half *east* of that town, where the old channel is still very distinct, and the Bihat flowed past it about the same distance on the west. At that time the junction took place about three miles, or thereabouts, south-south-west of Shor Koṭ, but the Chin-áb having subsequently changed its course very considerably, ran into the bed of the Bihat, thirty-one miles farther north.

The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh, written in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gír Bádsháh, by an official of the Mughal empire, before alluded to, states, that the Chin-áb, at that period, united with the Jihlam, or Bihat, at, that is to say near to, Jhang-i-Siálán, which now is some thirteen miles above the junction, and the Bihat does not now approach within twenty-six or twenty-seven miles of it on the west.

At the time of the Survey from which I have been quoting, the route from Jhang-i-Siálán towards the Dera'h of Ismá'il Khán will show some of the changes which have taken place in the course of both the Wihat and the Chin-áb within rather less than a century. It states, that "In going from Jhang-i-Siálán[317] you have to proceed nearly three *kuroh* west, and cross the Chin-áb by boat. This ferry is called the Paṭan of Jhang-i-Siálán; and from thence you go two *kuroh* more to Massan, a large *karyah* of the Siál tribe, on the bank of the river. From thence going six *kuroh* more in the direction of south-south-west you

[317] That is to say, Jhang of the Siáls, or of the Siál tribe, but now, from carelessness or constant use, generally called, in conversation, Jhang-i-Siál.

reach the banks of the Wihat, and cross into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by boat. This ferry is known as the Chhautarah Paṭan, and the large *karyah* of Chhautarah is close by the banks on the west side. From this last named place you proceed, through a very sandy tract, six *kuroh* south-west to U'chchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort," etc., etc.

At the present time, Massan, turned into "Mussun" in our maps, is nearly four miles from the Chin-áb, and nearly five east of the Wihat. There is still a very small village known as Chhautarah, but apparently not that referred to here,[318] which has probably disappeared, close to the west bank, and two miles and a half above the junction of the two rivers, just below which is the ferry now known as Trimúṇ Paṭan. Among the *belahs* or islands in the bed of the Wihat, north of the present Chhautarah, there is one a mile and a quarter in length and nearly as broad, called the Belah of Chhautarah, showing where the large *karyah* so called once flourished.

In the route leading westwards towards the Dera'h of Ghází Khán still greater changes are to be found. The Survey account says: "In going from Jhang-i Siálán thither by way of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí[319] [which is about mid-way between Jhang and Shor Koṭ] you leave the aforementioned *Ḥawelí*, and having proceeded one *kuroh* west, reach a large *nálah* [*vul.* "nulla"]—a small river, a branch of, or coming from, the Chin-áb, which, flowing between two and three *kuroh* towards the left hand (south), again unites with it. Except in the rainy season it is fordable knee-deep. From it you go half a *kuroh* west, and reach the Chin-áb and Wihat, which flow in one channel, and here it is near upon two *kuroh* in breadth. You have to cross by boat. The place of junction of the two rivers, which is called by the name of Trimúṇ, is about three *kuroh* higher up on the right hand (north).[320]

"On the other side of the aforementioned river [the two united] there is also another *nálah* or channel of great size, which comes from the right hand from the river Wihat, and at the *paṭan* or ferry unites with the Chin-áb. This *guzr* or ferry, on the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah side, is called the Paṭan of 'Alí Kahanná (علي كہنا), and, on the Rachin-áo Do-ábah side, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí. 'Alí Kahanná is the name of a branch of the Siál tribe, who number between three and four thousand families.

318 It has probably taken the name of the former village of that name. See the large scale Revenue Survey map.

319 See note 325, page 335.

320 The point of junction a short time since was eight miles above 'Alí Kahanná, or two miles higher up than at the period in question, and nearly nine miles below Massan. See also page 335.

"After having crossed the united Chin-áb and Wihat, half a *kuroh* farther west is another large *nálah*, as large as a quarter or more of the channel of the Wihat. It comes from the river from the right hand (north), runs towards the left (south), and abreast of Koṭ Mapál unites with the Chin-áb. Between this great *nálah* and the Chin-áb is a large extent of land some three *kuroh* in breadth; and its inhabitants are Balúchís of the Almání branch, who pay allegiance to Kabír Khán, Siál, the ruler of Jhang-i-Siálán, one of the two chiefs of that great tribe. The chief village of these Almánís is called Almání after them. As the large *nálah* above referred to is very tortuous, it is known by the name of Upuṭh (اُپوٹھ).[331]

"Having passed this *nálah*, and proceeding half a *kuroh* more to the westward, you reach 'Alí Kahanná, the name by which several small *karyahs* of the Siáls of the branch known by that name are called. From thence you go one *kuroh* south to Mírán de Bohar, the name of a very large and ancient *bohar* tree,[332] beneath which are the graves of several people of the Musalmán faith. From thence the route leads one *kuroh* south-west to Murád dá Koṭ, a village belonging to the Salbání branch of the Siál tribe. East and south of this *karyah* or village, and of the aforesaid *bohar*, there is a channel of great depth, which, running to the left hand (south-south-westwards), unites with the Chin-áb. It is stated that this is an ancient channel of the Wihat; and save in the rainy season,[333] it is fordable in some places, but at other times, you have to cross it over bridges. One *kuroh*

331 The *bar*—*Ficus Indica.*

See note 360, page 362, where we are told in the account of the movements of Alexander the Great, that it is said, that "a great *banyan* tree existed near the confluence of the Hydraotes [Ráwí] with the Acesines [Chin-áb]," and that it "would be worth while to ascertain whether there be one [after two thousand two hundred years and more!], of great size and apparent antiquity." Here is one; but there used to be another near the ferry of Fáẓil Sháh, at the place where the two rivers united about half a century or more since, but which is now nearly four miles from the junction, and stood between the two rivers at the *takiyah* of a Faḳir. It was famous for its great age, but not quite twenty-two centuries perhaps, and possessed very large trunks from one root, and hence it was known to the people of that part, by the name of "Áṭh Múndí," or the "Eight Pillars."

332 The "Nulla *Phant*" of the latest maps, probably, or what at present remains of it.

333 The writer does not mean to say that there is a rainy season here, unless the seasons have changed since, but merely refers to the period of the rains farther eastwards within the influence of the monsoon. In the Panj-áb, the hot season is the time when the rivers are in flood or inundated, at which period in the parts farther east, the rainy season prevails.

south from Murád dá Koṭ is Rustam dá Koṭ; and passing it, and going another *kuroh* in the same direction you reach Islám-púr. Another two *kuroh* from thence to the south is Kokárí, a large *karyah* of Sayyids and there is the Mázár (Tomb and Shrine), of Ḥaẓrat, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jahánián, who is known by the name of Munnawir-i-Jhang [324] and the Upuṭh *nálah*, before mentioned, lies near by on the left hand (south)."

Now let us see how matters stand at present. No great *nálah* now exists one *kuroh* west of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, and the Chin-áb is but two miles and three quarters, equal to about a *kuroh* and a half, from that place on the west; but, in the bed of the river are several large *belahs* or islands, the river bed is about a mile and a half in breadth, and the river flows in two branches. The place of junction of the Wihat and Chin-áb, at present—that is according to the latest survey, but it may have altered, or may have been altering, very considerably this present hot season—which was known as Trimúṇ, is now nine miles to the north, or more than five *kuroh* instead of three *kuroh*, as it was when the Survey above quoted was made, and a little to the north of what is still known by the old name of Trimúṇ Paṭan. The ferry which, on one side, was called the 'Alí Kahanná Paṭan, and, on the other, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, does not now exist at the point indicated, but there is another, about three miles and a quarter north-west of the Ḥawelí of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí (called "Hawelí Bahádur Sháh Ferry," and "Haweli Ferry" in the maps [325]) and more than three miles and a half north of 'Alí Kahanná, the name of which still remains in the name of a small village a little over four miles due west of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, and little more than half a mile from the west bank of the Chin-áb.[326] There is also another still smaller village, on the west side of a considerable *belah* or island nearly three miles in length and half that in breadth, and a mile and three quarters south-east of the other 'Alí Kahanná. According to the

[324] Munnawir, the act. part. of the 'Arabic verb II. of نور 'that which illumines or enlightens'—'the illuminer' or 'enlightener,' 'luminary,' etc.

[325] This place appears in the Indian Atlas and other maps under the strange name of "Huwali," and the ferry the "Haweli Ferry," such is the careless manner in which names are entered.

[326] It was so when the Indian Atlas map of this part was made, but since then further changes have taken place; and according to the large scale map of the Panj-áb Revenue Survey, this place, when the survey for the map was made, instead of being about half a mile distant *west* from the right or west bank, is now on the *east* side of a great *belah* or island in the middle of the river, and on the western-most of the two branches into which this *belah* separates it. We may assume, therefore, that these rivers are no more subject to changes now than they were twenty-three centuries since.

incorrect mode of writing names of places adopted in our best maps, through the surveyors, generally, being only acquainted with the vernacular colloquially, and inserting the names from ear, this name appears as "*Uleekhunanuh*"; and while in the Revenue Survey map of the *Jhung* (instead of Jhang) District, the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sh̲áh, Ḳuresh̲í, appears as "*Huwali*" only; in the map of the Multán Division it actually appears as "*Huwah*;" while on the opposite side of the C̲h̲in-áb, we find the same word written "*Huvelee*"! The word, of course, is the 'Arabic حويلي in common use, and signifying, 'a house,' 'a dwelling,' 'mansion,' 'the court-house of a district, public offices,'[327] and the like, but, in these instances, referring to the dwelling-place or shrine of a Muḥammadan saint.

There is no large *nálah* now from the Bihat on the west bank of the river uniting with the C̲h̲in-áb abreast of Koṭ Mahpál; and the former river is, at present, nine miles farther north than the point indicated. Murád de Bohaṛ, the very large and ancient tree, with the old graves beneath it, have now disappeared, unless "*Huvelee Mohu*" of one map, and "*Huvelee Mohungir*"—both referring to the same place—be meant for it; and of the ancient channel of the Bihat near this venerable tree, and the village of Murád dá Koṭ, no trace at present remains, because the C̲h̲in-áb since that time has taken to it.[328]

This river, the Bihat or Wihat, is called the Jamd and Dandánah in the histories of Amír Tímúr's campaign.

The C̲h̲in-áb or C̲h̲andar-Bhágá.

The tract of country lying between the C̲h̲in-áb and the Ráwí, constituting the Rac̲h̲in-áo or Rac̲h̲in-áb *Do-ábah*, especially that portion of it extending from the southern part of the Gujarán-Wálah district, and below that again to the south and south-west, belonging to the two districts of Jhang-i-Siálán and Ghugherah, now called Montgomery, and forming the lower or south-western part of the Rac̲h̲in-áo Do-ábah, is quite different from the other Do-ábahs except part of the C̲h̲in-hath already described, and the Bárí Do-ábah yet to be noticed. This part is so cut up with old channels of the C̲h̲in-áb and the Ráwí, that it requires special notice before attempting to describe the C̲h̲in-áb and its course. It contains three great tracts of waste land, consisting of three elevated plateaux, namely, the Sándal *Báṛ*, the Gondal *Báṛ*, and the Ganjí *Báṛ* (in part), besides a fourth, differing considerably from the others, called the *Báṛ*-i-C̲h̲in-áb or C̲h̲in-áo *Báṛ*, lying on either side of that river, as it flows at present.

327 See note 223, page 265, and preceding note 325.

328 See Abú-l-Faẓl's notice of the rivers at page 294.

"The Sándal *Báṛ*, or central alluvial flat or plateau or elevated waste, lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, which stretches from north-east to south-west, is some forty *kuroh* in length, and about half that in breadth, embracing all the *jangal* waste from the cultivated belt along the east or left bank of the Chin-áb, to the cultivated belt along the west or right bank of the Ráwí included in the sub-district dependent on Faríd-ábád on that river." Thus this *Báṛ* lies in the lower part of the Gujarán-Wálah district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, and the upper part of the Jhang-i-Siálán, and the upper western part of the Ghugherah or Montgomery districts. "On the east it adjoins the Ganjí *Báṛ*, and on the west, farther down, the Gondal *Báṛ*. The country rises gradually upwards from the banks of the Chin-áb towards the edge or ridge of the Sándal *Báṛ*, which having reached, the edge or ridge, in the upper part, in the Jhang district, rises somewhat abruptly for some feet, and continues to rise until the central or highest part is reached, which attains a height of between thirty and forty feet or more above the level of the plain below. At first the river runs nearly parallel to it in some places, but, farther south and west, the river flows farther away from it, and at last this *Baṛ* dies away towards the Gondal *Báṛ*. Water in the Sándal *Báṛ* is exceedingly scarce, and the inhabitants, who are of the Bhaṭí tribe, very scanty. In the upper part of this *Báṛ*, and within the Jhang district, are the ruins of three ancient cities, Sángalá or Sángalá *Tall*, *Tallah*, or *Ṭibbah*, Rasúl, and Asraur;[329] and offshoots from the Kiránah range of hills in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, on part of which the ancient town of Chandaní-oṭ,[330] also written Chandan-oṭ,

[329] It is strange that these ancient sites, Asraur and Rasúl, have not been "identified."

[330] The correct name of this ancient town, about three quarters of a mile from the Chin-áb in the last century, is Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, and is derived, according to tradition, from Chandan, the name of the daughter of a petty chief of these parts, and to which is affixed the word oṭ (as in Muḥammad-oṭ on the Hariárí, turned into "Mumdot" in the maps) from the Sanskrit, which word signifies, 'covering,' 'surrounding,' 'shelter,' 'cover,' etc.

The famous Wazír of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, Sa'd-ullah Khán, was a native of Chandan-oṭ, as was also another *mansab-dár* of that reign, Wazír Khán.

Khatrís of this part who turn Muḥammadans are, in the idiom of the Panj-áb, styled Paránchahs and Kahochahs.

From constant use, apparently, the name Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, has been shortened into Chaní-oṭ.

The learned Editor of Elliot's "Historians" (vol. iv, page 232), in the extract from the "Túzak-i-Bábari," where Babar Bádsháh says: "As I always had the conquest of Hindustán at heart, and as the conquest of Bahrah, Khusháb, Chináb, and Chaniút, among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Turks," etc., the Editor has a foot-note to "Chaniút," and after telling us that Bahrah at

stands, and through openings in which the C̲h̲in-áb at present cuts its way, extends as far as Sángalá, or at least, rocky waves of the same formation, rising to a height of some two hundred feet and more, on the part on which the remains of this old stronghold stands.

"The Rind Balúc̲h̲ís once held part of the Sandal *Báṛ*, and bred numerous herds of camels and other cattle, but they were subsequently driven out by the Bharwánah Siáls.

"The Gondal *Báṛ*, so called after a tribe of Jaṭs of that name, but some account them Bhaṭís, extends from the termination of the Sándal *Báṛ* on the south-west, and runs in much the same direction between the C̲h̲in-áb on the one side, and to the Ráwí, close to Koṭ Kamáliah, on the other.[331] It extends downwards towards S̲h̲or Koṭ and the lower part of the Do-ábah. It is about thirty *kuroh* in length from north-east to south-west, and about twenty in breadth." When the Survey I have been quoting from was made, this *Báṛ* was a dense *jangal*, in which water was difficult to obtain, and the inhabitants few; but the remains of old wells, and the ruins of ancient buildings, show clearly that, in by-gone times, it must have been in a flourishing condition and well peopled.

"The Ganjí *Báṛ* is another elevated tract or plateau of waste-land, part of which lies between the old banks of the Ráwí and the Bíáh. Consequently, it is in both the Rac̲h̲in-áb and Bárí Do-ábahs, and is about twenty *kuroh* in length from east to west, and nearly fifteen in breadth from north to south. It extends in one direction towards Búc̲h̲ián Malhián, to Yúní kí in another; and in another direction approaches near to Asraur, also called Saraur, and to S̲h̲áh-Zádah,[332] and in this tract Háfiẓ-ábád, S̲h̲aik̲h̲o-púrah, and other towns are situated. It is called Ganjí on account of the denseness of the *jangal*, and close proximity of the trees to each other. The inhabitants belong to the Bhaṭí tribe. This *Báṛ* from its elevated position is the most sterile and arid of the whole of the Ghugherah district lying in the Rac̲h̲in-áo Do-ábah.

present (sic) lies near Pind Dádan Khán, says: "No Chaniút can be found; perhaps it is Battiut, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing." Wonderful geographical information this! See note 361, page 366, for one of the reasons mentioned by Bábar Báds̲h̲áh.

331 In going from Koṭ Kamáliah across to Jhang-i-Siálán, the Gondal *Báṛ* and the Sándal *Báṛ* have to be crossed.

332 As another specimen of the incorrect manner in which names of places are inserted in our best maps, and become the "official form" of the names, and not the true one, this place appears in the India Atlas map as "*Sujaduh.*" S̲h̲áh-Zádah is an old place, and was in former times the principal town of the district. As it was the head-quarters of the tribe of Hinjaráún, it is also known as S̲h̲áh-Zádah-i-Hinjaráún, or Sháh-Zádah of the Hinjaráúns.

"The *Báṛ*-i-Chin-áo or Chin-áb *Báṛ* differs altogether from the others, and consists of that strip of sterile waste locally called *uṭhár* (اُٹهار) *i. e.*, 'highland' or 'upland,' which separates the belt of land along the river's bank subject to inundation, locally known as *heṭhár* (هيٹهار) *i. e.*, 'lowland' or 'at the foot of,'[333] and which Chin-áb *Báṛ* or *uṭhár* separates the *khádar* or *bet* or *sail-ábí* lands along the river from the high flats or plateaux of the other *Báṛs*. This Chin-áb *Báṛ* extends from the territory of Táraṛ upwards, down to the junction of the Chin-áb with the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, a distance of over two hundred *kuroh*, with a breadth of from four to seven *kuroh* more or less, lying along both banks of the Chin-áb.

"In going from Sháh-Zádah to Jalál-púr-i-Chaddharán on the Chin-áb, two *kuroh* south from the banks of the river, and three *kuroh* after passing Bangar, the Sándal *Báṛ* terminates in that direction, and the Ganjí *Báṛ* begins."

These *báṛs* differ from the tract on the Sind-Ságar side, locally known as the *Thal*, and the Chúl-i-Jálalí by historians,[334] in this respect, that it is covered with sand-hills, some of considerable elevation, and the *báṛs* are not.

The boundaries of these elevated tracts or *báṛs* are generally the banks of old channels of the rivers. Thus the Sándal *Báṛ* on two sides

Any one would imagine that in these days of "Imperial Gazetteers," when every petty place almost has one all to itself, an effort would have been made to write the names correctly as they are written by the inhabitants, or, at least, have produced one uniform mode, but "red tape" appears to have prevented it. The upshot is, that in one Gazetteer the names are written one way, in another, in a different manner, and as to the maps, each map has a mode of its own, and different from the Gazetteers!

333 Hindí اُٹه *uṭh*—'high,' 'raised,' 'over-topping,' etc., from which comes اُٹهار—*uṭhár*—'upland,' and the like, and هيٹه—*heṭh*—'low,' down,' 'nether,' etc., from which is derived هيٹهار—*heṭhár*—'lowland,' etc.

First comes the tract nearest the river banks, the 'lowland' or *heṭhár*, under the influence of the yearly inundations, after which there is a strip or belt irrigated by means of wells, beyond which again comes the upland or *uṭhár*, the Chin-áb *Báṛ* of the Survey record above quoted, the *bánjar* of other localities, and beyond which floods never rise, in which are depressions here and there, then sandy tracts with occasional sand hills, until the rise or ridge of the *báṛ* is reached. There being no rain except on rare occasions, and water for irrigation purposes distant, and no wells at all farther than the verge of the *báṛ*, the few villages hereabouts are badly off for that necessary element. At times, when rain does fall, the water pours down from the sides of the Sándal *Báṛ*, and this the people endeavour to utilize by conducting it into their lands.

334 See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 338.

lies between the left bank of the C͟hin-áb and the right bank of the Ráwí in the upper part of the Jhang district, as does the Gondal *Báṛ*, which adjoins it lower down in the direction of S͟hor Koṭ, and terminates in that part of the Rac͟hin-áo Do-ábah, in the neighbourhood and in the sub-district of that name, and which is locally known as the Wíc͟hánah. After the same manner, the Ganjí *Báṛ* is bounded by the old right bank of the Ráwí. The whole of the Jhang and Ghugh-erah districts, and part of the adjoining districts farther up stream, may be called a great alluvial plateau, the remains of which consist of the *Thal* in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and the Sándal, Kiránah, Gondal, and Ganjí *Báṛs* on the opposite side, which are more or less elevated, and slope downwards to the alluvial tracts through which the rivers Wihat or Jihlam, C͟hin-áb, and Ráwí, and some minor tributaries dependent on rain, have cut their way in by-gone times, and, by their fluctuations, have separated it into *báṛs*, as already described. From the ruins of old buildings and ancient wells, every here and there, there can be no doubt, but that, in former times, this great tract supported a numerous population, and was in a flourishing condition. I believe that the convulsion of the elements which brought about the great flood in these very parts, mentioned at page 392, completed the desolation which the Mug͟hals, by their constant inroads commenced, from the time of the first invasion of these parts by those infidels, up to the time of the flood in question.

The Survey record which I have previously quoted says, respecting the C͟hin-áb and its course, that, "the C͟hin-áb, or sometimes C͟hín-áb, is so called because, in former times, most people considered that it came out of C͟hín [China].[335] This rapid and impetuous river is also called the C͟handar and C͟handar-Bhágá, and comes from the eastward. It is said to issue from the *kohistán* of Páḍal, which is the frontier of the territory of C͟hín in that direction. Having passed the mountains of Wac͟hhan, a dependency of Kas͟h-mír, it flows three *kuroh* north of the town of Kis͟ht-wár, and just thirteen *kuroh* east of that place unites with the Bhágá, which comes from the Lesser Tibbat, from the *kohistán* of Máṛún, between fifty and sixty *kuroh* north of Kis͟ht-wár. After the junction, the united streams receive the name of C͟handar-Bhágá.[336] In the winter season it is crossed by wooden bridges, but at the time of the melting of the snows, when it becomes flooded, these become destroyed, and the river is passed by means of several rope bridges at different places. On issuing from the hills

335 It certainly comes from parts which were dependent on China.

336 I have not considered it necessary to mention all the affluents this river receives during its course into the more level country.

near the *kaṣbah* of Akh-núr (اکہنور),[337] it separates into several branches; and, after reaching near to Bahlúl-púr, which is twelve *kuroh* south-west, these again unite. Then, passing by the ancient town of Súḍhará,[338] Wazír-ábád, Ḳádir-ábád,[339] and Chandaní-oṭ, it unites with the Wihat or Bihat at the place previously mentioned in the account of that river, and within twelve *kuroh*[340] of Jhang-i-Síálán. Between this place and Chandaní-oṭ its banks on either side are but thinly inhabited;[341] and they call that part, the *Báṛ*-i-Chin-áo or Chin-áb *Báṛ*. The water of this river is excellent, but, it is so deep, that it is nowhere fordable.

"North of Kisht-wár the course of this river is from east to west; but there it makes a sudden bend almost due south, and after flowing in that direction for some distance, as suddenly turns to the westwards, and subsequently south again to Akh-núr. From thence its course is about south-south-west, and this course it pursues for a considerable distance, and then inclines more towards the south-west. It so continues to run until its junction with the Wihat, when it resumes a south-south-westerly course again, and continues to flow in that direction until it unites with the Ráwí. After this it inclines a little more towards the south-west again, until abreast of Multán, when it resumes the previous direction,[342] which it follows until its junction with the Áb-i-Sind, near Uchchh-i-Sharíf."

"Although there are several *báráni* rivers [that is, dependent on rain], and some perennial streams in the eastern part of this, the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, the principal one is the Deg. This river comes from the vicinity of Sánbah, and issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake. It only obtains the name of Deg some three or four *kuroh* from its source, previous to which it is called the Basanthar [the "Basantha" of the maps]. The breadth of its bed is about half a *kuroh* on the average, but, save in time of rains, it is dry in most places. This is in a great measure caused by the cultivators throwing dams across it for irrigation

337 The "Aknur" of the maps.

338 Súḍhará is now three miles distant from the river, but the old channel passes close to it.

339 "Quadirabad" of the maps

340 The place of junction now is about twelve miles, equal to rather less than seven *kuroh*, and two or three *kuroh* from the *kaṣbah* of Chhautarah. See pages 331 and 335.

341 It is in a more flourishing condition now.

342 The directions here mentioned are general, of course. Boileau, in his "Personal Narrative," quoted farther on, says, that the three rivers, Jihlam or Wihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí, after their junction, are known as the "*Trimab*" until they unite with the Ghárah near Uchchh.

purposes. It runs about parallel to the course of the Ráwí on the west side, at from four to seven and eight *kuroh* distant from it, and in the neighbourhood of Faríd-ábád [in the Ghugherah, now the Montgomery, district] unites with that river. The intermediate space, which is known as Deg Ráwí, is exceedingly fruitful."[343]

Above the junction with the Wihat the banks of the Chin-áb are well defined, and during the annual inundations, except on extraordinary occasions, it does not overflow its banks; but, after the junction of the two rivers, the bed spreads out considerably, so much so, that, a little lower down, it forms several *belahs* or islands in the sub-district of Shor Koṭ, which extend as far down as the junction with the Ráwí and beyond.

From the junction of the Wihat and Chin-áb, locally called the *Do-mel*,[344] the *Thal*, which formed the boundary of the *kachchhí* or *heṭhár* on the Sind-Sagár side, recedes for many miles to the westward; and immediately south of Shor Koṭ the country appears to sink, or, in other words, to become much depressed. Sand-hills begin to cover it every here and there on either side, but especially on the side of Shor Koṭ; and there being no high land to impede or keep back the waters in the time of periodical inundations—for the Gondal *Báṛ* terminates farther north, and the *Báṛ*-i-Chin-áo, is not here to be distinguished at the present day—and the soil being very sandy, the waters find their way far inland. Indeed, the whole of the lower part of the triangle con-

343 In the time of Akbar Bádsháh there were two *maḥálls* or districts named Deg Ráwí in the *Ṣúbah* of Multán, and both in the Multán *Sarkár*, one on either side of the Deg: one accounted in the Bárí *Do-ábah*, and the other in the Rachin-áo. The first was styled the "Mauwáẓi' (plural of Mauẓa')-i-Deg Ráwí," which *maḥáll* was assessed at the very low rate of 50,147 *dáms* in money, but there were only 867 *bígahs* and 14 *biswahs* of land under cultivation; while the other, along with Í-ruj-púr, formed two *maḥálls* under the name of "Í-ruj-púr and Deg Ráwí." These were assessed in the sum of 23,77,300 *dáms* in money, but then there were 37,230 *bígahs* of land under cultivation. The inhabitants were Khaṛ'ls, who were entered as liable to furnish 200 horsemen, and 2,000 foot as militia.

In the present day, when the Deg overflows its banks, which are below the level of the surrounding country, it inundates the tracts around; but its floods, like the inundations of the Ráwí, have decreased from what they used in former times to be, and the channel, from all accounts, appears to have decreased in breadth and increased in depth. The supposition that the Deg ever ran as far as Koṭ Kamálíah is quite impossible, with the high bank of the Ráwí intervening, but its waters in time of floods may have reached as far down as that part. The decrease of water may be attributed to the increase of cultivation farther north, and the consequent demand for more water.

344 *Mel*, in Sanskrit, means 'union,' 'association,' 'combination,' etc. *Do*, of course, means 'two.' See also note 337, page 378.

stituting, at present, the lower extremity of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah is, without doubt, of comparatively recent formation. More respecting this tract will be mentioned in the notice of the river Ráwí.

There are several canals from the Chin-áb, in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah in the present Jhang district, some of which are certainly very old, from the fact that their levels are much higher than the present level of its channel; and it is clear that, at a former period, the river must have flowed at a much higher level to have enabled water to reach them. There is one about a mile distant from Shor Koṭ, on the west, which, even at the period of the greatest inundations, water can scarcely enter. It is styled the Rání Wá-hah or Rání's Canal.

Traces of another ancient canal remain in the middle of the Sándal *Bár*, near the site of an ancient city, said to have been, in by-gone times, the chief place and seat of government of these parts, called Asraur or Saraur (the "Khangah Asroor" of the maps, meant, probably, for the Khánkah or Monastery near Asraur). It runs in the direction of south-west for upwards of forty miles, passing about four miles to the southward of the *Tall* of Sángalá. It is known as the Nannan Wá-hah (the "Nunnunwah *Canal*" of the maps), because *Wá-hah* (*vul.* "Wah" and "Vah") means a canal.

The Chin-áb has changed its course very considerably, and its valley, or rather, the tract over which it has flowed at different periods, is thirty miles broad. In by-gone days, at about the point where the Shaikhán *Paṭan* now is, some fourteen miles north-east of Chandaní-oṭ or Chandan-oṭ, instead of turning more to the westwards as at present, it kept a course more towards the south-south-west, and passed five miles *east* of Chandan-oṭ; while now it passes it two miles and a half on the *west*. Its old bed is very distinct, and runs within a mile of Rajú-á. The whole space between this ancient channel and the present one below Chandan-oṭ is seamed with other old channels running in the direction of Jhang-i-Siálán, one of which lies within four miles of it on the east. These channels, lower down towards Shor Koṭ, again unite with the ancient bed.[345] At one place, a point

[345] Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," like all others, traces the movements of Alexander and his Greeks, according to the present courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, to judge from the maps at pages 104 and 248; but, in some places, his descriptions do not appear to agree with his maps. When we see what great changes have taken place in the courses of these rivers within the short space of one hundred years, what may have occurred in the space of two thousand two hundred? He also traces the travels of Hwen Thsang in the same way, from Shor Koṭ, according to the present course of the Chin-áb, and along what is known as the Panch Nad, that is, five rivers, or Panj-Áb, united into one giving name to the territory. This Panch Nad *now* extends from the junction of the Ghárah

east of Shor Koṭ, there is but seven miles between this ancient channel (in which the river flowed when Amír Tímúr crossed, I believe) and one of the old channels of the Ráwí. This old channel of the Chin-áb pursued a course to the east of Shor Koṭ,[346] within three or four miles; for the nearest channel is five, and the most distant, nine miles from that place east. Running in a direction about south-west, this old bed of the Chin-áb, about seven miles south-south-west of Shor Koṭ, and about four miles east of Bastí-i-Islám, united with another old bed of the Ráwí some twelve or thirteen miles farther east, and seven or eight miles farther north than at present. After the junction the Ráwí lost its name; and, at the period in question, the united streams took a much more southerly course than at present, passing near

(not Sutlaj: that lost its name on uniting with the Bíáh, as did the Bíáh likewise below the junction) and the Chin-áb, thirteen miles above Úchchh, down to the junction of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, with this Panch Nad, a distance, as the crow flies, of about forty-two miles; whereas, in the last century, this Panch Nad united with the Indus *close to* Úchchh on the west, and did not then exist as it does at present, but was situated much higher up than Úchchh, as noticed at page 219. Úchchh now is, or recently was, nearly eight miles from this Panch Nad, and over twelve miles *below its commencement*.

With all this he very properly points out (p. 220), that, "In describing the geography of Multán it is necessary to bear in mind the great changes that have taken place in the courses of all the large rivers that flow through the province," and yet, in another place (p. 218) says, that "the site of Alexander's altars must be looked for along the line of the present course of the Satlej, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan. * * * To this point, therefore, the territory of the Sudraæ or Surâkas, must have extended in the time of Alexander."

He places it, therefore, at a point immediately east of the *present* Sutlaj, that is east of, and before its junction with the Bíáh, for then it ceased to be the Sutlaj; and at that period, probably, and up to modern times, certainly, as shown in the account of that river farther on, it flowed from thirty to sixty-five miles farther east (the distance of the oldest channel we know of eastwards) than the present course of the Haríárí—the united Bíáh and Sutlaj in the upper part of its course, and Ghárah in the lower. See page 372.

346 There is a great depression or hollow east of the town of Shor Koṭ which, in the rainy season, becomes filled, and forms a large lake. Some of the local authorities supposed that "the materials for the great Bhira or Mound," on which the place stands, "were taken from it." It is much more likely to be the remains of the ancient channel of the Chin-áb when it united with the Bihat south of the town and fort.

The strip of country peculiar to the southern half of the present sub-district of Shor Koṭ, is clearly of recent formation. The soil is light and sandy, and water lies very near the surface. Such parts of it as are not brought under cultivation is covered with a dense growth of a grass known as *sur* (Saccharum sura: *Roxb.*) The tract below Shor Koṭ is likewise cut up by numerous channels, which conduct the inundation waters far inland.

Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the west, and between nine and ten miles to the east of Multán, and united with the Biáh about twenty-eight miles south of that place. See note 349, page 347.

Another old channel of ṭhe Chin-áb lies a few miles west of the one just noticed, which passed near Bukhárí on the west, ran in the direction of south-west, passed Khíwá or Khíwah[347] on the east, within a few miles of Jhang, and within three miles of Mughiánah also on the east, and lower down united with the old channel just described.

There is yet another old channel of the Chin-áb a few miles west of the present one, and traceable downwards from about Lat. 32°12′, which runs almost parallel to the present channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between at the broadest part, passes within ten miles north-west of Chandan-oṭ, and runs towards Koṭ-i-'Ísá Sháh and Ḳádir-púr on the Bihat or Jihlam. There can be no doubt that, at some previous period, the Chin-áb, or a considerable branch from it, ran therein, and united with the Bihat a little to the south of Ḳádir-púr above mentioned.[348]

[347] The Mughíání Síáls claim that this place was founded by one of their chiefs who was twelfth in descent from Síál, their progenitor, and that when he founded it, the Chin-áb flowed to the *east* of it. In the last century Chandan-oṭ was dependent on Láhor, and Khíwah on Multán.

[348] As a specimen of the manner in which names are inserted in our maps, I may mention that a part of the first old channel here noticed, appears in one of our maps as the "*Boodh N.*," and in others as "ancient bed of the Chenab;" the second as the "*Boodi N.*;" and the third as the "*N. Boodhee.*" Of course all these three different forms refer to one word, namely, *buḍḍhi*—بڈھی—signifying in Hindí, 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.—or "old or ancient channel"

A right understanding as to the ancient courses of the rivers of these parts will throw considerable light upon the movements of the Greeks in the Panj-áb territory and Sind.

Curtius says, that, having turned back from the west or right bank of the Hyphasis [Biáh] in consequence of his troops refusing to proceed farther eastwards, as related farther on, Alexander reached and encamped along the Acesines [Chin-áb]. After this he sailed down that river towards the ocean with a thousand vessels, proceeding about four hundred stadia [about forty-eight miles] daily [that is, he probably brought up before dark, as those who even now go by the river routes in these parts generally do], in order to be able to land his forces at convenient places. Then he came to the tract of country where the Hydaspes [Bihat] falls into the Acesines [Chin-áb], from which he fell down the confluence of these rivers into the territory of the Sobii." He then landed his forces, marched two-hundred and fifty stadia [about thirty miles] into the country [to the *east*, I presume, but the author does not say which. This would be in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah wherever the confluence may have been], took the capital, after defeating a great army [the undisciplined people of the country or mere rabble] of another nation [tribe?] drawn up on the banks to oppose his landing. He then took a town by

Subsequently, some great convulsion of nature in the parts farther north appears to have caused vast changes in the courses of

storm to which they had fled on being defeated; and then another town, which the people set fire to, and perished in the flames, along with their women and children. The castle was not damaged; and Alexander left a garrison in it, after which he went round it by water for *it was encompassed by three of the largest rivers of all India* except the Ganges, which seemed to lend their streams for its fortification. "The Indus washes it on the north side, and on the south, the Acesines [Chin-áb] unites itself with the Hydaspes [Bihat]. The violent meeting of these rivers makes their waters as turbulent and rough as those of the sea; and, as they carry a great deal of silt, which, by their rapid concourse is very much disturbed, they leave but a narrow channel for boats to pass in," etc. Here the fleet got into great disorder, and sustained much damage, two of the largest vessels were lost; and such was the danger to the fleet, that many prepared to swim for their lives. Here three altars were erected, one for each river.

According to Arrian, and the other authorities quoted in the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," by the Revd. J. Williams, a useful abstract, chiefly drawn from Arrian and Strabo, and also to a less degree from Curtius, Athenæus, and Plutarch, the fleet consisted of 80 *tria-conters*, and more than 2,000 river craft of every description; and in eight days [from where he embarked] the fleet arrived near the confluence of the *two rivers* [the Hydaspes and Acesines: there is no Indus mentioned here]; and their united streams contracted immediately below the point of junction. "The current is sharp and rapid, and strong eddies are formed by the struggling waters that swell in waves and encounter each other, so that the roar of the conflict is audible from a great distance."

See Amír Tímúr's account of the junction of the Jamd or Bihat with the Chin-áb at page 279.

Here the vessels ran foul of each other, and losses were sustained, so that the fleet was partly disabled, and two vessels sank. A small promontary on the right bank [west] offered shelter and protection to the partly disabled fleet.

All this took place near and at the junction of the Hydaspes [the Bihat] and the Acesines [the Chin-áb]. What part of the territory of the Panj-áb will agree with these descriptions, according to the present aspect of the country, leaving alone the rivers? Not with Multán, I trow, and with no place south of Chandaní-oṭ or Shor Koṭ; yet Cunningham "identifies" this place of meeting at the time of Alexander, with Multán, as if the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Chin-áb] had ever yet united south of the walls of that place. If Curtius is right as to the Indus also uniting near this castle, the matter is still more complex.

It may be well also to mention here, that it is said, previously, that Alexander built Nicœa on the left [east] bank of the Hydaspes [Bihat]; and in another place, that, "on some part of the river, between Nicœa and the standing camp at the confluence of the Acesines [the Chin-áb and Bihat below their junction] and the Hydraotes [the Ráwí], Alexander had visited a prince by name Sopeithes; and Strabo says, that, in his territory is a mountain [range] composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Here, of course, the Namak Sár, Koh-i-Júd, or Salt Range is referred to. Rivers were constantly changing, and the recognition of places lying near them at the period in question depends on where and how they then ran, but mountains do not change so easily.

most of the Panj-áb rivers—the same convulsion, in all probability, which caused, or happened at the same time as, the great flood recorded in the Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh, and related farther on—and the other rivers adjoining that tract of territory on the east, tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. At this period the Chin-áb turned more to the eastward above Chandan-oṭ; passed it on the *west* side instead of on the *east* as it had previously done; ran for some miles more to the south-west, passing Jhang-i-Siálán also on the west, which it had passed previously on the east; and some thirteen miles farther south-west, entered the channel of the Bihat or Wihat, and flowed past Shor Koṭ six or seven miles to the west. It also passed west of Multán, as it does at present; but it then joined the already united Bíáh and Ráwí about forty-six miles below Multán,[349] instead of twenty-eight miles below that city on the east, as it had previously done. Then came still further changes, which caused the Ráwí, presently to be noticed, to alter its course, when it deserted the Bíáh altogether, took a more direct westerly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but some nineteen or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of passing it a few miles on the east side, as it had previously done.

From how far up the Hydaspes the fleet started we may judge from its having taken eight days to reach the confluence of that river with the Acesines; for if we take the daily distance at, say, one half of that mentioned, the starting point would have been considerably above Jihlam of the present day. See note 390.

Alexander's subsequent movements from this place of junction will be noticed farther on.

349 Abú-l-Fazl, in the *A'ín-i-Akbarí*, places the city of Multán in the Bárí Do-ábah, that is, between the Ráwí and the Bíáh, but this I believe to be an error in the arrangement of the columns of his work, because *as long as the Ráwí continued to flow east of it*, which it still continued to do up to the close of the last century, *it was in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah.* Consequently, if Abú-l-Fazl is right, the Ráwí must *then* have flowed north of Multán to unite with the Chin-áb, which it could not have done, unless, since his time, it again deserted it, turned southwards, and again left the Chin-áb to unite with the Bíáh; because, as said above, at the close of the last century the Ráwí flowed *east* of it. Another reason why I think Abú-l-Fazl in error here is, that Chankhandí and Multán were in the same Do-ábah then, and he places the former in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but *now*, it is like Multán, in the Bárí Do-ábah. I have mentioned previously, that, before being in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mugha Ná-ín, Mangútah, both Multán and Uchchh were in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah extends *now* no farther south than Harí ke Paṭan, which is some two hundred miles above Multán. In the same way, Debálpúr the Pák Pattan or Ajúddhan, and other places around, were *then* in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah, but *now* are some eighty miles beyond it, and are in the Bárí Do-ábah; and Chankhandí, *then* in the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, is *now* in the Bárí Do-ábah likewise.

Only about a century since, when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, before referred to, returned from Kábul by Khush-áb, the Dá'írah of

In Abú-l-Faẓl's time, the *Maḥálls* or sub-districts of Adam Wá-han, Faṭh-púr, Jalál-ábád, Sher Gaṛh, Dunyá-púr, Ráj-púr, Kuhroṛ, Khá'e Búlidhí, and Ghallú-Ghárah (گہلو گہارہ) of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, were in the Bíst-Jhálandar Do-ábah, that is, between the Sutlaj, as it formerly flowed in a separate channel, and the Bíáh before they united into one stream and became the Hariárí, Núrní, Nílí, or Ghárah, but they are not so now. Multán is still in the Bárí Do-ábah, which extends *from* the Ráwí *to the right bank of the dried up Bíáh—not*, it will be observed, to the banks of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah—while the tract between the Bárí Do-ábah and the new river just mentioned, namely, from the left bank of the dry Bíáh to the right bank of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, has become known to modern native writers as the Shamálí Kachchhí Do ábah, or north Kachchhí delta, locally known as the Nílí *Báṛ*, names not known to Abú-l-Faẓl, because the Bíáh, in his day, still flowed in its own bed; and the *Maḥálls* above referred to are in this newly formed Do-ábah. The meaning of *Kachchhí* is alluvial land of recent formation, subject to the annual inundations, and called *heṭhár* in the Jhang district; and the tracts of this description lying along either bank of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, within the influence of the annual inundations of that river, are known as Chhoṭí Kachchhí to this day. See also pages 331 and 384.

Let us see what the old European travellers say, from actual observations, respecting the rivers in the vicinity of Multán, or running near it; and see also page 301.

The earliest who notice Multán are two Englishmen of Captain Nicholas Downton's Company, who made a journey from India to Persia in 1614. Their remarks on Láhor are given farther on. "From thence [Láhor] they pass'd on to Multan, a great and ancient city, seated pretty near the river Indus. *** When the Potane [*i.e.*, Paṭán or Afghán] Kings maintained their Ground in India, this place was in a very flourishing estate whilst Agra and Láhor lay both in the greatest obscurity: But now she has little to pretend to, those upstart Rivals have robb'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to lay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is so poor, that Caravans are obliged to stay hereabouts eight or ten days whether they have business or no, that they may do it a kindness, by spending some of their Money; neither will the Governour let them pass on, till they have rested themselves here for as much time as that comes to."

Next in rotation comes Mandelsloe (see also note 289, page 297), who previously had accompanied the Ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein to the Sháh of Persia, and who was in India in 1639, the same year in which the traitor, 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Zík Kurd, betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh. See my "Notes on Afghánistan," page 605. Mandelsloe says: "The Province of *Multan*, with its chief city of the same name extends along the River *Indus* to the East, as the Province of Haca Chan or Hangi Chan [he refers to the Derah-ját] has the same River to the West." Here he, or his printer, has reversed matters: for *west* we must read *east*.

Thevenot, who comes about twenty-seven years after, in 1666, says: *Multan*, which comprehends *Bucor* [Bakhar was a *Sarkár* of Multán], has to the south the

Sháh Muḳím, and Bahá-wal-púr, avoiding Multán, he says he "left the Dá'irah and proceeded fifteen *kuroh* from thence to Koṯ-i-Shujá' Khán. Leaving it, and going another twelve *kuroh*, he reached the village of Múchakí, a small place inhabited by Musalmáns, below which, the Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam or Wihat and Ráwí, unite with the Bíáh (not the Ghárah it will be noticed: the Sutlaj and Bíáh had not yet finally united); and the ferry across is called the Múchakí Paṯan or Ferry. Having crossed, he halted at Koṯhah near by, a small fort of burnt brick construction, twenty *kuroh* distant from Baháwal-púr, and then in Baháwal Khán's possession."

This Koṯhah is the "*Kottee*" of the maps, now on the Multán side, six miles and a half north of Jalál-púr; and within about three

Province of *Sinde*, and to the north the Province of *Caboul*; as it hath *Persia* to the West, and the Province of *Lahors* to the east. It is watered from many Rivers that make it fertile. The Capital Town which is also called *Multan*, was heretofore a place of very great trade, because it is not far from the River *Indus*; but seeing at present, vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that River is spoilt in some places, and the mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land-carriage is too great. However the Province yields plenty of *Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls*, and store of *Camels*, which are transported into *Persia*, by *Gazna*, and *Candahar*, or into the *Indies* themselves by *Lahors*; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the *Indus* at small charges, to *Tatta*, where the merchants of several countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as *Surrat*, if they expect a considerable price for them.

"The Town of *Multan* is by some Geographers attributed to *Sinde*, though it make a Province by itself. *** To conclude, the Town of *Multan* is but of small extent for a Capital, but is pretty well Fortifi'd; and it is very considerable to the *Mogul* when the *Persians* are Masters of *Candahar*, as they are at present." This was written in the tenth year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír's reign.

Tavernier, who, at the same period, was travelling in India, says: "*Multan* is a City where there is made a vast quantity of Linnen Calicuts, which was always transported to *Tuta*, before the sands had stopp'd up the mouth of the River; but since that, it is carry'd all to *Agra*, and from *Agra* to *Surat*, as is the greater part of the Merchandize which is made at *Lahor*. But in regard carriage is so dear, very few merchants traffick either to *Multan* or at *Lahor*; and many of the workmen have also deserted those places, so that the King's Revenues are very much diminished in those Provinces. *** *Multan* is the place where all the *Banians* come, that trade with *Persia*."

Here we have clear evidence of some vast changes in the course of the Indus, and the other rivers, its tributaries, to cause merchandize to be sent from Multán and Láhor to *Agrá* in order to reach Súrat, instead of sending by vessels on the Ráwí and the Chin-áb from those two provincial capitals. Here is another proof, were any required, that the Bíáh still flowed in its own bed, and had not changed its course. See the map of these parts, constructed a few years previous to the period in question, taken from Purchas at page 321.

miles south-west of it, the junction of the Bíáh and Ch̲in-áb then took place, and there the old channel of the Bíáh is still to be seen. Now, there is no Bíáh running there, and the Ghárah—the Sutlaj and Bíáh united—joins the Ch̲in-áb and its tributaries sixteen miles lower down in the direction of south-south-west.

The Koṭ-i-Sh̲ujá' Kh̲án, on the west side of the Ch̲in-áb above the junction, here referred to, must not be mistaken for what is, at present, called Sh̲ujá'-ábád. The Sayyid, Gh̲ulám Muḥammad, says: "There are two Koṭs known as Koṭ-i-Sh̲ujá' Kh̲án; one on the west side of the river, and one on the east [the Sh̲ujá'-ábád of the present time], and are distant twenty *kuroh* from each other."[850]

Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, gives but a very brief notice of the Ch̲in-áb; and what he says respecting it, has been previously recorded at page 294.

The Kh̲ulásat-ut-Tawáríkh the author of which was a Hindú, mentions, that the Ch̲in-áb, in the books of the Hindús is called Ch̲andar-Bhágá, and attributes its name to the Ch̲andar issuing out of Ch̲ín [China]. It soon enters Kíwár [کیوار], celebrated for its saffron. It then receives some tributaries, and gets the name of Ch̲andar-Bhágá. It falls over high rocks at a place near Jammúṇ [*vul.* "Jumoo" and "Jamoo"], forming a magnificent sight, and after that breaks into eighteen branches which again unite, after flowing a distance of twelve *kuroh*, at the *ḳaṣbah* of Bahlúl-púr. It then flows through the Siál Koṭ district, and below the *ḳaṣbah* of Súḍharah passes onwards towards Wazír-ábád. The wood called *sák* (ساک) and *diyár* (دیار), which is well known, is brought down by merchants from the mountain tracts of Ch̲anbah to Wazír-ábád; and floated as far down as Bakhar and Ṭhaṭhah. The Sh̲áh Guẕr or Royal Ferry is at Wazír-ábád. *** The river then reaches Ch̲andaní-oṭ,[851] an ancient place, where is the tomb of the Sayyid, Sh̲áh Burhán. From thence it flows on into Jhang-i-Siálán, which was the dwelling place of Hírah, who is celebrated throughout these parts for her love of Ránjah,[852] and, after passing it, the Ch̲in-áb unites with the Wihat or Jihlam, as already recorded."

850 Sh̲ahámat 'Alí, in his work on Baháwal-púr, says (page xxvii): "From the low and marshy nature of the country south of Multán, there are few towns or villages in that direction of any distinction, excepting *Shujahabad* and *Kot-i-Shuja* [Kh̲án], which are more military posts than towns."

851 The ancient channel of the Chin-áb which passes Ch̲andan-oṭ less than two miles on the east, is twenty-five miles from the present channel near Jhang, and as before mentioned, the whole tract between is more or less seamed with old channels.

852 There is a poem in the Panj-ábí dialect, very popular throughout these parts, on the loves of Hírah and Ránjah.

There is an old and minor branch of the Chin-áb, which must not be passed over, since it has been mistaken for the ancient channel of the Ráwí,[353] whereas the former river passed this minor branch of the Chin-áb four or five miles farther east. I refer to the Lolí Wá-han (لولي واهن), "which *nahr* is supposed by some," according to my Survey record, "to have been originally cut from the Chin-áb, about ten or twelve *kuroh* above Multán. In more recent times, after that river altered its former course east of that place to the west side, it has been neglected, and has gone to ruin. It becomes full during the periodical inundations of that river, and passes north of the fortress, close under the walls, on the side on which stands the tomb of the Rukn-i-'Ālam, then runs towards the south to Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán, and is used for irrigation purposes, or lost in the thirsty soil. Except in the time of the inundations it is nearly dry." A few years since, it was a mere marsh near the north wall of the fortress of Multán, and, probably is so still.

[353] At page 205, Vol. I., of Elliot's "Historians," it is stated, that "Muhammad Kásim's forces, [Muḥammad, the conqueror of Sind, was Ḳásim's *son*] found no suitable place for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort [of Multán], and sued for mercy. *** He pointed out a place towards the north, on the banks of a river." In a foot note, the learned Editor has, "آب جوي—This can hardly mean the main river." Hardly; for the Lolí Wá-han is referred to or a similar small channel.

Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 142) says: "The Ravi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multân, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rains the waters flow to Multân. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress [supposing that Multán is referred to, perhaps?]." See note 348, page 345.

The river "bed" the writer refers to is the Lolí Wá-han, *so changed in the course of ninety-five years* as to be scarcely recognizable, but it was not the Ráwí. He appears to have forgotten that there is a canal from the Chin-áb, passing close to Multán on the west, navigable, and actually called the Sikandar-ábád canal, and, of course, must have been cut by order of Alexander, for have we not his name here?

He also "identifies Atári," about twenty miles W-S-W. of Tulanbah on the high road to Multán, which is really called Atárí-Wálah, of recent origin, founded by a Sikh of that family name, *near which* are the ruins he refers to, as "the city of the Brahmans which made such a stout defence against Alexander. *** Curtius says Alexander went completely round the citadel (of Multán) in a boat, which is probable enough [if the river flowed by it instead of a score miles farther north or south] as its ditch was no doubt capable of being filled at pleasure from the river." Why not have fixed upon Shahr-chah, near which is the tomb of "Shaikh Abdool Hakeem," of the maps, seven miles and a half west of Tulanbah? It *is* the site of an ancient city of great size.

In another place the Survey record states, that the Lolí Wá-han[354] passed a short distance north of Jahán-gír-abád; and, that, "in going from thence to Multán, you proceed three *kuroh* south, and by the way cross this *rúd-khánah* [river bed] twice; once about half-way, and the second time near the Láhor Gate of Multán by means of a wooden bridge."

THE RÁWÍ, RÁWAH, OR ANCIENT ÍRÁWATÍ.[355]

"The Ráwí, called by the old historians the Ráwah of Láhor or Loháwar, and Írawatí by the Hindús, issues from the mountain range of Chanbah, the source of which river is sacred to Mahá-díw. *** It

[354] Fortunately, a record exists respecting this branch or cutting from the Chin-áb, mistaken for the old bed of the Ráwí, the bed of which lies much farther east. In mentioning the six gates of the city, the Survey record says: "The Láhorí Darwázah is on the north-west side on the Lolí Wá-han; and outside it, over that *rúd* is a brick bridge [before it was said to be of wood: perhaps there was one of wood as well]. Beyond the gate is a suburb, inhabited by about a thousand Afghán families, and it is styled the Koṭ of Túlí Khán." This seems to be what is now incorrectly called the "*Kiri* of the Afgháns," instead of *Giṛa'í*, a Puṣ'hto word signifying a halting place of nomad Afgháns. Respecting the Bohaṛ Darwázah, it says, "this is on the west side of the city walls, and there also is a suburb; and the Lolí Wá-han passes about a quarter of a *kuroh* to the west of it. The Daulat Darwázah is on the north-east side of the walls, and the Lolí Wá-han passes by near to it. Beyond, on the outside, the mansions of Sulṭáns and Princes of by-gone times were situated, and the camp for their troops, but they are now in a state of total ruin." Respecting the four gates of the fortress, the writer says: "The northern one is called the Khiẓrí Darwázah, and opens on the Lolí Wá-han [that is, opposite to, and near it], and is always kept closed. *** Within the Díw Darwázah, on the Lolí Wá-han side, is the Tomb and Shrine of the Rukn-i-'Álam (Pillar of the Universe), the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Dín, son of the Shaikh, Ṣadr-ud-Dín-i-'Árif, who died in 709 H. (1309-10 A.D.), son of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá. In the rainy season when the Lolí Wá-han, which runs outside the fort walls on the north, becomes full and overflows, the area round the Tomb and Shrine becomes a gathering place for sight-seers. The Lolí Wá-han also passes not far from the walls on the side where is the Tomb and Shrine of Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ; and the Tomb and Shrine of Shams-i-Tabríz is on the other side of the same Lolí Wá-han, farther on towards the south." This was at the period that the Nawwáb, Muẓaffar Khán, Sadozí, held the fief of the Multán province from Tímúr Sháh Bádsháh, ruler of the Afghán state, for the annual sum of two and a half *lakhs* of *rúpís*, paid to the Durrání treasury.

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note farther on.

Masson (Vol. I, p. 396) says, "the inundations of the Rávi river extended to the city, but it is *three miles* distant, and has what is called *a bandar*, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station." This refers to an old channel close to Sítal kí Máṛí, noticed by Cunningham. See page 365.

[355] The people of these parts still call it by the ancient names.

passes below Chanbah where is a wooden bridge, and flows to Bisohlí (بسوهلي), where is a boat ferry. Below Sháh-púr it leaves the hills, and here there is a cutting of about a quarter of the volume of water, which is carried on to Láhor and Paṭhán or Paṭán Koṭ,[356] and to the *parganahs* of Baṭálah and Paṭí. The channel of this *nahr* or cutting is now ruined [through neglect], and the stream having turned away from Bahrám-púr, re-unites with the main river near the city of Láhor. The Ráwí afterwards flows by Faríd-ábád, Sayyid-Wálah, and within a *kuroh* of Tulanbah; and just half-way between the village of Dandí-Wálah and Sargání, unites with the Chin-áb and loses its name. The place of junction is called Trimúṇ."

A channel from this *nahr* from the Ráwí can be distinctly traced from Sháh-púr, by Gurdás-púr, Baṭálah ("Bulata" of the maps), and from fourteen to fifteen miles south of Amrit-Sar (*vul.* "Umritsur"), and appears in the maps as "Dry N."; while the *nahr* itself, which is said (in the Survey record), to turn aside from Bahrám-púr (the "Buhrampoor" of the maps) appears as the "Kirn N.," which now unites with the parent stream seventeen miles *above*, instead of *close to* Láhor.

What changes are here shown to have taken place during the lapse of even less than a century! Such is a brief notice of the Ráwí from the Survey record I have already quoted.

356 According to Cunningham (page 144), "the name of this place is not derived from the well known Muhammadan Pathâns, or Afghâns, but from *the Pathân Tribe of Hindu Rajpûts*." This is something quite new, and may account for the "Pathân Coins," and the "Pathân Dynasties" of the "Archæological Department," in which have been included Tájzíks, Turks, Sayyids, Jaṭs, Ḥabashís, and others, who have ruled in Hind, and formed into one delightful jumble, being styled "Pathâns," without there having been a single Paṭán among them; and now we must add, it seems, "Hindu Rajpût Pathâns" although, I suppose, there are no *Musalman* "Rajpût Pathâns."

This comes from Tod probably, as, at page 233, Vol. II., of his "Rajast'han," referring to the Langáh *Jaṭs* who once ruled over the territory of Multán (See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 569) he says that, "The use of the word *Pat'hán* by no means precludes their being Hindus." What then does Pat'hán mean?

The "Pasto, Pakhhto," and "Pukhhsto" scholars have to their own satisfaction proved, that the Πάκτυες of Herodotus" are the "Pathâns or Afghâns," whose progenitor was only born about the year 576 A. D., but here they are all "identified" as "Hindu Rajpúts."

This, however, is nothing to the discovery of another philosopher, only lately come to light, namely, that "the name Afghán [only the people call themselves Pus'htánah] is connected with the *Açvaca of the Mahabárata!*" This is well worthy of insertion in a Gazetteer or a Cyclopedia, or such like "popular" reading. See note 27, page 164.

Abú-l-Faẓl merely mentions the ancient name of the Ráwí, and that it issues from the mountain range of Bhadrál or Bhadrá, and that the Dár-ul-Mulk, Láhor, is situated on its banks.[357]

[357] Láhor was visited in 1603 by John Mildenhall, a merchant of London, who set out in 1599 from Iṣfahán by Yazd, Kirmán, Sijis-stán, and Ḳandahár. He reached "*Lahora*," as he styles it, from "*Candahar*," but, unfortunately, no particulars respecting this part of his journey are in existence that I am aware of.

Two Englishmen of Captain Downton's company, however, reached it in 1614. In the extract from the account of their travels it is stated: "But none made more of the trade of this famous city than the Portugals did (as long as they had the Wit to keep friends with the *Great Mogul*). For all the Merchandize they dealt for with the Foreigners, or *Indians*, at *Lahore*, was here embarked upon the spot, and so down the Ravee (into the Indus) away for *Persia*, *Ormus*, and those parts," etc., etc. * * * In the time of the *Potane* [Paṭán or Afghán] kings it (Lahore) was but a trifling village.

This matter of Portuguese trade is entered into more fully by Messrs. Richard Steele and John Crowther, two Merchants in the service of the East Indian Society, who went from Ajmír to Iṣfahán in the years 1614–1615. They reached Multán on the 22nd May, 1614. They say: "*Lahor* stands on the Rieur *Indus* or *Sinde* [See page 301, and note 349, page 347], and from this place came the Treasure of the *Portugals* Trade when they had peace, as being the center of all *Indian* Traffique. And here they embarqued the same down the Rieur for *Tatta*, whence they were transferred for *Ormus* and *Persia*. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt *Persia* and *India*, pay'd them fraight. They did likewise drive a great Trade vp this Rieur for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of *India* therewith. At this present the Merchants of *India* assemble at *Lahor*, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and ioyne themselves in Carauans to passe the Mountains of *Candahar* into *Persia*, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteen thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarcely pass'd three thousand, the rest going by way of *Ormus*. These Merchants are put to greate charges betwixt *Lahor* and *Spahan* (besides greate cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badness of the way, spending six or seven months betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camel's lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie or one hundred and thirtie Rupiás. *Persia* is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from *Masulipatan* over land."

This merchandize went from Multán by the Sanghar Pass, and by Tal, Tsoṭíálí and Pushang to Kandahár by the route described *for the first time*, other than by those two merchants, *by me* in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 547. See also my account therein of the POWANDAH Afghán Tribes, page 483.

Thevenot says: "*Lahor* is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon one of the five Rivers that descend from the mountains of the North to swell the River *Indus*; and give the name of *Peniab* to all the Region which they water. This River at this time flows not within a league of the Town [now it is just one mile], being subject to change in its Channel, and many times does very great mischief to the adjoining Fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The City is large, and extends itself above a league in length. But the greatest part of the Houses, which are higher than those of *Agra* and *Deli*, fall to ruine, by reason of the excessive rains that have overflowed a great number of them."

The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh states, that, at the period that work was written in 1107 H. (1695 A. D.), the Ráwí united with the Chin-áb close to Sará'e-i-Sidhú or Sidhú kí Sará'e (the "Serraiee Siddhoo" of the maps), twenty *kuroh* from Multán. At the present time the Sará'e in question is less than a mile from the south bank of the Ráwí, and from it the river turns northwards and westwards, then south-west, winding considerably, and unites with the Chin-áb eleven miles west of that place.[358]

The climate of these parts seems to have changed considerably since Thevenot wrote. He was there in 1665-66.

Tavernier, who was in these parts about the same years, says of the "Province of *Lahors*," that, "The chief Town is not now upon the *Ravy* as it was for a long time, because that River having a very flat Channel, has fallen off from it above a quarter of a league. * * * This hath been a very pretty Town when the Kings kept their Courts in it. * * * I have already said, that the great walk of Trees (which begins at *Agra*) reaches as far as *Lahors*, though the two Towns be distant from one another one hundred and fifty Leagues, the lovely Alley is very pleasant."

This "lovely alley" was the work of Sultán Sher Sháh, Sor, the Afghán or Patán Sultán of the Dihlí empire, who is said to have had a daily postal service between Níl-áb and Agrá, and that trees were planted on both sides of the way all along this route.

358 When the Prince, Muhammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, eldest son of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, was preparing at Láhor for his expedition against Kandahár in 1653, two battering guns of great calibre for those days, were specially cast at Láhor, one of which carried a ball of 90 lbs., and the other a shot of 64 lbs. These, together with a third great gun, brought from Sháh-Jahán-ábád, after twenty days' labour occupied in removing them from the citadel of Láhor to the banks of the Ráwí and shipping them on board vessels, were sent down that river to Multán.

The Prince's army amounted to 104,000 men, including 70,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery men, accompanied by 36 guns and mortars, and 60 great war elephants. The heavy guns, ten in all, including the three above mentioned, were sent down the Áb-i-Sind, and by Dádhar, and Shál (Kwatah, *vul.* "Quetta") to Kandahár, and, in consequence, only arrived there towards the termination of the investment, and failure of the expedition.

I gave a brief summary of this affair, and the march by the Sangar Pass, a route wholly unknown to modern writers, by Chatsah, Tal, Tsotíálí, and by the Siádzga'í or Tabak-sar (both words being of one and the same meaning, the first being Pus'hto and the latter Tajzík) into Pushang (*vul.* "Péshín"), in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 21, in September, 1878. This was the first time that this route was described by any European author, and the first time the route of this great army was made known; and only one native writer knew correctly the composition of the force, or the route taken by it both in going and returning, and he accompanied it. A recent reviewer, in the '*Athenæum*,' for July 26th, 1890, referring to my "NOTES," says: "It was Major Raverty who several years ago brought to the notice of the Indian Government the existence of the direct route by which Prince Muhammad Dara-Shukoh led his formidable army of over 100,000 men from Multan to Candahar, an identification which quite

When the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to at page 348, was returning to Kábul from India in 1787, he had to give up the idea of going from Multán by way of Layyá, because a large force of Sikhs had invaded that part. He, therefore, had to proceed by Mankerah. His route throws light on the state of the parts near the confluence of the Chin-áb, Bihat, and Ráwí. He set out from Multán for Khán Chál, distant five *kos* (this is what is called the *kachchhah kos*, just a mile and a half) north-eastwards; then to the Deh-i-Sháh Nawáz, on the banks of the Bíáh (not the *dry* Bíáh) ten *kos* in the same general direction; then ten *kos* north to Sháh-púr; and thence to Tulanbah, between north and east, another ten *kos*. From Tulanbah he went fifteen *kos* north-west, and reached Sárwán. He distinctly states that this stage brought him into the tract between the Chin-áb and the *Bihat*, on the edge or margin of the great desert waste—the *Thal*—and that another stage, in the same general direction took him to Mahárán (*possibly*, what is now styled "Gurh Maharaja" in our maps), through the sandy desert. Another two stages brought him to Mankeráh.

About the time of the 'Arab conquest by Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, the Ráwí united with the Biáh east of Multán. It has always been remarkable for its erratic course, especially below Láhor, and from thence to its junction with the Chin-áb, notwithstanding that it runs in a deep bed. Tavernier however, quoted in the preceding note 357, says its channel is very flat. It is so irregular and uncertain, that it is impossible to tell one year where its channel may be the next. On one side, its left high bank can be traced from some twelve miles above Láhor, running in a south-westerly direction and winding considerably, by the Sará'e-i-Noh-Shahrah, and close to it, and between Wándarí, which lies twelve miles east of Sayyid-Wálah, and Hinjaráún, so called after

revolutionized the theories of Anglo-Indian strategists." I find, however, that there are actually some who would like to take the credit of the discovery to themselves, and, probably, if I live long enough, I shall find some one claiming to have made the discovery, just as the Siáh-posh Káfirs of the Káfiristán have been "discovered" over and over again, since I gave an account of them in the "*Journal*" for 1859.

Since I wrote about this route, it has been surveyed, and part of the Ḳandahár force returning to India followed it—the detachment under the command of Sir M. Biddulph, K. C. B. I shall probably give the account of the expedition in full shortly, but more respecting the route will be found in a subsequent Section of my "NOTES," page 546, which see, further researches having thrown additional light upon it. In that same Section of my "NOTES," I also pointed out a direct road to Ḳandahár from the Derah-ját farther north, by which a line of Railway might easily be carried, and that road is *now* I find, being surveyed. Better *late* than *never*.

a tribe of Hindú Jaṭs, down to within a couple of miles of Sath Gaṛh[359] on the south. Continuing to run from thence with a very tortuous

[359] This place in Blochmann's printed text is صد کهره—Ṣad-Kharah, but, correctly, as above, was the chief place of a *maḥáll* of that name in the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, which *sarkár* contained four Do-ábahs, and the Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab. At the time Abú-l-Faẓl wrote his A'ín-i-Akbarí, there were 59,448 *bígahs* of land under cultivation, the revenue amounted to 3,551,230 *dáms*, and free grants existed to the amount of 20,972 *dáms*. The inhabitants of the *maḥáll* were Balúchís and Khaṛ'l Jaṭs, who were assessed as able to furnish 300 horsemen, and 4000 foot for militia purposes.

At the time of the Survey I have been quoting from in this paper, Sath Gaṛh is mentioned as lying just midway between Fatḥ-púr, Ghugherah, and Sher Gaṛh, near the dry channel of the Ráwí, and as being, in former times, the chief place of a sub-district, but now, for the most part, in ruins, and in the possession of a Sikh named Wazír Singh, who also held Huṛappah.

Though of little consequence in other ways, it is somewhat so in an historical point of view.

Colonel Macgregor in his "Gazetteer," and Mr. A. W. Hughes of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, the compiler of "a Gazetteer of Sind," and another of "Balochistan," quote a wonderful history of the Balúchís from a "Report" by Mr. R. Bruce, C. S., respecting a petty chief of a section of the Rind clan of that people, named Chákar. According to this "history," after the Balúchís had settled in Kalát and Kachchhí, a feud arose between Chákar, and Raḥmán, a Lishárí chief of the same race. "They collected their armies," says the "Report," a battle ensued and the Rinds were defeated with the loss of 700 killed. On this, "Mír Chákar "*sent for assistance to Súltan Sháh Húsén, King of Persia, who sent an army under* "*the command of Zamí to his aid.*"

Unfortunately, such a Sháh of Persia never existed, and such a leader as "Zamí" is unknown to fame. They have managed to mix up here the name of the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, Sháh Ḥusain.

Then comes a still more wonderful piece of history, that, "After Mír Chákar had "committed the country to the care of his lieutenants, it appears that he, with a "number of his followers, *joined the standard of Hamáyún Sháh in his attempts to* "*recover the kingdom of Hindústan, and went with him to Dehli. Other reports say* "*that he took Dehli from Hamáyún Sháh, and afterwards tendered his submission.*"

Subsequent to Humáyún Bádsháh's return from Persia, after obtaining aid from Sháh Ṭhamásib, his defeating his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, and his final advance from beyond the Indus into Hindústán for the recovery of his empire, the "Report" informs us, that "he had a large army," and that "*it is very probable that* "*he may have returned through the Bolán Pass, and been joined by the Rinds under* *Mír Chákar.*"

I do not think there is any "History of India," however poor, that does not clearly show that the Bádsháh did not return by the Bolán Pass; and, certainly, he was not joined on the way by "the Rind army," nor Chákar's "lieutenants."

Added to this "history," we have some Balúch Ballads translated by Mr. L. M. Dames, C.S., which appeared in the "*Journal*" for 1880; and from these more "history" of the same kind is adduced. There Chákar "*is said to have founded a kingdom* [like "the kingdom of the Náhars," the "Sitpur kingdom"] *with its capital*

course, in the same general direction as before, its bank in some places much more defined than in others, it runs close to Hurappah on the

Seví (Síbí), and to have waged war with Humdú Chughattá," for Chákar was "a godlike man," and chief of the "lofty Ghulám Bolak Rinds."

Mr. Dames adds that "it is difficult to say how far any part of Chákar's adventures are historical;" and he quotes "Brigg's Ferishta," and "Erskine's Babar" to show that "the irruption of the Baloches into the Panjáb, about 1520 A. D., was probably caused by the pressure on them of the Turks or [*sic.*] Mughals who were then under the Arghúns invading Kachhí and Sindh."

More "history" of this kind is given in "Griffin's Panjaub Chiefs." The Panjáb Government "invited" all the chiefs of tribes to send in an account of their ancestors, and descent of their tribes; and the result is contained in that work. It can be imagined how the chiefs drew the long bow, what glowing accounts they gave, and what noble or royal descent they gave themselves and their tribes.

Fortunately for historical truth, I can show "how far Chákar's adventures are historical," and also the nature of the "history" adduced respecting that "god-like man."

Mírzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal, son of Sháh Beg Khán, the conqueror of Sind, determined, at the instigation, it is said, of Bábar Bádsháh, to make war on the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, but before doing so, he determined to coerce the refractory Balúchís in the northern and western part of his territory, around Síwí and parts adjacent. With a body of 1,000 cavalry, he made a forced march from Bakhar by way of Chatar and Lahrí, and came upon the Rinds and Bughṭís, overthrew them, made many captives, reduced them to submission, and brought back their head men along with him to Bakhar. This was in 930 H. (1523-24 A. D.).

He then set out on his expedition against Multán in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.); and a force composed of Langáh Jaṭs, Rinds, Dúdá'ís, and other Balúchís, Chándiyahs, Nághars, and others, to the number of about 80,000 men, awaited him on the banks of the Ghárah to dispute his crossing. Sulṭán Maḥmúd, Langáh, had only made one march from Multán to join this army, when he suddenly died, said to have been poisoned by his son-in-law, the Shaikh, Shujá'-ud-Dín, Bukhárí, while some say he was poisoned by a house-hold slave, named Lashkar Khán, and this great army melted away.

The Langáh Jaṭs, whom such "history" writers will persist in turning into Afgháns, now set up the young son of Sulṭán Maḥmúd; and came to an accommodation with Mírzá Sháh Husain, "by ceding to him all the Multán territory south of the Ghárah, which river was to be the new boundary."

Soon after this, in 933 H. (1526-27 A. D.), the affairs of Multán became utterly disordered: the chiefs of the late Sulṭán refused to submit to the young ruler, he being a mere puppet in the hands of the Shaikh, and they invited Mírzá Sháh Husain to take possession of Multán. He set out in the same year; and on the 15th of Rabí'-us-Sání, 933 H. (January, 1527 A.D.), captured Multán, in which the supporters of the Shaikh and the young Sulṭán had shut themselves up. The place was completely sacked, numbers of those found within were put to the sword, and the remainder enslaved. The Wazír Shaikh and the Sulṭán were cast into prison, and there they died, the latter after a nominal reign of one year and eight months; and the Langáh Jaṭ dynasty, which arose out of a fraud, terminated at the end of twenty-seven years.

south; and between this its left high bank and the right high bank of the Bíáh, but six miles of elevated plateau or *ḍhaiyá* (subsequently to

For some time previously they had lost all their territory north of the Ráwí. Jám Báyazíd, the Sammah, a member of the ruling family of Sind ousted by the Arghúns, who had taken shelter in the Langáh territory, and had become its Wazír, rebelled and retired to Shōr Koṭ, and appropriated that part (equivalent to the present Jhang district or nearly so), and tendered fealty to Daulat Khán, Lodí, governor of the Láhor province on the part of the Afghán Sulṭán, Sikandar, Lodí, of Dihlí.

From the period of the usurpation of the Langáh Jaṭs over Multán, numbers of Balúchís had come thither from the farthest parts of the Balúchistán, from Kích and Mukrán, and took service with them, receiving large grants of land in lieu of pay, and among these was Malik Suhráb, the Dúdá'í Hút. About the period that Jám Báyazíd rebelled, a feud having arisen between one division of the Rinds of which Chákar was the head, and other Balúchís, in which the Rinds came worst off, Chákar, finding the neighbourhood of Síwí too hot for him—not the fortified town of that name, but lands dependent on it—left it, and came with his two sons, Allah-Dád and Sháh-Dád (the latter is said to have first introduced the Shí'ah doctrine into Multán), to seek service with the Langáhs, but finding no chance of employment there, he went to Shor Koṭ, to Jám Bayazíd, who took him into his service, and out of his fief, assigned him a *já-gír* in lieu of pay. This *já-gír* was at Sath Gaṛh on the Ráwí, and there he took up his residence with his people. See note 361, page 366.

After Humáyún Bádsháh had to abandon his kingdom, and retired to Láhor in 947 H. (1540-41 A. D.), followed by Sher Khán, of the Sor sub-division of the Afghán tribe of Lodí, who had assumed the sovereignty and title of Sher Sháh, the Bádsháh retired into Sind. Sher Sháh while in the Panj-áb selected the site for the fortress of Ruhtás, which was "To be a spike in the breast of the Gakhaṛ tribe"; and shortly after, in 949-950 H. (1542-43 A.D.), he left the Kaṛlární Níází Afghán, Haibat Khán, as governor of the whole Panj-áb, and directed him to free the territory from the rebel Balúch, Fatḥ Khán, Hút, who had possessed himself of Koṭ Ḳabúlah during the distracted state of the country after the downfall of the Langáhs, raided the Lakhhí Jangal district, and devastated all the country round, and as far east as Pání-paṭ; to free Multán territory altogether from the Balúchís, who had seized upon it, and re-people the desolated city of Multán, whose inhabitants had now entirely deserted it.

Immediately on receipt of these orders, Haibat Khán, Níází, sent for the Wakíl of Chákar, the Rind; for now he held his *já-gír* from the Afghán governor of the Panj-áb, to which government he owed military service, and said to him: "Go thou to Malik Chákar, the Rind, and intimate to him that I shall be coming into his district immediately, and let him see that the men of his *já-gír* are ready for my inspection." The author from whom I take this extract (confirmed by other writers), 'Abbás, Sarwáṛní, in his "Táríkh-i-Sher Sháh-í," says: "I heard from the lips of Fatḥ Khán, Kambú, that, when the Wakíl presented himself to Chákar he was dumb-foundered; for as yet, no preparation had been made for the purpose, or the reception of the Khán. On the second day after, news came that Haibat Khán had arrived within twelve *kuroh* of Sath Gaṛh. Chákar now became alarmed, and said: 'I have not mustered my followers, nor made preparations for it. What shall I do!' and he was in a great way. Next morning a scout of Chákar's came in, and

be noticed in the account of the last-named river), intervenes. From Huṛappah it passes close to Chíchawaṭní on the south, thirteen miles

intimated that the Khán had arrived; and all Cháḳar could do was to ride forth to receive him, in a very disturbed state of mind. As soon as Haibat Khán perceived him, he said: 'I will not inspect your followers now, but will do so at Debál-púr,' his object being, lest Fatḥ Khán, the Hút Balúch, should, in case he delayed at Sath Gaṛh, take himself off; and so Cháḳar, to his great relief, was dismissed." Haibat Khán continued his march to the Pák Pattan of the Ḳuṭb-i-'Álam, the Shaikh, Faríd-i-Ganj-i-Shakar; but Fatḥ Khán, alarmed, had fled [Cháḳar, doubtless, informed him in time], but Haibat Khán pursued him, and came up with him near Fatḥ-púr of Kuhroṛ [about twenty miles east of Kuhroṛ]. He had no chance of escape from Haibat Khán, as he had his family, and those of his followers, with him. He therefore threw himself into the mud built fort there, and sought shelter therein. It was immediately surrounded; and after he had held out for a day or two, Fatḥ Khán got the Shaikh Ibráhím, the descendant of Shaikh Faríd, to intercede for him; and he came out and presented himself before Haibat Khán. The latter told the Shaikh, that he was himself only a servant of the Sháh, and that whatever his commands might be he must carry them out, so Fatḥ Khán was allowed to return to the fort pending the orders of Sher Sháh. He shortly after managed to escape, however; for one night, chiefly through the efforts of a faithful follower, Mando by name, Fatḥ Khán, at the head of 300 men, made a sudden rush upon the guards, overpowered them, and got off. The Afgháns on entering the place, found that they had butchered nearly all the women and children before they left. Bakhshú, the Langáh, afterwards captured Mando, and brought him bound to Haibat Khán, and shortly after, Fatḥ Khán was taken. Haibat Khán proceeded to Multán, having collected the remaining inhabitants, who had long before dispersed to various places, and set about re-peopling and repairing the place. Fatḥ Khán, Hút, and Mando, by command of Sher Sháh, were hanged.

For these distinguished services Sher Sháh conferred upon Haibat Khán the title of *Masnad-i-'Álá, 'Áʒam Humáyún*—that is "The Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of Dignity], the most August," a title which had been conferred twice before by the Afghán sovereigns on their nobles. He was also assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereigns had hitherto been permitted to use." This was in 950 H. (1543-44 A.D.)

Sher Sháh directed *the 'Áʒam Humáyún* not to make any alterations in the assessments, but to observe the rules and usages of the Langáhs, and to take the revenue in kind. The latter, leaving Fatḥ Jang Khán, Kanbú (or Kambú: it is correct both ways, the person referred to above) in charge of the Multán province, returned to Láhor. Fatḥ Khán, Kanbú, brought it into a flourishing condition once more, and founded therein a town which he named Sher Gaṛh."

This place is still in existence, situated close to the right high bank of the Bíáh, some twenty miles to the south-eastwards of Sath Gaṛh. These people under the "official name" of *Kambohs*, still hold a good deal of land in that locality.

That "god-like man," the "mighty Chakar Rind," the founder of "the kingdom of the lofty Gulám Bolak Rinds," disappears from the scene; but he continued to hold his *já-gír* at Sath Gaṛh, and there died, and was buried. The Rinds, latterly, were much bullied by the Síáls. See page 338. There are more than "*traces* of Biloches" throughout the whole Panj-áb, particularly in the southern half of it.

and a half beyond which it makes a sudden bend to the northwards, then back again to a south-westerly direction, and runs towards Tulanbah, which it passes five miles to the south. From thence it runs in the direction of Multán as far as the point near which it used to unite with the Chin-áb, when that river passed on the east side of that city to join the Bíáh, and which is about fifteen miles nearly due south of Sidhú kí Sará'e. In the space between this left high bank and the present channel, between Chíchawaṭní and Tulanbah, are the remains of two or three other old channels in which it has flowed at different times, but now partly obliterated.

On the opposite side, in the present Rachin-áb Do-ábah, its extreme high bank can be distinctly traced beginning from about twenty-nine miles to the westwards of Láhor, running in the direction of about south-south-west along the skirt of the Sándal *Bár*, farther west of which again is a part of the same *Bár*, extending from five to fourteen miles in breadth from west to east, and some eighteen miles from north-east to south-west, covered every here and there with mounds and hillocks, the sites of former towns and villages, and, in some places, with depressions. Patches of the same hard substance that composes the Chitr-áng Zamín, described farther on, also crop up here and there. These patches are described as "beds of kankar," but the formation is, apparently, just the same as that of the Chitr-áng Zamín alluded to above.

Passing onwards from this in a direct line towards Ghugherah and

It will thus be seen, that out of Haibat Khán, *the 'A'zam Humáyún* (which last word, in this, as well as in the Bádsháh's title, means august, fortunate, etc.) the writers have produced "*Humáú Chowghutta*," and "*Hamáyún Sháh*" meaning of course Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Humáyún Bádsháh [he was a Barlás Mughal by descent, one of the *ulúsís* of *Chaghatáe* Khán], with whom "the mighty Chákar made war," and even "took Delhi, from him," but kindly restored it! How he "made war" upon the *'A'zam Humáyún*, Haibat Khán, I have already shown above. As to "Hamáyún Sháh having very probably returned" to Hindústán "from Persia through the Bolan pass, and been joined by Chákar Rind, and other Biloches," any History of India, even "Forishta," or "Briggs" would show, was totally incorrect. Humáyún Bádsháh left Sind in August, 1543; in January, 1546, he returned from Persia, and recovered Ḳandahár; and it was not until *eleven years and a half after that*, that he set out from Kábul for Jú'e Sháh-í, then by a raft on the river of Kábul to Pes'háwar, crossed the Indus at Níl-Ab, and marched straight on Láhor, and from thence through the Jalhandar Do-Ábah, and Samánah, to Dihlí.

As to Chákar, the Rind, building the fort of "Seví (Síbí) and making it his capital," is on a par with his capture of Dihlí. "A little history," like "a little learning," is "a dangerous thing." See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 589, note ¶, and page 591, note *

Fatḥ-púr, it runs a little over eight miles to the westwards of Faríd-ábád, and nearly five west of Sayyid-Wálah; and about seven miles or thereabouts north-west of the first-named place, the Deg river runs in its channel. Hereabouts the bank is not so well defined, but, about four miles and a half west of Ghugherah, it becomes well defined again, and approaches within a mile and a half of Koṭ Kamáliah[260] on the

260 Cunningham (Ancient India, page 226) "identifies" this place, as "the first city captured by Alexander on his march from the junction of the Hydaspes (Jhilam) and the Akesines (Chenab)," but he does not tell us where the junction then was; and he also suggests a connection between the name Kamália and the Malli. He also provides a place for "Harapa" [Huṛappah] as "most probably, the city against which Perdikkas was detached because of the mention of marshes," but there are, or were, plenty of marshes round about, and near Multán, and also near Shor Koṭ, and scores of other places. In the time of Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh of Ghaznín, Muḥammad Bahlím, the governor of these parts—the Panj-áb—having rebelled, the Sulṭán marched against him in 512 H. (1118-19 A.D.) and defeated him on the confines of Multán, "the Almighty having rewarded Muḥammad Bahlím for his base ingratitude, and he, and his ten (some say two) sons, together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass, so that no trace of him and them remained." It does not follow, however, that Huṛappah was the place.

With regard to Kamálíah, or Koṭ Kamálíah, I may mention that *kamál* is not Greek, but an 'Arabic word, and that the name of this place is derived from the Musalmán name of its founder, Kamál-ud-Dín, a Kharl chief. He may have founded it on an older site, and a town may possibly have been in existence there in the time of Alexander's campaign, but there is a vast difference between probability and "identification." How many times has the Ráwi changed its course since that time?

The direction taken by Alexander against the Malli, and the situation of their territory, as described by the historians of his compaigns, depends entirely upon where the Hydraotes [Ráwí] united with the Acesines [Chin-áb] at that period. Where the junction took place shortly before the appearance of the 'Arabs in Sind and Multán has been already related. See also note 192, page 244.

The Malli are said to have occupied the country between the lower part of the courses of the Hydraotes and Acesines, and also the district beyond the Hydraotes. What plainer description can be desired to show that the lower part of what in comparatively modern days was called the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, in part of the Sándal *Báṛ*, the Gondal *Báṛ*, and part of the Ganji *Báṛ* adjoining it in the Bári Do-ábah is meant, even according to the most ancient courses of the rivers that we know of. That the greater part of the tract in question was above the place of junction of the two rivers is clear, because it is stated, that the troops were landed below the confluence of the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Chin-áb] on the right [west] bank of the latter, that is, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and were directed to march down stream, on that side, at certain intervals of time, in divisions, *to the point of junction of the Acesines* [Chin-áb] *with the Hydraotes* [Ráwí]; and the fleet was ordered to be conducted thither also. In the time of the 'Arabs, this junction took place about twenty miles *north-east of Multán*, but in Alexander's day it probably took place, to judge from the most ancient channels, much higher up, and between Sidhú kí Sará'e and Shor Koṭ, but nearer to the latter place.

north, and then makes a sudden bend to the north-west as far as 30° 52′ N. L. to within sixteen miles of Shor Koṭ, and within fourteen miles of

Alexander, himself, however, before they set out, advanced laterally from the left [east] bank of the Acesines [Chin-áb], that is, into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and encamped near a small stream which skirted the western edge of the desert [*báṛ ?*] that intervened between the upper settlements of the Malli upon the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and came to a halt for a short time. This stream, no doubt, refers to one of those *nahrs*, or old canals, as they are supposed to be, still to be traced in the present Jhang district. After marching the remainder of that day and all night, at dawn, he arrived before the Malli strong hold, the march across the desert [*báṛ ?*] having *exceeded twenty-five miles.* He was still in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but it is not said in what direction his march lay, but, it may have been in a south-easterly direction, or even more towards the east from the context, and the time it subsequently took to convey him to the confluence of the two rivers, after he was wounded, and that depends on where that confluence was. The distance mentioned, if he marched south-east from the ancient bed of the Chin-áb, would have brought him to the northwards of where Koṭ Kamálíah now stands, if not to within four or five miles west of Samandar, on the road from Mughíánah to Ghugherah. Wherever it was, the people were taken by surprise, and their city and fortress stormed

Curtius differs here from the other writers. He says the people had determined to make a vigorous defence, and had chosen a commander out of the Oxydracæ; that he was an expert soldier, and had pitched his camp *at the foot of a mountain*, causing fires to be lighted to a great distance, that his army [the undisciplined inhabitants] might appear more numerous, and kept up cries and uncouth howlings, etc; and that as soon as it was light, Alexander moved to attack them in battle array, but, the barbarians for some reason *fled to the mountains*, pursued by Alexander, but to no purpose, except capturing their baggage.

Where is there a mountain to be found within ninety miles of either of these places, or even a hill nearer than the Kiránah Hills and their off-shoots, at Chandani-oṭ, and near Sángalá *Tall ?*

According to Arrian and the other accounts, the most important places were evacuated, and the inhabitants fled for refuge to the dense *jangals* beyond the Hydraotes [in the Ganjí *Báṛ*, in the Bárí Do-ábah, dense *jangals* still exist]. After a short repose the Greeks continued their advance and reached the Hydraotes, while the Malli were still crossing [into the Bárí Do-ábah]. Their rear guard was cut up, but the main body of the Malli took refuge in a strong fortified city, which was stormed by a part of the forces sent against it. Then Alexander crossed to the left bank [east, and thus entered the Bárí Do-ábah once more. The first occasion was when his troops mutinied], and reached a Bráhman town, which was also captured.

Curtius says, that the city was the city of the Oxydracæ, and Strabo says, it was the city of the Sydracæ. The Malli evacuated all the chief cities [what a number of *cities*!] lying on the left [east] bank of the river Hydraotes; and Alexander re-crossed to the right [west] bank [back into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah again] they, the Malli, having concentrated all their forces there. Autumn was far advanced, so the river was low, and having re-crossed it, he attacked them. They were overthrown, and fled for shelter to a neighbouring fortress. It being late in

one of the ancient channels of the Chin-áb. It then turns abruptly from north towards the south for seven miles, and then turns west

the day, the attack upon it was deferred till the following day. This was the place where Alexander was so badly wounded in storming it. Where this fortress might have been I cannot say, but it was in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, not far from the then banks of the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and somewhere to the northward of Koṭ Kamáliah, or between that place and Samandar, or even farther north near the old channel of the river shown in the general map, No 1.

Masson considers "Túlúmba" to have been "the capital of the Malli, which could not be Multán"; and respecting this last remark there cannot be the shadow of a doubt: Multán was too far south, as the other subsequent operations show. Masson also, contrary to others, considers "Kamália" was the site of the fortress where Alexander nearly lost his life; and he dwells upon the marsh near it as a proof. This, however, is neither proof nor clue; for there are marshes in several other places in these parts: the distance given of the length of the march is the best. Masson also identified "Haripah" [Huṛappah] as Sángalá, in which, of course, he was totally wrong; for Sángalá *Tall* lies eighty-four miles to the northwards of Huṛappah, but, as regards Koṭ Kamáliah, he is certainly in the right neighbourhood, although too far south perhaps.

Vincent ("Voyage of Nearchus") says, that "the fortress where Alexander was wounded, was not the Malli capital [not "Moultan," as he writes it]; for it is certainly on the *north* of the Hydraotes as Moultan is on the *south*." But, in another place, he spoils his, by chance, correct statement, by adding, that "the Caspiri on the Rhuadis *ought* to be Moultan on the Ravee," etc.

After stating all I have noticed above, the Author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," like others who have written since, supposes, that "the Malli are represented by the modern inhabitants of Moultan, and Outch of the Oxydracæ;" as he says the former [*i. e.*, "Moultan"] is on the left bank of the Acesines [Chin-áb], with the cognate city of Mulban [sic] between the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Hyphasis [Bíáh], and Outch lower down, not far from the confluence of the Hyphasis and Acesines. Here he has been guided, it will be seen, *by the courses of the rivers as they now flow*, and as those places are *now* situated, but it was not so *then*; and he has mistaken the Ghárah for the Hyphasis, which referred to the Bíáh alone. The descriptions given by the Greek writers clearly show, that all these operations took place in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, in whatever direction they may have flowed at that period, and chiefly on the banks of the latter, eighty miles north-east of Multán, and nearly double that distance north-north-east of Uchchh.

We next come to the descent of the Hydraotes [Ráwí]. As soon as Alexander could be removed, he was taken down the Hydraotes to the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-áb] where was the standing camp, and where the vessels of his fleet were directed to assemble. At the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and perhaps for a considerable time previously, the confluence was about twenty miles to the north-east of Multán.

It occupied four days to convey Alexander down the river Hydraotes to its confluence with the Acesines; and there the grand army and fleet had already arrived. While his wounds were healing, new vessels were being built. Near the confluence was a large *banyan* tree, below which according to Aristobulus, fifty

again, its bank well defined, with a slope of some forty degrees, the ground here and there covered with hillocks, to within fifteen miles north of Tulanbah, and runs in the same westerly direction, the bank becoming less distinct, towards the former bed of the Chin-áb near Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the north, where they used to unite. Subsequently, when the Ráwí deserted the Biáh to unite with the Chin-áb, the united streams then passed on the west side of Multán instead of on the east; but, even now, the Ráwí shows a liking for this old channel—the most

horsemen could at the same time be shaded from the sun; and Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, mentions trees at the confluence in question, with their boughs bent downwards, of a size that four hundred horsemen might take shelter at mid-day beneath the shade of a single tree. The author of the "Life" above noticed, says: "It might be worth while ascertaining, as connected with the age of this species of tree, whether there be one of great size and apparent antiquity in this vicinity." I have before noticed the great *Bohaṛ* or *Banyan* tree near one of the old confluences of the Hydaspes and Acesines, but not of the latter with the Hydraotes, at page 334. After this, Alexander sailed down the three united rivers to their junction with the Indus, where he was joined by some vessels built at other places on the latter river. This mention here of the confluence with the Indus shows, that Curtius' statement of the Indus being the third river uniting at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines near the fortress there, to be an error. "Here (at the confluence of the Indus and the three united rivers, the Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes) Alexander ordered a city to be built, and naval docks to be constructed, as it was a spot, in his estimation, well calculated to become the site of a powerful city," but, as the upshot shows, he could not have chosen one worse. See page 299. After this we are told that he came down to the country of the Soghdi, which name, the author of the "Life" supposes, "they derived like their northern namesakes, from the great vale occupied by them," but he does not tell us why the Tájẕík word سغد—*sughd*—should be used in a Hindú country in preference to a Sanskrit word, such, for example, as सुखद—*sukhd* or *sukhad*, meaning 'salubrious,' 'pleasant,' etc. The former word means 'a depression where rain water collects,' and 'the name of a city in a great depression near Samr-ḳand.' Tod says (Rajast'han: Vol. I, p. 93), that, "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert," and that, "the Sodas are the Soghdi." Cunningham, on the other hand, says (p. 254), "The Soghdi or Sodræ, I would identify with the people of Seorai," the actual position of which he says, "is unknown." "Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí is well known: a *maḥáll* of the Multán *sarkár*, and lies about five miles above Sabzal Koṭ N-N-E. "The elephants had been repeatedly ferried across as the nature of the country favoured their movements. [The Indus must have been a smaller river then in comparison with what it afterwards became to have enabled this to be done] "They were now transferred," it is said, "to the right [west] bank of that river for the last time; and Craterus, with them, advanced through the country of the Arachosii and Drangæ," of whom Arrian makes the Indus the eastern limit.

Here, it will be noticed, that the Hypanis [Biáh] and the Hakṛá or Wahindah which latter great river as certainly existed at that period as the others, have been passed over without the least notice whatever.

ancient that we know of, except that in which it flowed when Chach attacked Multán, and afterward Muḥammad, the 'Arab commander—and in flood-time some of its water still finds its way into it, or did, at least, a few years since.

The change last mentioned appears to have taken place at the time of, or to have been brought about through the effects of, the great flood which devastated the northern part of the Panj-áb territory, which will be again noticed; and this appears to have been the course of the river when Amír Tímúr crossed the Chin-áb below its confluence with the Bihat near Shor Koṭ,[361] and the Ráwí opposite Tulanbah on the north, and encamped before it. From thence he passed on to the

361 Some additional light is thrown on the courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb in the accounts of the raids of Mír 'Alí Beg, the Mughal, from the direction of Kábul.

During the disturbed state of the Dihlí kingdom subsequent to the death of Khiẓr Khán, when his son, Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, succeeded, Shor or Shor Koṭ played a conspicuous part from its situation.

Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, succeeded his father in the fifth month of 824 H. (June, 1421 A.D.), and withdrew allegiance from Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, Bahádur Khán, son of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, which his father had faithfully observed from the time Amír Tímúr conferred upon him the territory of Multán and Debálpúr, and had never assumed the title of Sulṭán, which his son now took.

This act soon began to bear fruit. In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.), the Mír, 'Alí Beg, son of Dánish-Manchah, a descendant of Chaghatáe Khán, son of the Chingiz Khán, who was the Ná'ib or Deputy of the Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, son of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh, who had been made the feudatory of Kábul, Zábul, and the territories bordering on both sides of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, with Sulṭán Sháh Rukh's sanction, threatened an invasion of Siw-istán and Bakhar of Sind, but it did not come about. This Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish is the personage respecting whom, Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Indian Historians," has made such a sad error. He styles him (Vol. IV., p. 59) "Shaikh 'Alí, lieutenant of the prince the son of *Sar-'atmash.*" Another writer calls him "*Suyurgutmish.*"

Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, on this, directed Malik Maḥmúd, son of the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, the then feudatory of Láhor, to put the defences of Multán, which had become greatly dilapidated, consequent on the repeated Mughal inroads during many years, in order; and he rebuilt the fortifications anew from the foundations.

In 833 H. (1429-30 A.D.), during the time that Jasraṭh, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, which latter had died some short time before, was in rebellion, and keeping the whole of the eastern Panj-áb and adjacent parts in disorder, the Sayyid, Salím, feudatory of Tabarhindah [in Elliot, IV, 68, the editor inserts "*Sirhind,*" to let us know, perhaps, that they are both one and the same place, which they are not], and an olda nd trusted servant of Khiẓr Khán for thirty years, who had amseeda great wealth, died. On this, Folád, a Turk slave of the Sayyid, seized all his property—instigated by one of the late Sayyid's sons, who were at the Dihlí court, it is said—and also upon Tabarhindah for himself. A force was sent against him; and, after some time, being reduced to straits, Folád sought aid from Mír 'Alí Beg, the

banks of the Bíáh, and crossed it by means of boats, and some of his troops by swimming, as already related in the account of his expedition.

Mughal Deputy at Kábul (who now was acting for Mas'úd Mírzá, son of Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, who had died at Ghaznín in 830 H. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 364, and 578), promising him a large subsidy for his help. Nothing loth, he, with Sultán Sháh Rukh's permission, set out from Kábul in the fifth month of 834 H. (Feby. 1432 A.D.) towards Tabarhindah, plundering and devastating all the country he passed through until he arrived within ten *kuroh* of that stronghold. On this, Sultán Mubárak Sháh's general, Islám Khán, who, with his forces, had been investing Folád therein, had to raise the investment; and Folád paid Mír 'Alí Beg two *lákhs* of *tangahs* for his aid. Taking his family and effects along with him (including Sayyid Salím's wealth, probably), Folád proceeded along with Mír 'Alí Beg on his return to Kábul.

The latter moved by way of Jalhandar, and from thence towards Láhor, in the month of Rajab (the seventh month), and by Kasúr and Debál-púr, devastating and plundering the country passed through; and the people of Khat-púr [the chief place of the northernmost of the *mahálls* of the Multán *súbah* or province at that period, situated on the Ráwí and then in the Bárí Do-ábah] he carried away captive. The 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajab, Nádirí, (by some called Muhammad Hasan), the feudatory of Multán and Debál-púr, moved out of Multán to intercept him, and marched to Tulanbah.

On this, Mír 'Alí Beg fell back on Khat-púr; and just at this time the 'Imád-ul-Mulk was directed to return to Multán. On the 24th of the eighth month of the above year he retired towards that place, on which Mír 'Alí Beg passed the Ráwí near Khat-púr, and then, keeping along the line of the Jihlam (which the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í says "is well known as the Chin-áb," meaning the united Jihlam and Chin-ab, but to which, in the extract from that work in Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 70, Mr. Dowson puts a foot-note, that "such is the extraordinary statement of the text, and Firishta copies it," only there is nothing extraordinary in it), he plundered the country as he proceeded, and afterwards turned round and marched towards Multán. This he could not have done had the rivers flowed then as now.

On his approaching within ten *kuroh* of that place, the 'Imád-ul-Mulk despatched Malik Sultán Sháh, the Lodí Afghán [uncle of Malik Bahlúl, who afterwards became Sultán of Dihlí, and was the first of the Patán or Afghán race who exercised sovereignty anywhere], at the head of his available troops, and followed himself, towards Jún-púr, a place I cannot now find. There an obstinate battle took place, in which Mír 'Alí Beg was victorious, and Malik Sultán Sháh was defeated and slain, and his troops routed. Mír 'Alí Beg then pushed on towards Multán, and appeared before Khair-ábád, near that place on the Tulanbah side, on the 3rd of Ramazán (the ninth month) 834 H. (June, 1431 A.D.), and the next day attacked one of the gateways of the fort. Fighting went on daily in and around the suburbs until the 26th of the following month, when the place was relieved by a force from Dihlí, which attacked Mír 'Alí Beg and defeated him. He then withdrew to a fortified position, which he had enclosed with a mud wall for his troops and baggage; but, unable to hold that, he was obliged to retire across the Jihlam [the Chin-áb and Jihlam united], and in so doing, he lost a great number of his officers and men drowned, killed, or taken prisoners; and with his brother's son, Mír

Since that again the Ráwí once more altered its course; and there can be no doubt whatever, that the old channel parallel to the present

Muzaffar, and a mere remnant of his forces, he succeeded in reaching Shor. The history (Táríkh-i-Alfí) adds, that, "such a disaster had never before befallen any army under any reign."

These movements tend to prove what I have noticed before (see page 279) that, at the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, and at the period here referred to, the junction of the Wihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb took place near to Shor or Shor Koṭ. See also page 331.

Mír Muzaffar was left to hold Shor, while Mír 'Alí Beg returned to Kábul, and the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who had followed in pursuit, invested Mír Muzaffar therein on the 4th of Zí-Ḳa'dah (the eleventh month), 834 H. (August, 1431 A.D.); but he was just after removed from the government of the Multán province, and Khair-ud-Dín Khán, Kháfí, succeeded him there. Great disorders arose in this part in consequence, and Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, again broke out. The result was, that Mír 'Alí Beg, in the following year, 835 H (1431-32 A.D.), again appeared upon the scene, and advanced by way of Shor, then in his nephew's hands, and invaded the provinces of Multán and Láhor. All the country west of the Jihlam, and great part of that west of the Chin-áb, at this period, was outside the Dihlí territory, and was more or less subject to the Mughals, as all west of the Bíáh was when the "Ṭabáḳat-i-Náṣirí" was written, and as shown by the number of Turkish names still existing in those parts. Mír 'Alí Beg carried his raids as far east as Sahrind [which is not Tabarhindah. "Sirhind," also, is not the correct name of the former place]. Facing about, he again retired westwards, making the people of Khaṭ-púr captive, and those of the villages along the banks of the Jihlam; and on the 17th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal (the third month), 835 H. (Dec. 1431 A.D.), again reached Tulanbah. There, by oaths and promises, he gained over the people, and then broke his agreement, and destroyed the fortress there, which was a very strong place (See note 246, page 279, and following note 247), and massacred many of its people.

Folád, the Turk, previously referred to, who when Mír 'Alí Beg retired defeated to Kábul had returned to Tabarhindah, now issued therefrom, invaded the territory of Rá'e Fírúz, the Ma'hín, one of the great Zamín-dárs of those parts, and slew him.

At this period Boh, also called Bohí, was a ferry over the Bíáh, the Sutlaj not having yet united with it, even temporarily.

Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, consequently, had now to deal with Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, Mír 'Alí Beg, and Folád, the Turk. In Jamádí-ul-Awwal (the fifth month) of 835 H. (Feby., 1432 A.D.), he moved towards the Panj-áb to suppress these outbreaks. On his reaching Samánah, Mír 'Alí Beg beat a retreat, and retired to the Koh-i-Júd—the Salt Range—but the rebellion of Jasraṭh became still more formidable than before. This induced Mír 'Alí Beg to return in 836 H. (1432-33 A.D.), which he did by way of Shor once more. On this occasion he plundered and devastated the whole country along the line of the Bíáh (accounting for the numerous ruined places thereabout), sacked Láhor, and left 12,000 cavalry there to keep possession. He then plundered Sáe-Wál, and took Debál-púr. Again Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh advanced by forced marches and entered the Panj-áb to encounter him, and reached Debál-púr. From thence he moved to the Ráwí, upon

left bank on the south, which extends from a little south of Sayyid-'álah down to within six miles west of Huṛappáh, where it approaches close to the present channel, is, as its name clearly indicates, namely Súkh Ráwah,[362] the "Dry" or "Dried up Ráwah or Ráwí," for it is known by both names. That old channel adjoining Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the west, and which, under the same name, runs down to within about three miles east of Multán, is not part of the old channel referred to above, but a more recent one: that in which it flowed when the Chin-áb united with it near Siḍhú kí Sará'e in 1695, and which it appears to have flowed in before it finally abandoned the Biáh to unite with the Chin-áb.[363]

After that again, having met with some considerable obstruction above Tulanbah,[364] as its singularly winding course, and its sharp turns—south, west, and north again—indicate, or some other cause, it betook itself to that remarkable part of its present channel, known locally as

which Mír 'Alí Beg speedily retired towards Shor, followed closely by the Sulṭán, who crossed the main branch [sic] of the river Ráwí, and appeared before it. Mír 'Alí Beg again retired towards Kábul, still leaving Mír Muẓaffar, his nephew, to hold it. He held out for a month, when, finding he could not do so much longer, terms were agreed upon, that Mír Muẓaffar should send his daughter as a bride for the Sulṭán's son, together with many valuable presents, and that the troops left by Mír 'Alí Beg at Láhor should evacuate that place. This effected, the Sulṭán set out to visit the tombs and shrines at Multán, and then returned to Dihlí. Shor, and the tracts to the north and west, still remained in the hands of the Mughals, until the time of the Langáh Jaṭ rulers of Multán, the second of whom, Sulṭán Ḥusain, after much fighting, wrested the fortress of Shor out of the hands of Ghází Khán son of Saiydú Khán, and also the town of Chandaní-oṭ, held by Málik Máchhí, the Khokhar, for the same Mughal Khán. The territory of Shor was then conferred on Jám Báyazíd, of the family of the Sammah rulers of Sind, as before related. Sulṭán Ḥusain's wife was Báyazíd's mother by a former husband. See pages 279—281, and 291.

362 This, and the other old channel mentioned after, appear in our maps as "Sookhrawa N," from which one would scarcely recognize the meaning.

363 See page 355.

364 Cunningham says, in his work ("Ancient India," p. 223), that "the old town of Tulanba, is said to have been deserted as late as one hundred and fifty years ago, through changes in the course of the Ravi." At page 225, however, he says it was deserted "three hundred years ago," having told us on the previous page, that "the old town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred." The preceding note 361 will show who destroyed the fortress and massacred the inhabitants. The place appears to have been in a flourishing condition when Mír 'Alí Beg attacked it.

Shahámat 'Alí states, that "the present old fort of Tulanbah is of comparatively modern construction, and was built to restrain the wild tribes of the Ganji *Bár*."

the Siḍhú or Siḍh Ná'e,[365] which runs in almost a straight line for some twelve miles, and without a turn, to near Siḍhú kí Sará'e, where it united with the Chin-áb. After that again, when the Chin-áb inclined more to the west, passed Chandaní-oṭ and Shor Koṭ on the west instead of the east side, the Ráwí, to rejoin it, made a fresh effort, and by a very tortuous course reached the depressed sandy tract near which the present junction takes place.

The land through which this Siḍh Ná'e runs declines a little on the north or right bank the whole way, and is bounded within a short distance of the bank by a date forest;[366] while a belt of higher land fringes it on the south or left bank, but it soon melts into the lower tract adjoining it.

This is a mere general outline of the principal and greatest changes which have taken place since the time of the 'Arabs. I will not go back to "Alexander" and "Hweng Thsang"—for there is no doubt that the Ráwí, even more than some of the other rivers constituting the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, has changed more or less from one side

365 The Ráwí in its last change before forsaking the Bíáh altogether, appears to have met with some considerable obstruction in its course westwards near Baḳrá and Lál Káṭhiyah, as its winding struggles and turnings show, but more particularly north of Tulanbah, upon which, and in order to reach the depressed tracts towards the Chin-áb, it betook itself, naturally, to the first depressed outlet in its way. This happened to be a canal which a former administrator, or farmer of the revenue, had cut to facilitate the irrigation of a part not within the influence of the annual inundations. This was carried towards the Sará'e of Siḍhú, to near a point called Rám Chontarah, where the Hindús have a place of devotion, about two miles and a half east of Siḍhú's Sará'e, and a little west of which it reached the Chin-áb again, which ran south-westwards towards the Bíáh, but a little nearer to Multán on the east side than it had previously done.

No traces of excavation having remained in after years to show that it had once been a canal, deepened and widened by the action of the river—for it would have been strange, if any signs had remained after a few inundations—and the fact of its being so straight, and running through some of the more elevated land in that locality, the Hindús (who greatly predominated over the Musalmán population in former times), at once attributed it to one of their deities, while the Musalmáns, more correctly attributed it to some Muḥammadan ruler of bygone times. It does not seem to have struck any one that the same Siḍhú, who founded a Sará'e, round which a little town sprung up, could also have had a canal excavated to bring water to it, and without the aid of demons, but such is the fact.

The Ab-i-Sind or Indus changed its course through a canal being in its way. See note 301, page 303.

366 Date trees flourish along the Siḍh Ná'e, and near and around the villages on the Chin-áb and the Ghárah, in the Multán district, but, strange to say, are not found on the Ráwí and villages thereabouts. The natives ascribe the introduction of the date palm to the 'Arabs, and beyond the parts they reached it is not supposed to be found.

to the other and back again time after time; and thus to attempt to "identify" places along its present banks with others supposed to have existed more than twenty-two centuries ago, is so absurd as to require no further comment. Towards the lower part of its course, from the proofs still existing, it has flowed, at different times, over a tract of country from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth.

After passing Siḍhú kí Sará'e the Ráwí turns to the northwards, and soon after towards the west, and finds its way by a very tortuous course into the depressed tract of country mentioned in the account of the Chin-áb, and in which the junction of the two rivers now takes place. At the present time there is a dense forest of *jand* trees (a species of Acacia) in this depression, which forest extends for a considerable distance southwards into the Bárí Do-ábah in the Multán district; but only for a short distance, comparatively, in the opposite one, into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah of the district of Jhang. In the whole of this depression, which is seamed with old channels of the rivers, more or less distinct, water collects from the *uṭhár* or uplands on the Jhang side; and the waters of the Chin-áb, at the period of inundation, spread out for some miles below Shor Koṭ; while the lands within the influence of the inundation on the right bank of the Ráwí, are separated by a bank of considerable height from their *uṭhár* or uplands for some distance, and which is cut up by the twisting and twining of the river in its very irregular course. Below this high bank again is an extensive stretch of *heṭhár* or lowland, or *bet* as it is also called hereabouts, and of rough surface, being intersected by some of the old, deserted channels of the Ráwí, as the term *buḍḍh* 'old,' 'ancient,' applied to them, indicate.[367]

When the river overflows its banks, from as far up as Chíchawaṭní, some fifty miles up stream, a vast tract is flooded; and the waters find their way as far as Jalál-púr in one direction, and as far down as Aḥmad-púr of the Siáls in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah on the other, and finally into the Kanḍí-Wál *ḍhanḍ* or lake, fourteen miles lower down under the high bank of the *Thal*, and seven miles from the right or west bank of the Chin-áb.[368]

367 Along the course of the Ráwí, as in the case of other rivers of this part, are numerous creeks or inlets, in some few of which, at times, a branch of the stream flows. They are rather numerous in this river; but, for the most part, are on a higher level than the cold season level of the stream, consequently, they are only filled by the rising of the waters. Afterwards, when the inundations subside, these retain some water, thus forming lakes or *ḍhanḍs*, here known as *buḍḍhs*. See note 345, page 348.

368 At times, in the cold season, now-a-days, the river becomes dry, or nearly so near Chíchawaṭní. This appears to be caused through drawing off a great deal of water for irrigation purposes, by means of the Bárí Do-ábah Canal.

THE BÍÁH—THE ANCIENT BIPÁSHÁ OR WIPÁSHAH.[869]

Abú-l-Fazl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says very little about this river, but mentions that its old name was Bipáshá (بیپاشا). The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh says, "It passes Hindaun; and, after flowing beyond the villages dependent on Núr-púr, enters into the plain country of the Panj-áb. It then passes by Káno Wá-han (کانو واهن),[870] where is the royal ferry, flows by Rahílah; and below the town of Gobind-Wál and the bounds of Dih-Wál, near the *mauza'* of Loh (لوه) unites with the Sutlaj, after which it runs past Fírúz-púr and Muhammad-oṭ.[871] Between this and Debál-púr, the united streams again separate into three branches, one of which is but a minor one. One of the two main branches turns towards the south, and is again known as the Sutlaj; while the other, which continues its course towards Debál-púr, retains the name of Bíáh. The intermediate or minor branch, known as the Ḍanḍah, passes by Kabúlah[872] [a little to the north of it], Khá'e Búlidhí, and north of Fath-púr, Kuhroṛ, and Lodhráṇ, towards Jalál-púr, when it again unites with the other two, and near which, after having flowed apart for near one hundred *kuroh*, the two main branches again unite into one stream, and receive the name of Ghallú-

869 It was probably out of this word that the Greeks made their name of "Hyphasis."

The traditions current in the northern Panj-áb mention, what history confirms, that, until within comparatively recent times, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj ran separately as far down as the extremity of the Multán province. Another tradition mentions that near the extremity of the Siwálikh hills, in the sub-district of Do-súhah ("Doosooyuh" of the maps) of the Hoshyár-púr district, where a high, rocky ridge juts out into the plain, which ridge is known as *mandoí*, the river Bíáh, in ancient times, flowed immediately under.

870 When Bábar Bádsháh crossed the Bíáh in 932 H. (November, 1525 A.D.) on his advance towards Mal-oṭ, also called Bhojpúr Mal-oṭ, it flowed close to Káno Wá-han, where its high bank is well defined still, but the Bíáh now flows nearly five miles farther east. Káno Wá-han is some thirteen miles to the north-westwards of the ancient town of Do-súhah. It appears in our maps as "Kanhwan"!

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note on the subject farther on.

871 This place appears in the maps and Gazetteers as "Mumdot" and "Mamdot." The termination is the same as that in the name of Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ on the Chin-áb The Hindí اوٹ—*oṭ*—signifying 'protection,' 'shelter,' 'covering and the like, was, in this instance, affixed to a Musalmán's name. In Abú-l-Fazl' time, Muhammad-oṭ belonged to the Khokhars (always mistaken for "Gickers, "Gukkurs," and so on) and Bhaṭís, hence the compound word; and it was the chief place giving name to one of the *mahálls* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *súbah*, as were, likewise, 'Álam-púr, Jalál-ábád Fírúz-púr, Lakhhí Kabúlah, etc.

872 See page 296.

Ghárah[373] (گہلو گہارہ), which, in the tracts peopled by the Balúchís, joins the river containing the united Ráwí, Chin-áb, and Wihat, Bihat, or Jihlam, when the whole are known by the name of Sind—the Ab-i-Sind or River of Sind."

This is a very important statement, referring, as it does, to the state of these rivers written by a native Hindú revenue official of the Panj-áb under the Mughal Government, just a century anterior to the Survey from which I have been quoting, and to which I shall presently return. This statement respecting the minor branch accounts for the existence of that considerable channel which may be traced from some twelve miles south of Debál-púr, and, a little to the north of Ḥawelí,[374] downwards by Ḳabúlah, and Mailsí of the Multán district, and which passes west of Fatḥ-púr,[375] north of Kuhroṛ, and by Lohdráṇ. This statement also throws light on the rather obscurely expressed passage in Abú-l-Faẓl respecting the three names which he says the Biáh and Sutlaj were known by when they united, and so continued to flow for twelve *kuroh* to near Fírúz-púr.[376] No other writer than the author of the Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh gives such information respecting this intermediate branch, which is Abú-l-Faẓl's Ḍanḍ;[377] indeed, no others notice it.

My Survey record, just referred to, states, that "The river Biáh rises in the *kohistán* of Bhúṭanṭ (بهوتّنت), and issues from a lake called Biáh Kunḍ. After flowing through a difficult mountain tract, and winding considerably, it comes from the eastward, and passes under Nadaun, the chief town and seat of government of that part. Then running in a general direction of about north-west, winding among the hills of the northern Panj-áb, and passing beyond the villages depen-

[373] According to Mackeson, in his account of the voyage down the Sutlaj with Captain C. M. Wade in 1832-33, Ghallú is the name of a tribe of Jaṭs, who dwell along the course of the Ghárah between Baháwal-púr and Miṭhan Koṭ in the present day.

[374] The "*Huvelee*" of the maps. This is the identical word noticed at page 335, note 325, where it is written "*Huwali*" in the maps. See also note 223, page 265 where it appears as "*Habeli.*"

[375] This place was the chief town of a *maḥáll* of the *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and like Kuhroṛ, the people were Joyahs, but are miscalled Júnahs in Blochmann's printed text of Abú-l-Faẓl. Those of the first named *maḥáll* were rated at 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot, and the latter at 100 horsemen and 2,000 foot, for militia purposes. The Sayyid-zádah Khiẓr Khán, afterwards ruler of Dihlí, held Fatḥ-púr at the outset of his career.

[376] Consequent on this, the Fírúz-púr *maḥáll* was in the Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab division of the Debál-púr *sarkár*.

[377] See note 254, page 285.

dent on Núr-púr, it separates into several channels, issues from the hill tracts into the open country, and turns towards the south-west. It soon after bends more towards the south, then towards the south-west again, passes under Káno-Wá-han, near the hunting-grounds of the ancient rulers of Hind, and by Rahílah, Jalál-ábád, Bairo-Wál, and Fatḥ-ábád, and near the *ḳaryah* of Loh or Loh-Wál, unites with the Sutlaj, when the united waters obtain the name of Maçhhú-Wáh (ماچھو واہ) and Hariárí. It is stated, that, in olden times, opposite the above-named *ḳaryah*, at a period when the Sutlaj flowed much farther eastwards in its old bed, the Biáh separated into two branches, one of which having flowed past Ḳaṣúr, Ḳabúlah, Khá'e, and the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím,[378] passed at a distance of one *kuroh* north and west of the fort of Debál-púr, and much lower down again united with the Hariárí. This branch still retained the name of Biáh. The other branch, flowing towards the south, united with the Sutlaj,[379] which

378 At the time of my Survey record being made, the last deserted channel of the Biáh passed close on the north side of the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím, which it says, "flowed on to Debál-púr, and was the source of the prosperity, and once flourishing state of this tract of country, but which became ruined and depopulated when it deserted this channel and united with the Sutlaj."

In the last century, the town surrounding the above-mentioned Ḥujrah was of considerable size, with a *bázár*. In the midst is the *ḥujrah*, closet, or cell, of the venerated Sayyid, Sháh Muḳím, giving name to the place. It is surrounded by an enclosure built of kiln-burnt bricks with a high dome over the cell. This place appears in the maps as "Hoojra," and in the Gazetteers as "Hujrá," which, of course, are meaningless as well as incorrect.

Farther south, adjoining the *ḳaṣbah*, is the shrine and tomb of another Musalmán saint, Lál Bahlúl, with a brick-built dome over.

379 The Táríkh-i-Yamíní, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's expedition against Ḳinnauj, mentions all the rivers correctly, and the Biáh and Sutladar separately.

In the map appended to Professor Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde," the Biáh and Sutlaj are made to run in ancient times precisely as they now flow. The Ghag-ghar is certainly made to run into, or rather its course is marked to, the "Sindhu" close to Miṭhan Koṭ, while the Hakṛá, under the name of "ancient course of the Sindhu," which it never was, is made to leave the present channel just opposite Shikár-púr, to flow east of Alor and also of "Brahmanabad," but the names Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Çhitang, are never mentioned, nor does Debal or Dewal appear in his map, and yet all modern sites almost are "recognized," or "identified" by him for ancient ones. The whole tract of country extending from Bhaṭnír to "Amarakota" is styled "Marusthála (Maraubhûmi)," and U'chchh appears as "*Uk.*"

The errors, however, are the rule, not the exception. The Sutlaj has always been considered to represent the "Hypanis," or "*Zaradrus*" or "Zadadrus" of the Greeks, and the Biáh (*vul.* "Bias") to be the "Hyphasis" of the same people; nevertheless, Dr. Phillip Smith, in his "Ancient History," Vol. II, page 75, tells us,

then flowed in its last independent channel. At the present time the Bíáh, or main branch, is closed, and dried up entirely, and, in consequence, the tracts of country around and dependent on Debál-púr[380] are reduced to a state of desolation."

that Alexander crossed "the Hydaspas (Jeloum)—meant for the Jihlam perhaps—the Acesines (*Chenab*), the Hydraotes (*Ravee*), and "the Hypasis (*Sutlej*), the last of the five rivers." So, it will be noticed, that he has but *four* after all, having left out the Bíáh altogether, one of the principle of the Panj A'b or Five Rivers, and that he turns the Hyphasis, which others consider to be the Bíáh—and correctly so, no doubt—into the Sutlaj. This error seems to have been brought about through following the courses of the rivers as shown in the maps of the present day, and finding no *running* river called "Bias" in the direction required. because the map-makers *will style* the Hariárí or Ghárah by the name of "Sutlej," whereas it is the combined Bíáh and Sutlaj that formed the Hariári or Ghárah, he at once adopted the "Sutlej." He subsequently traces all Alexander's movements to the mouth of the Indus according to the present courses of the rivers, as represented in modern maps.

He further tells us, that, "*Doab* signifies the space between each two rivers *of the Punjab*" However, I need scarcely tell those who have been in the East, that *do-ábah* in the Persian language, for it is a Persian word, means the delta between two rivers wherever they may be. He also supposes, that "Lahore" represents "*Sangala*" of the Greeks, in which he is also wrong. See note 390, page 380.

380 Debál-púr, not "Dípalpur," in ancient times, was a place of considerable size, and the seat of government of the northern Panj-áb territory, after Láhor had been sacked by the Mughals as related in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1133, and it did not again become the capital for a considerable time. The author of the Survey record, who visited it towards the close of the last century, states, that, "from the time the Bíáh deserted it, it has gone to total decay and ruin. It has a fortress or citadel of considerable size and strength, built of kiln-burnt bricks, which is lofty and imposing viewed from a distance. It can be seen for some three *kuroh*. It is now in the possession of Jalál-ud-Dín Khán, an Afghán inhabitant of Ḳaṣúr [of the Daulatzí branch of the 'Umarzí Khweshkí Afgháns]. He holds the first with a small following amounting to one hundred horse and foot. The space between the four walls constitutes his territory; and, with the exception of a few *bígahs* of land at the foot of the walls, and tolls received from merchants and traders, he has no other revenue or means of support. Although Bhagwant Singh, and Wazír Singh, and other Sikhs, have each, at the head of numerous followers, at different times, invested him therein, they have had to retire without gaining their object.

"The dry bed of the Bíáh lies one *kuroh* distant on the right hand (north-west), and the Hariárí flows away on the left (south-east) distant about nine *kuroh* or little more. On the way from the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím a great *jangal* of *pílú* trees has to be traversed."

He relates the legend of the transmigration of Lalú-jas Rá'e, the *Agwání* or Precursor of the Hing-láj Bhawání, and that he has a temple there. I need not enter into its details, but I hope this "*Agwání*" will not be mistaken for an Afghán.

The old bed which the Bíáh last flowed in as an independent river is sufficiently apparent; while others still more ancient, have, during the course of ages, as might be expected, become less defined, and some worn out or changed, consequent on the opening of canals or utilizing parts of the old beds for them. The breadth of country over which it has at different times flowed, now in one part, now in another, extends in most places from eight to ten miles, and, in some, to twelve.[381]

The physical features of the tract of country lying between the rivers Ráwí, and the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, which names the Bíáh and Sutlaj took, after their final junction, and about midway between which the old bed of the Bíáh runs, is so peculiar that, before I proceed further in my account, I had better attempt to describe it.

I have before mentioned, that a plateau of some elevation—an elevated waste—separates the valley of the Ráwí from that of the

Cunningham considers, from the old coins found hereabouts, that this town was in existence "in the time of the Indo-Scythians," and is "inclined to identify it with the Diadala of Ptolemy [it certainly has the letter *d* in it, enough perhaps for identification], which was on the Satluj to the south of Labokla and Amakatis," etc.; but, as he had previously "suggested the identity of Diadala with "*Dehli*," we may easily dismiss it, more especially since Debál-púr never yet lay on the banks of the Sutlaj, which never approached nearer to it than at present. He probably meant the Bíáh, and so it still remains.

In the time of Akbar Bádshsháh, Debál-púr was the chief town of one of the three *sarkárs* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and the places dependent on it lay in three *do-ábahs*— "the Bist Jálandhar, Bárí, and Rachin-áb Do-ábahs," and another division styled, Berún-i-Panch Nad, or outside the Panj Áb or Five Rivers, or Extra Panj Áb—and consisted altogether of twenty-nine *maḥálls* (*parganahs* or sub-districts). The town and *maḥáll* are styled in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, "Debál-púr Lakhhí, with a fortress of burnt brick." The lands dependent on the *maḥáll* extended to 242, 344 *bíguhs* and 11 *biswahs* under cultivation, assessed at 13,514,059 *dáms*, equal to 3 *lakhs*, and 37,851 *rúpís*, and 19 *dáms*; while the whole *sarkár* yielded 129, 334, 153 *dáms*, equal to 32 *lakhs*, and 33,353 *rúpís*, and 32 *dáms*. Out of the revenue of the Debál-púr *maḥáll*, 499,535 *dáms*, equal to 12,488 *rúpís* and a fraction, were free grants. The people were Jaṭs, Khokhars (not Gakhaṛs), Kisús, and Bhaṭís; and they were liable to furnish, according to their tenures, 500 horsemen, and 7,000 foot for militia duties.

Great quantities of rice used to be produced here up to the time that the Bíáh deserted its channel to unite with the Sutlaj at the close of the last century, and date palms flourished exceedingly. After the river deserted it, all went to ruin and decay.

381 I had occasion, early in October, 1855, to cross from Tulanbah by Mián ki Panki to Lúḍhan, and, of course, had to cross the old bed or rather beds of the Bíáh. When I passed close to the high bank on the south, one of the beds was very broad, level as a bowling-green, covered with rich sward, and studded with fine, and handsome trees. I never saw anything in India that put me so much in mind of an English park scene as this did.

Bíáh (if such extensive tracts, here and there depressed, in which these rivers have flowed from time to time, can be called valleys), and this elevated tract extends from about twenty-one miles in breadth between Ḳaṣúr and Láhor, but decreases in one place, lower down, to about eight miles, but it soon increases again to about seventeen miles in breadth.[382]

This elevated plateau, which consists of a stiff, clayey surface, was capable of irrigation, and therefore of cultivation, by means of wells and water-cuts, of which there are numerous remains still to be seen, on the northern or Ráwí side in particular. This was before the Ráwí and Bíáh deserted these well-defined high banks; but who shall presume to say where they were, or whether they existed at all twenty-two centuries since, and what mighty geological changes have taken place in the interim?[383] On the south or Bíáh side, where the plateau rises abruptly from the surrounding country to the height of some twenty feet or more, it is about forty feet above the level of the country below, but it slopes gradually away towards the north or Ráwí side, the slope there being about half of what it is on the other, and in some places, where it rises abruptly from the plain, the height is about ten feet, and in some places only five.[384] The many and various signs of prosperity, in the shape of mounds covered with fragments of bricks and pottery, the sites of towns, villages, and fortified places,[385] clearly show that this, now totally waste, tract of country, was once in a flourishing state, and supported a considerable population. This tract forms part

382 This elevated tract effectually prevented the Bíáh from following the other rivers in their inclination westwards, and hence it took a totally opposite course, and inclined eastwards and met the Sutlaj half way. See the heights of different places around given in note 387, next page.

383 Volcanic action, and physical alterations have, in many places farther west, changed the courses of rivers in past ages, and certainly this part was not exempt from similar changes. I have mentioned the great flood in the northern parts of the Panj-áb territory; and this very part here noticed, from its geological formation, bears evidence of some such change in by-gone days. See note 307, page 305.

384 This tract is locally known as the *ḍhaiyá*, signifying in Hindí, 'declivity,' 'slope,' 'fall,' etc. Combined with *ṭekar*, 'rising ground,' the compound word—*ḍhaiyá-ṭekar*—is used as an adjective to signify 'desolation,' 'ruin,' waste,' etc.

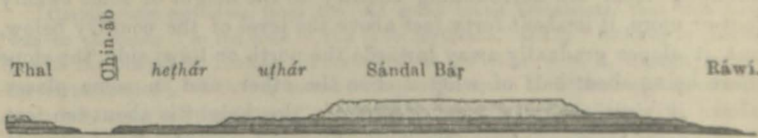
The crest of this *ḍhaiyá* forms great part of the Ganjí *Báṛ* previously noticed. In other districts it is also known as *ḍhah* and *náká*.

385 Hence the absurdity of attempting to "fix" upon modern places as ancient sites, and "identifying" them with places mentioned by the Greeks.

Numerous ancient wells remain scattered over the Ganjí *Báṛ*, as well as in other now completely waste tracts in the Bári Do-ábah, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery, and the Multán districts, but the water, at present, lies a considerable distance below the interior brickwork.

of what is locally called the Ganjí *Báṛ*, which latter word, in Hindí, signifies 'edge,' 'margin,' 'verge,' etc., but the people of these parts apply that term to uncultivated wastes generally, beyond the reach of water.

As in the elevated plateau called the Sándal *Báṛ* in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, already described, this stiff, clayey surface overlies a substratum, in the shape of a high, and rather barren strip of land beyond the influence of the yearly inundations, but capable of cultivation if irrigated artificially.[386] This is called *bánghar* in this part of the Bárí Do-ábah, *rohí* on the Sutlaj, and *uṭhár* or upland in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah. After this again comes another belt, the last, known as *heṭhár* or "lowland" in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and "*bet*," "*khádar*," and "*sail-ábí*" in other parts, as in the following diagram[387] of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah.



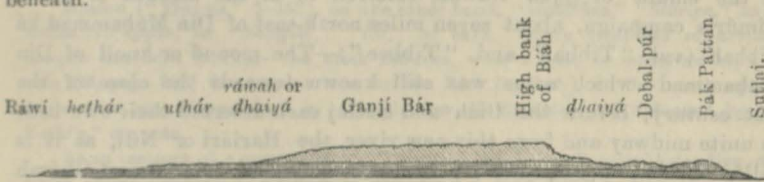
[386] The *heṭhár* or 'lowland' of the Chin-áb, is called *bet* on the Ráwí, and *khádar* on the banks of the Sutlaj. Another name in the Persian language applicable to all, and generally used in official documents, is *sail-ábí*, that is, subject to the annual inundations. Then again, the *uṭhár* or 'upland' tract or belt on the Chin-áb is known as *bánghar* on the Ráwí and Sutlaj. The inundations never pass beyond its bank inland. These belts are again subdivided or distinguished locally by other names referring to the capabilities of these higher tracts for cultivation purposes. In some places, as near Shor Koṭ in the Jhang district, where several old channels of the Chin-áb and Ráwí exist, the *uṭhár* belt is wanting altogether, or lies at a considerable distance farther inland, but really, there is no high land hereabouts to stay the flood waters.

[387] These diagrams, of course, are not drawn to scale : they are merely intended to give some idea of the features of the tracts between the rivers, and make my explanations clearer.

A comparison of the heights of some of the places in these remarkable tracts between the Chin-áb and Ráwí, and between the Ráwí and the high bank of the Biáh, and the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, constituting nearly the lower halves of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, the Bárí Do-ábah, and Chhoṭí Kachchhí, will illustrate these diagrams.

For example, if we run a line from, say, Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ eastwards towards the Hariárí in the direction of Fírúz-púr, we find that, while Chandan-oṭ is 831 feet above the sea level, the banks of the Hariárí, near the point indicated, are just 200 feet lower. Going southwards, Jhang, which is just 570 feet above the sea, is 261 feet lower than Chandan-oṭ, but 80 feet higher than Ghugherah, which is but 490; while Debál-púr, near the ancient channel of the Biáh, is 20 feet higher than Ghugherah, but 60 feet lower than Jhang, 321 feet lower than Chandan-oṭ, and 120 feet lower than the banks of the Hariárí parallel to Fírúz-púr. Going

In some places, the slope of this high, central plateau or *bár*, marking the old high banks of the Ráwí and Bíáh, and constituting the greater part of what was, and still is, known as the Bárí Do-ábah,[333] namely, the tract of country between the two rivers referred to, is gradual from the high bank of the Bíáh towards the present course of the Ráwi; and below, towards the place of junction of that river with the Chin-áb, it melts imperceptibly into the lowland or *hethár* below the junction in the western part of the Multán district, as in the diagram beneath.



farther south again, Shor Koṭ is 10 feet lower than Jhang, 70 feet higher than Ghugherah, 60 feet higher than Montgomery, about 55 feet higher than Hurappah, and 50 feet higher than Debál-púr.

Then again, if we draw another line across from Shor Koṭ to Ajúddhan or the Pák Pattan, we find that that place, which at present is seven miles west of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, is 56 feet higher than Shor Koṭ, and 106 feet higher than Debál-púr farther north, 126 feet higher than Ghugherah, and 116 feet higher than Montgomery; while Ghugherah, Montgomery, and Debál-púr are respectively, 70, 60, and 50 feet lower than Shor Koṭ.

Still farther south, Siḍhú kí Sará'e is 170 feet lower than Shor Koṭ, 100 feet lower than Ghugherah, 80 feet lower than Debál-púr, 226 feet lower than the Pák Pattan, and 440 feet lower than Chandan-oṭ; while Multán is 88 feet *above* Siḍhú kí Sará'e, which latter is 98 feet lower than Ghugherah, and 214 feet lower than the Pák Pattan.

Going towards the southern extremity of the Bárí Do-ábah, Mailsí, near the Ghárah, is just 2 feet lower than Multán, but it is 10 feet lower than Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the Ráwí; while Shujá'-ábád and Lohdrán, distant about six or seven miles respectively from the Chin-áb and Ghárah, are both on the same level, being 380 feet above the sea, but 20 feet lower than Mailsí, and 22 feet lower than Multán. Shujá'-ábád and Lohdrán, consequently, are the lowest of all the places mentioned; and the difference between them and Chandan-oṭ, the highest of all, is 451 feet. It will also be noticed that the country round Ghugherah near the Ráwí is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues along the valley of the Ráwí to its present junction with the Chin-áb. The general slope of the tract of country herein embraced is southwards and south-westwards from Chandan-oṭ, and the greatest fall is from thence to Shujá'-ábád on one side, and from the Pák Pattan to Lohdrán on the other.

333 This refers only to the tract of country between the banks of the Bíáh and the Ráwí, which is also called Mánjhah higher up. The lands on either side of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, extending about five or six miles along either bank, is known as Chhoṭí Kachchhí, which, in the last century, extended down as far as Uchchh.

The high bank of the Bíáh is well-defined all the way down, especially from Jalál-ábád and Fatḥ-ábád, above the present point of junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj near Harí ke Paṭan; but, on the southern, right, or Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah side, after their junction, and thus forming that river, the plateau, from the high bank of the dry Bíáh, is much more abrupt, especially on the north-east side, some eighteen miles east of Sayyid-Wálah[389] in the direction of Láhor. From thence it is well defined all the way downwards as far as the supposed position of the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz, referred to in the account of Amír Tímúr's campaign, about seven miles north-east of Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah (*vul.* "Tibba" and "Tibbee")—The mound or knoll of Dín Muḥammad—which name was still known towards the close of the last century, before the Bíáh and Sutlaj each deserted their own beds to unite midway and form this new river, the Hariárí or Nílí, as it is called in the upper part of its course, and Ghallú-Ghárah and Ghárah in the lower part, in the Multán district and the Baháwal-púr territory.

The breadth of this high central plateau or *bár*, from the two high banks, varies from about twenty-seven miles north of Ḳaṣúr, where it commences, towards Láhor, to seventeen miles between Noh-sharah Sará'e and Chúnhíán lower down; while below that again, near Sath Gaṛh, in some few places, it is not more than eight, but the average is about ten miles. It soon, however, begins to increase in breadth again; and immediately south of Huṛappah,[390] which it is close to on the south,

[389] At present, Sayyid-Wálah is only a little over a mile from the right or north bank of the Ráwí.

[390] When my Survey record was written, the Ráwí passed much nearer to Sayyid-Wálah than at present. Great changes also have occurred between Hinjaráún and Chúnhíán ("Choonian" of the maps), some large villages that then existed having now disappeared. Huṛappah was then described as still a large town; and the Ráwí ran much closer to Koṭ Kamálíah than at the present day. That river flowed then between seven or eight miles east and south from Bhachchukí (the "Bhoochoke" of the maps), while now it is only between two and three miles from it. At the same period it flowed within two miles of Khá'e (the "Khaye" of the maps), but now it is a little nearer.

Cunningham, full of Alexander and Hwen Thsang, identifies "*Harapa*" (writing the name from ear) as, "another city of the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety," and the chief reason for it seems because of "the mention of marshes," which "shows it must have been near the Ravi," but there are plenty of marshes elsewhere. Another reason given is "because the city of the Malli must have been beyond Kot Kamália [not mentioned by the Greeks: it is a Musalmán name] that is to the east or south of it. It is situated on the opposite high bank of the Ravi."

Alexander Burnes on his route to Láhor went "to visit a ruined city," four miles inland from the Ráwí, and to "inspect the ruins of an ancient city, called

it is twelve miles broad, and still lower down, south of Tulanbah, it is above seventeen ; and this continues about the average breadth until it

Harapa." He does not "identify" it as existing in the time of the Greek invasion, but states that the prevalent tradition among the people generally is, that it was destroyed thirteen hundred years ago, at the same time as Shor Koṭ. From 1835, less 1300 years, would bring us to about 535 A. D., about the time that the Turks, including the Táttárs, and Mughals, the Indo-Scythians and Getæ of Europeans, began to make inroads into different parts of southern Asia. See my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣiri," note 2, page 869.

Masson ("Travels," I—453), on the other hand, "identifies" "*Harípa*," as he writes Huṛappah, as "Sangala," "for," he says, "every condition of Arrian's Sangala are here fulfilled—the brick fortress, with a lake, or rather swamp [see note 393, page 385, for a great lake in the Bárí Do-ábah], at the north-eastern angle; the mound protected by a triple row of chariots, and defended by the Kathi's," etc., etc.

As an instance of a great mistake, "Arrian's conditions" notwithstanding, and which shows likewise how "doctors disagree," I may mention that the *Tall* of Sángalá happens to lie just eighty miles farther north than Huṛappah, and, that it is also in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, while Huṛappah is in the Bárí Do-ábah. Dr. Phillip Smith ("Ancient History") "identified" Láhor as "Sangala," see note 379, page 374. Masson adds, that, "the identification of Sangala gives a point from which we may safely [truly! as I have shewn] calculate upon the site of the celebrated altars of Alexander, which in all probability were in the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, on the Satlej, two marches from Harípah, Alexander having there gained the high road into India, which was afterwards followed by Taimúr."

Now that we know the exact position of Sángalá, it is amusing to read of these "identifications;" and were we to be guided by him according to the distance of "the altars," from "Harípah" by a similar distance from Sángalá, we should have to look for them along the *present* banks of the Ráwí, or at the farthest, at the nearest points of the banks of the Biáh instead of the "Satlaj," which, less than five hundred years ago, flowed upwards of sixty miles farther east than the Bíhá. The only wonder is that these altars have not yet been "identified"

Cunningham, on the other hand, tells us ("Ancient India," p. 217) that, "the famous spot on the eastern bank of the *Hyphasis* [which refers to the Biáh only]," where "Alexander halted and wept," must have been somewhere in the low ground between the Satlej and the Bias [sic], at a short distance above the old junction opposite Kasúr and Bazidpúr [six miles south-east of Fírúz-púr]. For 20 miles above this point the courses of the two rivers ran almost parallel, and within a few miles of each other, from the earliest times [!] down to 1796, when the Satlej suddenly changed its course," etc., etc. I may mention, however, that from the bed of the Biáh to the *last* old bed of the Sutlaj is about thirty-six miles on the average. In another place, he says this change in the Sutlaj took place in 1790; and, in another place, that "the altars must be looked for along the line of the present course [!] of the Satlej, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan." Harí ke Paṭan is twenty-five miles north-east of Bázíd-púr, and thirty-three miles east of Ḳaṣúr.

Why these "altars" must be looked for on the banks of the *Sutlaj*, seeing that Alexander never crossed the *Biáh*, the writer does not tell us?

Between the "Pák Pattan" near where "the altars" may be looked for

melts into the plain towards the Chin-áb, in the south-west extremity of the Multán district.

"safely," according to one authority, and "Hari-ki-pattan, below which along the line of the *present* course of the Satlej the altars must have been," according to the other authority, is only ninety-four miles as the crow flies!

Now respecting these altars, Curtius states that Alexander having constructed his fleet on the Hydaspes [Bihat] he, in eight days, sailed down and reached the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-áb], after stating in another place, that, for the convenience of his troops, he went about 400 *stadia* daily. This would be rather less than 50 miles, consequently, in eight days he would have gone some 400 miles. But let us see how great a distance he must have been from the lowest possible point that we know of for the junction of the Bihat with the Chin-áb. According to that computation he must have set out from the alpine Panj-áb, some 50 miles above the present town of Jihlam, and certainly, a part where timber could easily and conveniently have been obtained.

Having reached the confluence of the two rivers—about which more in its proper place—Alexander is said to have crossed the Hydaspes [really, as the context shows, the united rivers, close to the confluence], and to have passed through tracts of desert [waste, not necessarily desert], and came to the river Hydraotes [the Ráwí], which he likewise crossed, and reached the river Hyphasis [the right bank of the Biáh]. This, too, he proposed to cross, "which undertaking," Curtius says, "was difficult, not only by reason of its great breadth, but also on account of the *many rocks that lay scattered up and down it.*"

Is there a single rock to be found in the whole bed of the Bíáh, or anywhere in the vicinity of that river for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more "above the Pák Pattan," or for an hundred miles above "Kasûr and Bazidpur?" Except the Kiránah hills, there is neither a rock nor a stone from one end to the other, save near the hills to the north.

On the west bank of the Hyphasis (in the Bári Do-ábah) Alexander's troops mutinied and refused to cross or to proceed farther. He directed that twelve altars of square stone should be erected, to remain as monuments of his expedition; and in order to deceive and impose on people hereafter, ordered beds to be left there of much larger size than the ordinary stature of men, and the fortifications to be increased accordingly.

Where was stone to be found for this purpose between the Pák Pattan and Kaṣúr? He might, however, have obtained stone from the hills, but he could not put rocks in the river bed.

Then Curtius says, that, this having been done, he marched back by the same way as he came, and encamped along the river Acesines.

In the "Life of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, it is stated, that "The Acesines (the modern Chun-ab) was then crossed, but the channel, as described by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, was nearly a mile broad. * * * Alexander then led his army across the Hydraotes (the modern Iravati or Ravee), and heard that a warlike nation, called Cathaians had roused two other independent tribes to arms, and were preparing to receive him under the walls of a strong city called *Sangala.*" Sángalá, however, lies in the middle of the Rachin-áb Do-abáh at present, that is, a considerable distance *before* reaching the Hydraotes. The Macedonians arrived before Sángalá on the evening of the third day after crossing the

On the south or Bíáh side, the rise of this central plateau, as already noticed, is about forty feet, while on the north or Ráwí side it

Hydraotes [Acesines ?]. They captured it, and Alexander was informed, "that India beyond the Hyphasis—the modern Bezah, or perhaps the united streams of the Bezah and Satlege—[here the writer supposes they had united 2216 years ago instead of less than 100], was very fertile, etc. * * * "He prepared to cross the Hyphasis," but as above stated his troops refused to do so. "On the banks of the Hyphasis he erected twelve towers in the shape of gigantic altars. * * * Alexander then returned from the Hyphasis [which was not crossed], recrossed the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Acesines [Chin-áb], and arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes [Bihat] again. See note 379, page 374.

Strabo agrees with the others that the Hypanis, the Hyphasis of the others [Bíáh], was not crossed, and adds, that Alexander kept much nearer the hills during his march from the Hydaspes, consequently, there would be no need to seek for these altars, if they existed now, "between the Satlej and Bias opposite Kasûr and Bazidpur," nor "in the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, two marches from Harípah.' From what Strabo says they would have been situated some fifty miles or more above Ḳaṣúr; and to crown the whole, the Hyphasis [Bíáh] as late as the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, was separated by a tract of country some ninety-two miles in breadth from the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru [Sutlaj], and even in the last century, the distance between them was an average of thirty-eight miles. See page 388.

Dr. (now, Sir) William Smith, LL.D., in his "Classical Dictionary," after telling us that "Alexander penetrated as far as the *Hyphasis*, which was the furthest point he reached," assures us that this river is the "*Garra.*" The Ghárah, Hariárí, or Nílí, did not then exist; and a century has not yet elapsed since the Bíáh and Sutlaj permanently uniting, formed what is known as the Ghárah in the lower half of its course, and Hariárí and Nílí in the upper half. These two rivers had certainly united, temporarily, within the last four hundred years; but, after flowing together for a short distance, again separated, and again united after flowing apart for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more. The "*Hyphasis*" which Alexander reached, and beyond which he did not pass, nor any of his troops, was the *Bíáh* alone. Having fallen into one error, the writer, naturally, falls into others. Under the heading of "*Zaradrus,*" he informs us, that it is the "*Sutlej," which falls into the Hyphasis (Gharra),*" here written with 'gh' under the previous heading it was 'g.' Thus he makes the Ghárah and Sutlaj *two distinct rivers;* but, if we turn to the heading "Hyphasis," we are told that the Hyphâsis or Hypâsis or Hypânis," is "*the Beeas, and Gharra, a river of India*"—one river! The *Sutlaj,* which eleven centuries after Alexander's time was flowing eighty miles or more to the *east* of the Bíáh, is the "*Zaradrus,*" "*Zadarus,*" or "*Hesudrus,*" and this the Greeks did not reach.

The Survey record which I have been quoting from elsewhere, records a curious fact. On the route from Láhor to Núr-púr, thirty-three miles and a half from the former, and two miles north of Ujnálá, and less than a mile from the north or right bank of the Ḳirn Nálah, and four miles and a half from the left bank of the Ráwí, there stood in the last century a *tallah* or mound, which is described as "about one hundred cubits in height, and which can be seen from a distance of two and three *kuroh.* On the summit thereof is a large tomb or something of the

is only about twenty, and the Ráwí, at present, flows about sixteen miles from it farther north; but, from Chíchawatní as far as about twelve miles lower down, the Ráwí flows close under the high bank.

On the opposite or Biáh side, the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah (always miscalled Sutlaj), has not yet approached this plateau nearer than twenty-three miles, and that only at one point, some twelve miles west of Lúḍhan in the Multán district, and about four miles south of Karam-púr, where it makes a sudden bend from west towards the south.

On the south side of the plateau, and between it and the southernmost of the old channels of the Biáh, and between that again and the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, and the tract of country which is locally called the Nílí *Bár*, is quite different from that on the other side through which the Ráwí has at different times flowed, known as the Ráwi *Bár*. This tract is but slightly elevated above the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah; and, in the south-western part of the Multán district, the ridge of the Chit Ḍhú'áṇ, subsequently noticed, appears to have prevented the above mentioned river from approaching nearer to the bed of the Biáh in that direction; for, near Karam-púr, as before stated, it seems to have made an effort in that direction, but, finding an obstacle, it turned suddenly from west to the south-south-east, and then to the south-west, and west again.

This tract, the Nílí *Bár*, bears evidence of comparatively recent formation, and the action of water; for, a few feet below the surface, deep beds of sand are found, and consequently, wells are with difficulty sunk, and when sunk are very liable to fall in; yet, it seems strange to those unacquainted with the past history of these parts, that this very tract of now dreary waste, without signs of vegetation, should contain so many remains of towns, forts, and villages,[391] water-courses, and canals. They are most numerous perhaps along the old bed of the Biáh and the parts around Koṭ Kamálíah in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district. As already mentioned, there is no land fit for cultivation, or very little, except a belt or fringe of *khádar* or *sail-ábí* land along the banks of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, which, as the term indicates, is under the influence of the periodical inundations, and which is also known locally as *kachchhí*, presently to be explained, or

kind, about twelve cubits in length, and three or four in breadth]; and the tradition handed down respecting it is, that this is the resting-place in the sleep of death of one of the companions of "Sikandar-i-Ẕú-l-Ḳaranain" [as Oriental writers call Alexander the Macedonian]." The Ráwí at the time of the Survey flowed at much the same distance from it as now.

391 These remains are locally known under the name or term of *khofa*—کهوکا—signifying, in Hindí, 'defective,' 'faulty,' 'ruinous,' etc.

what can be artificially irrigated by means of canals or cuts from that river. This belt or fringe in many places does not exceed three miles in breadth from the banks, but in some places it is four or five. In the parts around Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan much less land is fit for tillage, it is the most elevated part of the tract around,[392] and is covered with dense *jangal*; but, in the south-west corner of the Do-ábah, in the Multán district, along the banks of the Chin-áb, this strip of cultivation may extend to six or seven miles on the average from the river's bank.

Thus an extensive tract of waste land, extending some twenty miles or more in breadth in the Ghugherah district, intervenes between the high ridge of the elevated plateau marking the northern-most point the Biáh ever reached, and the belt or fringe of cultivation before alluded to. On the northern half of this waste, nearest the high plateau, traversed by old channels of the Biáh, water collects every here and there in its hollows in rainy seasons,[393] and these collections of water are called *ḍhoṛas*. The other or southern half is also intersected in several places with numerous old channels of minor branches or offshoots from the Biáh, but all inclining towards the old bed of the river in the lowest part of this waste, towards the south-west extremity of the Multán district, in the direction of the point where, at one time, the united Biáh and Ráwí were joined by the united Chin-áb and Bihat.

[392] Since the Pák Pattan stands just 616 feet above the sea, and 106 feet above the level of Debál-púr, and the banks of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Gharah, twelve miles above and below the Pák Pattan, are respectively, 548 and 520 feet only above the sea, that is, an average of 82 feet *lower* than the Pák Pattan, how is it possible that Debál-púr could have stood on the bank of the Sutlaj, as Cunningham asserts, or for the Pák Pattan "to have been for ages the ferry over the Sutlej," which has never approached it nearer than at the present day?

[393] From the heights given in the preceding note 392, it will be observed, that around Ghugherah the country is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues to increase down as far as the junction of the Ráwí with the Chin-áb.

Towards the close of the last century, in going from Sher Gaṛh to Hinjaráún across the high plateau between the Biáh and the Ráwí which slopes towards the latter, just mid way, and near the present line of Railway between Multán and Láhor, there was a great *ḍhoṛah* or lake, called the Paltí, which extended five *kuroh* in length from east to west, with a breadth of one *kuroh*. It was generally dry except in and after rainy seasons. This great lake, therefore, lay just in the middle of the plateau. There were no inhabitants between Sher Gaṛh and Hinjaráún, but there was a dense *jangal*, and scarcity of water. It was much the same farther north-west to Wandirí and Ṣalábat Pinḍ, now a mile from the left bank of the Ráwí, and seven miles east of Sayyid-Wálah.

The "Báráni Rúds," now so called, that is, dependent on rain for water, namely the Páṛhah and its branch, called the Dahará, and the Soház—the still minor ones are not of much importance to the present subject—are merely offshoots from the Biáh, which separated from its left bank and flowed south and south-westwards. As long as the Biáh continued to flow in the channel which passed close by Debálpúr, these *báráni rúds* continued to flow also, and their waters were the source of prosperity to the country through which they passed. Now, except after rainy seasons, they contain no water until the period of the inundations, when the overflow from the Hariári or Nílí reaches them, and they become filled. At the period of the Survey quoted here, the channel of the Soház passed within three miles and a half of Ajúḍḍhan, but now it is over five miles north of it.

What is known as the Súkh Ná'e (the "Sookhnye N." of the maps) is, to all appearances, the old channel of the intermediate branch of the three, into which, after uniting and forming the Hariári or Nílí, the Biáh and Sutlaj again separated "to unite one hundred *kuroh* further down and form the Ghárah," as already noticed. It is called by Abú-l-Faẓl, and the author of the Khuláṣatu-t-Tawáríkh, as well as in the Survey record, the Ḍanḍah, and which, lower down, in the Multán district, is represented by the "N. Bhuttyaree Nullah" of the maps, and is there separated from the old bed of the Biáh by the plateau of waste known as Chit Ḍhú'áṇ (چت ڈھوان)[394]—the "Flat or Supine Bank" or "Rising Ground." It will be noticed that these "*rúds*" are now more numerous on the south or left side of the old bed of the Biáh, and between its extreme high bank on the right or north, and the present channel of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, as the country, which gives evidence of its comparatively recent formation, slopes down towards the last named river, which has no high bank whatever like the others to the westwards.[395] Indeed, the whole extent of country between the high banks of the Ráwí as well as the Biáh, lying on either side of the central ridge or plateau of the Ganjí *Báṛ* of the Bárí Do-ábab and the present channel of the Ráwí, and the dry channel of the Biáh, is cut up for miles by old channels more or less defined or much obliterated; and the ruins of brick-built buildings, and sites of ruined and abandoned villages, scattered over the whole of the present desolate tracts, show that they must have been once in a flourishing condition, and supported a considerable number of people.

394 From Hindi *chit* 'flat,' 'supine,' 'prostrate,' and *ḍhú'áṇ* or *ḍhú'á* 'a bank,' 'mound,' 'rising ground,' 'declivity,' and the like. This plateau or bank appear in one of the best survey maps as "the wilderness of 'Chit Duen.'"

395 See preceding page, note 392.

The "Old Bias Nalla," so called, is without doubt, the remains of the channel of that second branch into which the Bíáh in bygone times separated into two branches near the *ḳaryah* of Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, as already noticed, long before it had any connection with the Sutlaj; and not long ago water found its way into it.[396]

With respect to the two perennial hill streams in the present Jalhandar Do-ábah, which are "supposed to be all one with the upper and lower Soház, and the Khán-Wáh canal," I may mention, that, of the streams in that Do-ábah in the last century, when the Survey was made, there were two principal ones, the one named Káli Wa'in or Ba'in (بئین or وئین), and the other Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín.[397] The latter issuing from the hills of the Siwálikh, and running southwards, passed Sará'e-i-Dakhaní on the south, and, opposite Jalál-ábád in the present Fírúz-púr district, three miles south of Dharam Koṭ, united with the Sutlaj, which since that time has changed its course.

The other is called the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín, which issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake west of the ancient town of Do-súhah,[398] and which lake is some six or seven *kuroh* in circumference, and very deep. It passes Yaḥyá Nagar on the north, where there is a masonry bridge of burnt

[396] See following note 399.

[397] In the maps, the lower part of the Kálí Wa'ín or Ba'ín is styled the "*Kalnah* River," but, a little higher up it appears as the "*Veyn* Nuddee"; and the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín, is called "*Beyn* Nuddee." It was thought, probably, that one river was called the "Veyn" and the other the "Beyn." In the Gazetteers, on the contrary, they are styled the "Kali *Ben*," and the "Sufed *Ben*," *safed* being merely the Persian of the Hindí name.

Dhaulá is from the Sanskrit धवल—'white'—and Ba'ín or Wa'ín is *probably* from वेणु—'channel,' 'gully,' 'pipe,' etc., in the same language.

The Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín appears to have passed rather nearer to Jalhandar in former times than at present. When Jasraṭh, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, rebelled in 824 H. (1421 A.D.), among other doings was to invest Jalhandar; and Zírak Khán, the feudatory, was obliged to shut himself up therein. Jasraṭh took up his position on the banks of the Sarasti, as the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín was then called; and Zírak Khán had to make terms with the rebel, and evacuate the place. After this, Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh had to move against him, as already related. Láhor, at this time, was a heap of ruins; and the Sulṭán on this occasion repaired its citadel, and the walls of the town.

[398] Spelt in the original دوسوهه, but Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, spells it دیسوہا—Deso-ah. It appears in our maps as "Dusooyuh," and "Dussohuh" and in other ways, no two maps being alike, and all wrong!

According to tradition, this place was founded *only* five thousand years ago, and was the capital of Rájah Bharata of the Mahá-bhárata, in whose service the five Páṇḍavas continued during their thirteen years of banishment while the Kurus were all powerful.

bricks; then to the north of Sulṭán-púr, under which place it is also spanned by a brick bridge, and about eleven *kuroh* farther to the south-west unites with the Bíáh." At this period the Sutlaj passed close to Pindourí, two miles and a half north of Dharam Koṭ, and which former place is *now* five miles south of the Sutlaj.

That these two streams had any connection with the "two Soháḡs" or the "Khánwah canal," is very improbable. The Kálí Ba'ín or Wa'ín may possibly have had some connection with the Katorah canal, or that canal, rather, with the Kálí Wa'ín.[399]

At a period long anterior to the two accounts of the Bíáh as it flowed just one hundred and two hundred years ago respectively, as mentioned at pages 372 and 373, it was separated from the Sutlaj by a tract of country some sixty-five miles or more in breadth, and the latter river was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. The Bíáh also still flowed through the *Sarkár* of Debál-púr, in the direction of about south-west, to within some twenty-eight miles south-east of the city of Multán;[400] and three or four miles or thereabouts north-west of Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah, and between that village and the Chak of the Makhdúm-i-Rashid (the "Mukhdoom Rusheed" of the maps), was joined by the united Wihat, Chin-ab, and Ráwi.[401] It then continued its course more towards the south, passing between Lohdráṇ and Jalál-púr, in the south-west corner of the Multán district, but nearer to the former place. From thence it ran to Bábiyah (or Pabiyah—the Pubberwalla" of some of the maps, but it has dis-

399 According to my Survey record, "in going from Debál-púr towards Ḳaṣúr, after passing Shám Koṭ, half a *kuroh* north of that place you come to the channel called the Khán-Wá-hah, in which, in former times, a stream of water from the Daryá-e Bíáh ran, which passed by Debál-púr on the south towards the south-west. It was also known as the Bíáh, and now its channel is deserted, and dried up." It was never yet called "Ghára," except in Gazetteers.

At the present time, instead of being half a *kuroh* north of Shám Kot, the channel is nearly a *kuroh*, or about a mile and a half, south of Shám Koṭ; and in the several routes across the Do-ábah from Debal-púr in different directions, there is not one word about any "Kutora Canal," thus showing that it must have been opened since. It may have been some minor channel utilized as a canal.

400 The nearest point of the most recent channel in which the Bíáh flowed, is just eighteen miles south of Multán; and to this point a new canal has been brought from the northwards from the Chin-áb, which passes close to Sitalkí Máṛí. See note 354, page 352.

401 The country hereabouts for many miles northwards of the *chak* (farm or estate of Makhdúm-i-Rashid and Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah, as far as the termination of the high left bank of the Ráwi, and the right high bank of the dry Bíáh, bears undoubted signs of the violent action of water, and shows whereabouts these rivers once united. See Sikah or Us-Sikah of Multan, page 244 and note 192.

appeared from more recent ones), about twenty-nine miles to the eastward of Uchchh, and was situated on its left or south bank, and which place, known as the fort of Bábiyah, is mentioned in the Chách Námah, and by the old historians of Sind.[402] After reaching this point, the Biáh, and the other rivers which had united with it, forming the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the old Muḥammadan writers, made a bend a little more to the westward, and united with the Hakṛá or Wahindah lower down, about ninety-eight miles farther to the south-south west, at a place between Baghlah and Ṣáḥib Gaṛh in the present Baháwal-púr State, which place of junction was known in the early times of the writers just referred to, as the Dosh-i-A'b, signifying the "Meeting Place of Waters," as already recorded.

The Sutlaj flowing in an independent channel, one of those presently to be described, was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and united with it some twenty-five miles above the Dosh-i-A'b, where the other more western rivers joined it.

After this period again, and probably a considerable time after Uchchh was invested by the Mughal Nú-ín, Mangútah, and about the time of the great flood in the northern parts of the Panj-áb territory, other great changes took place.[403] The Chin-áb, which previously

[402] Boileau mentions this place in his "Personal Narrative." He says: "*Pabarwáli* is among the chief towns of the Daoodputrahs." In another place he says, that, in "going from Khanpur to Bahawulpur, Dilawar is 24 *kos*, then Mithra 12 *kos*, after which is Puburwalee 12 *kos*, and Bahawulpur 12 *kos*."

These two names (written differently) both refer to one and the same place, which is, I believe, identical with the site of the fort of Pabíáh referred to above, or very near it.

Boileau subsequently mentions a "Powarwala." He says: "Left Bahawulpur 8 *kos* E. S. E. over a bad road to the little village of Powarwala, and from thence to Mojgur [Moj Gaṛh] 16 *kos*." This can hardly refer to the former place, which he says, was then a considerable town.

Crofton, in his "Plan for the Sirhind Canal," has *Babberwala*, 13½ miles about S. W. of Baháwul-púr, and near the high bank of the "Sutlaj." He rightly refers to the old channel of the Sutlaj as it now remains, not to the channel of the Gharah, which has no high bank. The whole tract of country for many miles hereabout is of recent formation. See page 386. In former times, likewise, the Biáh took a more direct southerly course after the junction with it of the Chin áb and Ráwí east of Multán.

The place referred to by Crofton is the same as that referred to by Boileau under the name of "Powarwala," and seems much too far south to be the site of Pabíah above referred to. See note 192, page 244.

[403] What brought about this flood noticed at page 392, is not stated, but it is highly probable that some volcanic action was at work, and this may account for the formation of these *Báṛ* and the *Thal*, the raised plateaux which I have been describing, and the geological formation of which indicates something of the kind.

flowed in the old channel by Bhaṯíán dí Pinḍí, and some miles east of Chandan-oṯ or Chandaní-oṯ (vul. "Chuneeot"), Khewah, Jhang-i-Siálán, and Shor Koṯ, as mentioned in the account of that river, changed its course much farther towards the west, passed those places (or the positions where they now stand) on the *west* instead of the *east*, and continuing its course in nearly the same direction, flowed into the low-lying ground, a short distance on the west side of Multán. The Ráwí on being deserted by the Chin-áb, became also affected thereby, and although it still continued to unite with the Biáh, it altered its course likewise, but not considerably, to a more westerly direction, nearer Multán, where its old bed, under the name of Súkh Ráwah or Ráwí or "Dried up Ráwah" channel, still exists, as mentioned in the notice of that river. The Biáh, on the other hand, also affected from the same causes as had affected the others, and on account of the Ráwí passing nearer to Multán than before—within about three or four miles, and hence that side of the city is still known as *ṯaraf* Ráwí, or 'Ráwí Side' to this day—instead of running towards the south to unite with the Hakṟá or Wahindah, it took a direction more to the westward—about south-west—and was joined by the Chin-áb and its tributary the Wihat or Jhilam ten miles north-west of Jalál-púr, and three miles and a half west of Koṯlí, in the south-west corner of the Bárí Do-ábah in the Multán district; and the united waters soon after fell into the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, a short distance west of Uchchh.[404] From thence, the Áb-i-Sind kept a more southerly course on its way to the place of junction at the Dosh-i-Áb, already noticed, and respecting which further particulars will be found in the notice of the Hakṟá or Wahindah.

These changes were not confined to these two Do-ábahs, we may be certain, and doubtless, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus and its tributaries farther west were affected likewise, and, probably, the Hakṟá also in the opposite direction. See note 307, page 305.

[404] Abú-l-Fazl, likewise, states in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, that, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, the Áb-i-Sind united with the rivers of the Panj-áb, near Uchchh, on the west.

It was just the same in the time of Sulṯán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, ruler of Multán, Uchchh, and Sind, and also at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, already noticed. The following tradition respecting it, contained in the Life of the famous Afghán saint, the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, the Bakhtyár Sheráni Afghán. "It is related that the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, came to Uchchh from the Afghánistán at the time that the celebrated saint of that place, the Makhdúm-i-Jahánián, was at the height of his fame and veneration for sanctity. On this occasion, it is said, that, when the "rainy season" came round, the Daryá-e Sind, had put forth great violence, in such wise that it reached close up to the city of Uchchh, and swept away several houses. As the people were filled with fear and dismay in consequence, they assembled together, and came to the

THE SUTLAJ, OR SUTLÁJ, OR SHUTTLAJ.[405]

Before I give any account of the Sutlaj, the ancient S'atadru, it is necessary that I should relate what is stated in the Khulásat-ut-

presence of the saint, the Makhdúm-i-Jahánián, and besought him, saying: "Ah Makhdúm! the A'b-i-Sind has risen so high as to threaten to overwhelm us. Let it not happen, that, with such a sanctified person as yourself among us, we should be swallowed up." The Makhdúm replied: "Whatever may be the will of Almighty God, that we must bow to: and whatever He may be pleased to do, that He will perform, and we have no reason to say "why" or "wherefore."

"This happened on the night of a Friday (our Thursday night: the night is reckoned first in eastern countries, and the day last); and the Makhdúm advised them, saying: "Return to your homes and pray devoutedly to God, and supplicate Him, that He would vouchsafe to direct you in your sleep what you should do." When the morning came round, they came to him again, and began to relate what their dreams had been. The Makhdúm said: "I have seen the blessed Prophet in my sleep, and he thus directed me, saying: 'Ah Makhdúm-i-Jahánián! in a certain place there is a large brick which Mihtar Khwájah Khiẓr baked for a certain Záhid (Recluse) in the time of Mihtar Músá—on whom be peace!—who used to perform his ablutions on the bank of the A'b-i-Sind, in order that by standing thereon the Záhid's feet might not be soiled by the dirt, and his mind thereby become distracted every time he performed his ablutions. That brick lies buried in a certain place: let it be brought from thence and given to the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, and let him, with his own hands, place it on the bank of the A'b-i-Sind, and Almighty God will cause the river to recede, and no injury will be sustained from it by Uchchh to the end of time.'"

"The Makhdúm having taken the people along with him to the place indicated, set them to excavate; and the brick was found and placed before him. He then requested the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, to take it, saying: "With thine own hands place this brick on the bank of the A'b-i-Sind." He replied: "Oh Makhdúm! let it not be that some other and more worthy Yaḥyá was intended; for it does not appear that the blessed Muḥammad indicated me, his servant, who is not worthy to carry out his command." The Makhdúm answered, saying: "The Blessed Prophet indicated thee to me, saying: 'He is a Rohelah, who has come from the Koh-i-Sulímán, and speaks the Pus'hto tongue.'" On this, the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, ejaculated "*Bis-mil'láh!*" took up the brick and placed it on the spot indicated by the blessed Prophet, and Almighty God caused the A'b-i-Sind to recede; and, Please God! the river will not pass beyond that brick, and no injury will be sustained therefrom by Uchchh to the end of the world."

405 Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (vol. 1, p. 417) relating the Vedic traditions or legends, says, that this river, which is called the "dreadful S'atadru (Satlej), which was full of alligators, etc., derived its name from *rushing* away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman, the Sage, Vásishṭha, who on hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvámitra, in the early contests between the Bráhmans and Kshattriyas, threw himself into it."

In another place (vol. 2, p. 417) it is called "The dreadful S'atadru (Sutlej) which was full of alligators," etc., and "derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman brilliant as fire."

Tawáríkh, and in that chronicle only, respecting the great flood in the Panj-áb territory. The author was a native of the part adjacent to the tract of country affected by it, and possessed the necessary local knowledge to describe it. The exact year in which this flood took place is not fixed, but it was a long time before the invasion of Hindústán by Amír Tímúr. In all probability it happened a short time before Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh commenced opening canals; and the vast changes which this flood appears to have caused, may have been the reason of his bringing canals to his newly founded Fírúzah Ḥiṣár and parts adjacent.

Some great physical disturbance in the mountains bounding the Panj-áb territory on the north "caused the whole of the country of the northern part of that tract to be flooded, in such wise, that the whole extent of country between the rivers Sutlaj and Chin-áb, was overwhelmed and completely swept by this flood, and the whole face of the country changed." The remains of the ancient channels of these rivers, and of the Ráwí and Biáh, which flowed between them, tend to prove this; and the flood appears to have swept along in a south-westerly direction. "When it subsided, the country affected by it, *for a long time lay waste and uninhabited*, but, subsequently, by degrees, it began to be re-peopled. As the Mughals from the direction of Balkh and Kábul made incursions into the Panj-áb territory nearly every year, the country did not soon recover: it continued in a state of ruin, and so remained, paying little or no revenue, until the time of Sulṭán Bahlúl, the Lodí Afghán, and first Paṭán who ruled in Hindústán, who made Tattár Khán feudatory of the Láhor province, at which time Rá'e Rám-Díw, the Bhaṭi, farmed the whole Panj-áb [the Láhor province is most likely meant, but such are the author's words] for nine *lakhs* of *tangahs*.[406] This Rám-Díw subsequently became a Mussulmán, and this greatly conduced to his rise. In the year 887 H., and 1522 of Bikramájít [1488 A. D.], he, with Tattár Khán's sanction, founded Paṭiálah, the site of which, at that period, was a *jangal* waste. The first place selected was a *pushtah* or mound; but the omens regarding this site not being deemed propitious, it was abandoned, and another *pushtah* chosen, the same on which Paṭiálah now stands. The word *paṭiálah* means *dunbálah* [signifying 'after,' 'behind,' etc.], referring to the subsequent selection of its site."

Others say its name is "S'atadru, of the hundred channels," and others again, "S'atadru, of the hundred bellies."

These terms may have been applied to it on account of its repeatedly forming new channels.

406 Of silver, equal to about four *lákhs* and a half of *rúpís*. See Thomas's "Pathan Coins," p. 369.

I may mention that the author, as well as being a native of Paṭí-álah, was also a revenue official of the Mughal Empire in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i- 'Álam-gír Bádsháh.

It may be noticed here in connection with this great flood, that Amír Tímúr having reached Bharah on the Jihlam, and defeated the Tammímí, [407] Mubárak Sháh, which place, as the crow flies, is about two hundred and fifty-six miles from Samánah by Láhor, instead of taking the direct route, he marched towards Multán, one hundred and seventy-six miles in a direct line, or thirty-two miles farther from Samánah than Bharah is. True, his grandson, the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, was at Multán, and wanted help in the shape of horses to enable him to move, but he might have joined his grandfather at Láhor by Debál-púr as easily perhaps as joining him on the Bíáh, or the Amír might have detached a portion of his army to his assistance; for Amír Tímúr did not go to Multán [408] from Tulambah, but marched to the Bíáh direct. It will be noticed that his grandson also came into the Panj-áb by a southern route, as did Taramshírín Khán, to whom Amír Tímúr refers with respect to bridging the united Bihat or Jihlam and Chin-áb by means of boats. I imagine that the choice of a more southern route, in preference to the direct one by Láhor, by Amír Tímúr and the others, was, in some way, connected with the desolate state of the Láhor territory and northern Panj-áb, occasioned by this great flood, mentioned by the author I have quoted, and for the reasons he gives.

We know from the historian of Amír Tímúr's campaign, that the Chin-áb passed on the west side of Multán at that time, but what had become of the Sutlaj is not so clear. It is certain that the Ráwí still united with the Bíáh, and passed Multán as heretofore on the east, and that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed. It is also very evident, that, if Amír Tímúr had had to cross the Sutlaj in going from Ajúḍḍhan (afterwards called the Pák Pattan) to Bhaṭnir we should have heard of it, especially if it contained its usual volume of water, or its previous volume; for it was unfordable as far up as Lúdhiánah and Tiháṛah [409] during the operations against Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, in 825 H. (1422 A. D.), [410] until the cold season set in, but it was still unfordable farther

[407] The Bani Tammím, were powerful in Sind from the time of the 'Arab conquest, several of its members, being governors under the Khalífahs. Mubárak Sháh was one of that 'Arab tribe, still independent some seven centuries later. See note 315, page 324.

[408] Moreover, he does not appear to have cared for Multán, for he left no troops to occupy it, and seems simply to have abandoned it to any one who might choose to seize it.

[409] Then on the bank of the Sutlaj.

[410] See page 278.

down stream. Amír Tímúr crossed from Ajúḍḍhan to Bhaṭnír on the last day of October, 1398 A. D., shortly after the subsidence of the inundations, and when all the rivers are still high.[411] Although he tells us about the Bíáh being rapid and unfordable, and that he had to send his troops across in boats, while some swam their horses across, he makes no mention whatever of any river, or channel of any river, between Kháliṣ Koṭlah[412] and the Ghag-ghar at Bhaṭnír. Indeed, there is not a word respecting the Sutlaj, either in the histories of Amír Tímúr's expedition, or in Ibn Baṭúṭah's travels. It seems almost impossible for Amír Tímúr to have reached Bhaṭnír from Pír-i-Kháliṣ without having to cross the Sutlaj, yet, as before remarked, it is never once referred to; and Ibn Baṭúṭah mentions no river whatever between Ajúḍḍhan and Uboh-har,[413] but says that that place *abounded in water*

[411] Not so high, of course, as during the inundations, but much higher than the usual cold season levels.

[412] Pír-i-Kháliṣ of the present time, the "*Peer Khalis*" of the maps. See page 285.

[413] Cunningham in his "Ancient India," pp. 218–219, refers to "Ajudhan" as "*for many centuries* the principal ferry of the *Satlej*," and says, that, "at this point the great conquerors Mahmud and Timur, and the great traveller Ibn Batuta crossed the Satlej." I have stated above that in Ibn Baṭúṭah's work there is no mention whatever of any Sutlaj; and no river is mentioned between Ajú[illegible] and Uboh-har; and neither in any history of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, nor of A[illegible] múr, will such a word as "*Satlej*" be found, nor Sutlaj either.

In another place, lower down, he says: "the fort is said [by whom not mentioned] to have been captured by Sabuktugin in A. H. 367, or A. D. 977-78 during his expedition into the Panjab, and again in A. H. 472, or A. D. 1079-80 by Ibrahim Ghaznavi * * * The present name of Pák-pattan is of comparatively modern date." See note 330, page 375, and note 420, page 398.

There is no record in early history to show that Sulṭán Ibráhím of Ghaznín "captured" Ajúḍḍhan, because the whole of the Panj-áb territory as far east as the Hakṛá, and in which Ajúḍḍhan lay, had been subject to the Ghaznín Sulṭáns for some seventy years before 472 H. The Táríkh-i-Alfí, quoting older works, states, that the place (mistaken by Firishtah for Ajúḍḍhan) was called اجود [Ajúd or Achúd] one hundred *farsangs*, equal to three hundred miles and more, from Láhor, then the capital of his dominions in Hind; and that, after obtaining possession of that place, another stronghold, named اوهان Úmán was reduced. This last was situated on the extreme border of Hind, on a high mound, on one side of which was the ocean, and near which vessels could be seen passing to and fro; and on the other side was a *jangal* so dense as to exclude the light of day. At the foot of the fortress there was scarcely standing room for the troops to attack it. The only direction that the distance here given will suit is near the sea coast, between Sind and Kanbháyah (*vul.* "Cambay"), on the coast of Káṭhiáwáṛ.

Sultán Ibráhím is also stated to have captured Údah-púrah, said to have been "peopled by the descendants of Khurásánís transported thither in former ages by Afrásiyáb, near which was a reservoir of vast extent, and the *jangals* surrounding which were so dense, that the Hindú Rájahs deemed it unassailable."

and cultivation, and yet does not say what river this water came from. It was, however, the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel and was a tributary of the Hakṛá. It was shortly after Amír Tímúr's time that the Sutlaj formed a new channel for itself, now represented by the great *ḍanḍah* or high bank, between the Uboh-har channel and the present Hariárí or Nílí. After that again, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj, by uniting at Loh, Loh-Wál, or Lohí-Wál,[414] above Fírúz-púr, formed the Hariárí, Núrní, or Nílí, as described by Abú-l-Faẓl. This junction was temporary, however, for they again separated a few miles east of Debál-púr, and, on this occasion, separated into three branches the Bíáh returning to its old bed again, and the Sutlaj bending southwards regaining its former channel likewise, and each regaining there former names. The third branch, was smaller and insignificant, compared with the other two, and, under the name of Ḍanḍah passed between Ajúḍḍhan and Khális Koṭlah, almost parallel with the Bíáh until about midway between Lohdráṇ and Jalál-púr in the Multán district. Having thus flowed apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, the Bíáh and Sutlaj again united[415]—the Ḍanḍah had previously united with the latter a little higher up stream—and losing their names once more, formed the Ghallú-Ghárah or Ghárah, and finally united with the Sindhú or Áb-i-Sind near Uchchh-i-Sharíf. The intermediate channel is represented

[414] Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 210, etc.), says, that, "for centuries before the present confluence of the Bias and Sutlej, the point of junction was just above *Bhao ki Patan*, between Kasur and Firuzpur. This jun tion is mentioned by Jauhar, A.D. 1555," etc. This is a mistake: neither in Stewart's translation of the work of Johar, the Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bádsháh, *nor in the original*, is there a word about *Bhao* ki Patan. The word is لوه (see page 372), which some have mistaken for بوه—without a point thus—ٮوه. All that Johar says (I quote Stewart's translation here, because it is that which Cunningham follows) is (page 112): "The chiefs that had been sent to Jallindhar having crossed the *Sutlege*, and passed through Machwarch [this is how Stewart writes Máchhí Wáṛah], entered the district of Sirhind [Sahrind he means];" and on the next page, that, "Information having been brought to the king that Omer Khán Ghicker [Ghakaṛ], having collected a very large force at *Fyruzpur* [Fírúz-púr], *which is situated at the junction* of the Beyah and Sutlege rivers." There is nothing more except, that, "about this time the Afgháns marked out a ford across the Sutlege opposite the town of Machwareh * * * But Byram Khán crossed the river by the very ford the Afgháns had marked out * * * Accordingly the king crossed the Sutlege at Machwarch, and joined the army at Sirhind," etc.

Now "*Booh*," as it appears in the maps, and is what has been mistaken by Cunningham for *Bhao*, is twenty-three miles *above* Máchhí Wáṛah, and a couple of miles north-west of Hari ke Paṭan; a few miles north-east of which, higher up still the confluence took place in 1874. See note 244, page 278.

[415] See page 372.

now by what is called the Súkhh Ná'e or "Dry Stream,"[416] which flowed a little west of Lohdráṇ, but subsequently shifted nearer towards Jalál-púr, a s distance farther west. The channel called "Nulla Biás" in the m little east of Lúdhaṇ, appears to have been connected with it.

The surface of the country south of the banks of the Sutlaj—I refer to it before its junction with the Biáh—is a dead flat, and throughout the Fírúz-púr district, and farther south into Sind, without a hillock of any kind until the sand hills of the *registán* or sandy desert are reached, with the exception of a few dreary looking sand hills to the south and south west, the remains probably of some high bank or *ḍanḍah* of ancient times. It also slopes towards the south and south-west, but more so in the latter direction, through which part the Hariárí, Mach i-Wáh, Nílí, or Ghárah now flows, from about 727 feet above sea-level at Dullo-Wálah to 545 feet near Pír-i-Khális; 340 at the junction of the Ghárah with the Chin-áb; and 335 at the junction of the Panch Nad or Panj Áb with the Áb-i-Sind or Indus.

The following is the Survey record account of the Sutlaj, as it flowed in the last century, and its subsequent junction with the Biáh.

"The Sutlaj, properly called Sutláj (ستلاج), but, from constant use, Sutlaj (ستلج), flows out of the *kohistán* of Bhúṭanṭ (بهوتنت), and from the *koh* of Sír Khanḍ and Kahlúr, the chief place of which is Bilás-púr. One bank lies in Hindústán, and the other in the Panj-áb territory. After issuing from the hills it separates into two branches; and, having passed below Makho-Wál and Kirat-púr, the branches again unite near Rúḥ-paṛ ("Rooper," "Ropar," and "Roopúr" of the maps and Gazetteers). After this, it passes under Bahlúl-púr ("Bhilolpoor" of the maps), Máchhi-Wáṛah, Lúdhiánah, and Tiháṛah, and near the village of Loh-Wál (لوه وال), or Lohi-Wál (لوهي وال), a dependency of Haibat-púr Paṭí, unites with the Biáh. Both rivers then lose their names, and the united streams are known as the Machhú-Wáh (مچهوواه) and Hariárí [Abú-l-Faẓl's "H. ihárí."] They again separate into two[417] branches, and after flowing separately for about one hundred

416 This is not the Súkhh Ná'e referred to at page 386. "Dry Channel," as the words mean in the original, are applicable to any dried up channel or water course, hence, if not explained, so many similarly styled might cause confusion.

417 From this it appears that the Súkhh Ná'e and Súkhh Biáh, had already ceased to be perennial streams. We must not presume, however, to assume that those two branches flowed precisely then as now, because the river, as now constituted, never runs exactly in the same course two years following, for the change is constant. There are the remains of an old branch still known as the Hariárí, but nearly obliterated, which ran south to the Sutlaj when it flowed in what is now known as the Ḍanḍah, as mentioned at page 372. It is again noticed farther on.

kuroh they re-unite.[418] In the part where this fresh junction takes place, in the rainy season, on occasion of the slightest swell, the river overflows its banks, and the waters spread out for a distance of several *kuroh* on either side—for the banks are low and consist of soft, alluvial earth—fertilizing the country thereby. In this part the united stream is known to the people as the Ghallú-Ghárah, or Ghárah, and Nílí; and the tract of country along its banks on either side is known as the Chhoṭí Kachchhí.[419] Continuing its course, and having passed Úchchh-i-Sharíf, just below it, it unites with the Áb-i-Sind."

Such was the united river towards the close of the last century, yet what changes have we here, to judge from the present?

Without noticing the turns and windings of the Sutlaj in former times north of its present channel more than I have done, which are

418 The author of the article on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review," previously noticed, states (page 13), that "in the Ain-i-Akbari, the united Sutlej and Biyás is said (A. D. 1596) to flow in four streams, which meet near Multán. Of the names given Har, Hari, Nurnai, and Dhund, the latter is the only one known at present."

This is a great mistake: the Á'ín-i-Akbarí contains nothing of this kind, as may be seen from the original text. The writer must have seen some statement of this kind, in Gladwin's translation perhaps; for the account in the original coincides precisely with what I have mentioned at page 296, that the united river is known by those three names, not that there are three rivers, much less four.

Perhaps Rennell obtained his four streams from the same source. See page 405.

The "Calcutta Review" writer also states, that, "the two rivers Sutlej and Biyás did not meet (in Arrian and Strabo's days) until they reached the Rann of Kach." I do not think any of these names will be found mentioned by the writers referred to.

419 Kachchh—not "Kach"—means silt or alluvium thrown up and left by water, and rivers, after inundations. The name of the level tract north and north-west of Shikár-púr, and the territory on the sea coast, called Kachchh and Kachchh-Bhuj, is derived from the same word, referring to their original formation. The banks of a river where such deposits are left, are so called; and "both banks of the Ghárah and Hariárí or Nílí, for a distance of about eighty *kuroh* or more in length," according to the Survey record above referred to, "with a breadth of from five to six *kuroh*, is called Chhoṭí Kachchhí. The cultivation of this tract depends on the inundations of the river. On the southern bank is some small extent of *jangal*, and beyond, the *chúl* or desert. On the northern bank, beyond the *kachchh* of the Nílí Báṛ, the *jangal* is so dense that a horseman cannot get through it, and even a man on foot penetrates it with great difficulty. Each *beshah* (forest) has a separate name, one of which is Nekálí Kánd; and in time of necessity, the people, who are Jaṭs, take shelter in them." In the Sanskrit, कांड means 'bush,' 'copse' and the like. See note 360, page 363. The northern side of this alluvial tract is also known as the Shamálí Kachchhí Do-ábah.

not material to the present subject, its old bed[420]—that is to say, the channel last abandoned before it had anything to do with the Bíáh, and when it was a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah—can be distinctly traced downwards to Sind by its distinct and well marked high bank or *ḍanḍah*, from Tiháṛah to Dharm Koṭ, Koṭ-i-'Ísá Kh̲án, where it bends towards the south-west, passing near Mudkí ("Moodki" of the maps) on the east, then by Faríd Koṭ, north and west of Makhti-sar, close to Ráta Khirah on the west, Bag-sar, about mid-way between Ubohhar and Fáẓil ká, thirteen miles south-south-east of Baháwal Gaṛh, and twenty-three miles south of Ajúḍḍhan or Pattan-i-Panj-áb, or the Pák

[420] Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 217) inform us that "Debâlpur was the capital of the northern Panjab," and he indentifies it "with the Daidala of Ptolemy which was on the "*Sutlej* [sic] to the south of Labokla and Amakatis, or Lahor and Ambakâpi." In one of his Arch. Rep. p. 140, he had "identified Daidala with *Dehli*."

I beg to observe that Debál-púr never yet stood on the banks of the Sutlaj, nor anything near it. The Sutlaj has repeatedly inclined from east to west, but never yet from *west to east*. It never approached farther *west* than where it united with the Bíáh, when, losing their respective names they became the Mach̲hú-Wáh, Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah (in the lower half of its course). That river even now, in no place is less than eighteen miles from Debál-púr, and that is to the south-east. In another place he says: "It seems highly probable, therefore, that he [Perdikkas] despatched by Alexander to the east of the Ravi, may have carried the Greek arms to Ajudhan on the banks of the Sutlej, from which his march would have been along the course of that river by Ludhan, Mailse, Kahror, and Lodhran to Alexander's camp at Uchh."

Only, the Sutlaj never yet flowed *by* Ajúḍḍhan (see following note 421), which is not on the Sutlaj's banks and never was; and it is only since the end of the last century, when the Bíáh and Sutlaj by uniting formed a new river, referred to above, that the Sutlaj approached within twenty-four miles of Ajúḍḍhan, and only a century or two before was more than forty miles east of it. When the Bíáh and Sutlaj, after temporarily uniting at Loh Wál, formed the Hariárí or Núrní of Abú-l-Faẓl, as mentioned at page 372, and separated into three branches, the lesser, and middle stream of the three, flowed some miles past Ajúḍḍhan on the east, and is represented by the Súkhh Ná'e. The other two were the Bíáh, which continued to flow in its own channel, while the Sutlaj turned south and re-entered its old channel represented by the *ḍanḍah* or high bank. All this, however, *happened in very recent times*. The "carrying of the Greek arms to Ajudhan," and "Alexander's camp at Uchh" depends upon whether these places existed twenty-three centuries ago, and certainly the rivers did not flow then as now, nor anything like it. The latest great change in the courses of these two rivers, as before noticed, took place near the close of the last century; and at page 217 of his book, Cunningham says himself, that "the Satlej suddenly changed its course in 1796," but, at page 221, he says "in 1790." It was not the Sutlaj only, for the Bíáh did the same.

However, there is one great obstruction to the "Greek arms," being "carried to Ajudhan" and Debál-púr also, as may be seen in note 390, page 381. All ancient

Pattan.[421] From thence to within four miles south-south-east of Mubárak-púr, about two miles and a half south of the Goṭ of

writers agree, I believe, that the Hyphasis represents the Bíáh, and the Sutlaj the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru, even by Cunningham's own statements. As Alexander's troops mutinied on the banks of the Hyphasis, and refused to cross, and he had to turn back without crossing it, how could the "Greek arms" have been "carried to Ajudhan," which was a considerable distance east and beyond that river? I suppose it is not intended to assert that the Bíáh and Sutlaj *then* united at "Bhao ki patan?" See also note 345, page 343, and preceding note 418, page 397.

[421] In the Hindí dialect there are two words, which in the Arabic character in which Urdú is written, are something alike, but, in pronunciation and in signification they are very different, namely, *paṭan* and *pattan*. The former means a *ferry* and the latter a *town*. Out of these words a sad mistake has been made in consequence of not knowing the difference, and jumping at conclusions.

Cunningham in his "Ancient India," page 219, states, that "Ajudhan, or Pák *Pattan*" was for centuries the principal *ferry of the Sutlaj*;" and is "recognized as one of the towns of the people—" says one of the Punjáb Gazetteers—"variously mentioned by Alexander's historians as Ohydrakæ [sic], Sydrakæ, Sudrakæ, Surakousæ and Hydarkæ," and then it adds: "It is from this Faríd-ud-dín, familiarly and better known as Bába Faríd, that the name Pák *Pattan*, or "*ferry of the pure one*, is ascribed." Then, in another place, after all this, it is stated, that, "it is *from a ferry over the Bisharat nallá* that Pák *Pattan* derives its name," and which *nallá is said to pass* "close to Pak *Pattan*." In another place in the same "Gazetteer," we find the following: "The truth of the story is doubtful. The name may have been changed to Pák *Pattan* on account of *a ferry over the Bishdratwah*, but the town was known as Ajudhan in Tamerlane's time. In the Aín-i-Akbarí it is called simply *pattan* or "the ferry." * * * In fact Pák *Pattan* means simply the "holy *pattan*." Such is a specimen of "Gazetteer" history.

It so happens that the place is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, as well as the Pák Pattan, its old name, that is to say its original name, being Ajúḍḍhan. It is mentioned in the A'ín-i-Akbarí as the chief town of one of the *maḥálls* of the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and one of ten then situated in the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah of that *sarkár*, that is, between the Bíáh and the Sutlaj when they flowed separately, but not when united into one. This is explained in the account of the rivers at page 372.

It is not called the Pák Pattan or the Pattan-i-Panj-áb on account of any *ferry* whatever, much less a ferry over the Sutlaj, because the Sutlaj never yet flowed nearer to it than it does at present; while in the last century, it was twenty-four miles east of it, and before that again, it was upwards of forty miles, and in the time of the Shaikh still farther off. *Pattan* as I have said before means 'a town,' and *paṭan* 'a ferry,' and in the A'ín-i-Akbarí it is the former word, and not explained as "the ferry;" and, in the Akbar Námah, it is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, but

Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, also mistook پتّن for پٹن. The place is mentioned by several historians as "the Pák Pattan" or "Holy Town," on account of its having been the residence and burial place of the Sulṭán-uz-Záhidán, Faríd-ul-Millat wa ud-Dín, Ganj-i-Shakar, these being his Musalmán designations, not

Ḳá'im Khán, the Ra'ís, and at about the same distance south of Khair-púr in the Baháwal-púr state, where it makes a sharp bend towards the south for about twelve or thirteen miles, and indicating the course it once took in the direction of Moj Gaṛh towards the Hakṛá or Wahindah. After this it turns nearly due west again, and reaches within about three or four miles of the town of Baháwal-púr. From this point again it makes a sharp bend to the south, showing another direction which it formerly took towards the Hakṛá in the direction of *Dín* Gaṛh or Treһárá, where the action of water is plainly indicated in the direction of that place, situated on the south bank of the last named river channel. After a few more bends of minor importance, it reaches within about six miles south of Aḥmad-púr, where the land slopes gradually from the banks of the present Ghárah, near its junction with the Chin-áb, towards the channel of the Hakṛá, after which the old Sutlaj channel runs in a south-westerly direction towards Khair Gaṛh, Derah, Chaudarí, Fírúzah, Khán-púr, Koṭ-i-Sambah (I wonder this has not been "identified" as the capital of the dominions of *Sambus*), and Noh-Shahrah, which places it passes within from eight to three miles or less on the east. After this, the traces of this last bed in which

his simple name, *viz.*, "The Sulṭán of Recluses, the Incomparable or Unique of the Faith and of Religion, the Hoard of Sugar, *i. e.*, Eloquence." His father's names were Jalál-ud-Dín, Sulímán, who was descended from Farrúkh Sháh (a Sayyid not a King), Kábulí, and the saint himself was brought up at Ḳuṭub-Wál, a dependency of Multán. According to all chroniclers the saint died on Saturday, the 5th of Muḥarram, 668 H. (4th September, 1269 A. D.), just ten years after the "Tabáḳát-i-Náṣirí" was completed by its author.

Ajúḍḍhan or "the Pák Pattan," from the time the Sikhs became predominant in these parts, went rapidly to ruin. At the time of the Survey near the close of the last century, it is thus described :—

"Ajúḍḍhan is an ancient place situated on a high mound, in such wise that it is visible for a distance of two or three *kuroh.* Before the arrival of the Sulṭán-uz-Záhidán, it was the abode of Jogís and other Hindú recluses. *After the saint had been buried there, it became known as the Pák Pattan*— Holy Town —and the shrine is situated near the south side of the parapet, consisting of a high domed building, a large *masjid*, and a rest-house for travellers. The interior domed building over the tomb itself is about three times the stature of a man in height, and has two entrances. Within are two tombs, one that of the saint, and the other that of his eldest son, buried near on the west side of his father. The entrance on the south side is called the Bihishtí Darwázah, which is only opened on the 6th of Muḥarram [the day following the anniversary of his death], in the evening, which is the time for making offerings at the shrine, and is kept open for three watches. A vast concourse of people assemble from far and near, and pass through this Bihishtí entrance; and whoever does so, it is said, on that person the fire of hell has no effect." The writer observes, in the *MS.*, that "such is exceedingly easy for the Almighty to effect, if He would but do so."

the Sutlaj flowed independently to unite with the Hakṛá becomes mixed up with the channels of that river, the whole country for several miles between Khán-púr and Khair Gaṛh being seamed with channels and banks formed by the action of water. Indeed, a space of some forty miles to within a short distance of Fatḥ Gaṛh or Nowá Koṭ farther east, and farther south-west into Sind, is literally covered with these traces of the rivers Sutlaj and Hakṛá until they again unite so to say, between Khán-púr and Khair Gaṛh; and the dry channel of the latter river, which appears in the maps as the "broad, dry bed of the Rainee Nullah or Wahind," becomes, near Baghlah and Sáḥib Gaṛh, more distinctly defined, and near which, at the Dosh-i-Áb, or "Meeting Place of Waters," in ancient times, the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind (which it had joined above Uchchh), united with the Hakṛá, and the Mihrán of Sind was formed.

"Likewise, from the eastward of the Burj-i-Bakhho Jáṭ (the "Pk Boorj," and "Bicha Boorj" of the maps, apparently) on the way to Hinḍon, another old bed exists, which is also said to have once been the bed of the Sutlaj; while at Ráhún, farther north, close to which place it formerly ran, and now four miles north of the present channel, there is a large lake three or four *kuroh* in length, which, it is stated by the people of these parts, was once part of the old bed of the Sutlaj."

"The erection of this domed chamber and entrance is ascribed to the saint, Niẓám-ud-Dín, Aḥmad, the Budá'úní, and it is said, that he repeated the whole of the Ḳur'án over every brick of which it was built. Close to the Bihishtí entrance, on the east side, there are about 2,000 or 3,000 bricks, which were left after the completion of the dome, and these were subsequently used in the erection of a sort of *chabútarah* [a raised platform or seat] about the height of a man. The east entrance to the shrine is kept open at all times for people to pass to and fro. It is stated, that, when Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Tughluḳ Sháh, made a pilgrimage to the shrine, he was desirous of removing the domed building over the tomb, and, erecting another, but the saint having appeared to him in a dream forbidding it, he desisted, and, instead, erected another lofty one of bricks and mortar, near by on the east side. In that building eleven descendants of the saint are buried, who succeeded to his prayer-carpet. The above-mentioned Bádsháh, likewise, founded a large *masjid* on the west side of the shrine of the saint; and between it and the *masjid*, there is a small chamber or cell roofed with wood, containing two tombs and a rest-house for travellers to the south, adjoining the walls of the fort. All these buildings can be seen from the south for a distance of three or four *kuroh*.

"The shrine of Ḥaẓrat, Sháh Badr, who was the son-in-law, and disciple of the saint, the Shaikh, the Faríd-ul-Millat-wa-ud-Dín, is situated adjoining the Shahídí Darwázah, and is covered with a brick-built dome. Formerly, the town was not enclosed within walls, but in the year 1190 H. (1776 A. D.), Pír Subḥán, erected a wall all round of kiln-burnt brick, in which were five gateways, and three

This was the old channel of the river when it united with the Biáh at Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, and its right or northern bank is well defined. After passing close under Ráhún it winds considerably, runs close under Filúr, and opposite 'Alí-Wál the river now flows close to this old bank; but the old bank here turns suddenly towards the north for some seven miles, then westwards by Mahúd-púr and Sháh Koṭ to Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál ("Loheean" of the maps), where the junction with the Biáh formerly took place, and then turns south-west towards the other old channel, previously described, by Tiháṛah, Dharm Koṭ and Jírah.

Thus it will be seen, that, before the junction with the Biáh, the Sutlaj hereabouts had flowed at different times between these two banks over a tract of country considerably depressed, in some places ten or twelve miles broad, and sixteen in its broadest parts, and which

posterns. The south gate, adjoining the Khán-ḳáh of the saint, is named the Darwázah-i-Mauj-i-Daryá [that is, literally, towards the river wave or surge—the inundation side—from whence it could be seen, probably—but it did not follow that the Hariárí or Nílí ever reached within many miles of it], and opens on high ground; the Shahídí Darwázah on the south-east side, on level ground; the Láhorí Darwázah on the east side, also on level ground; the Morí Darwázah on the north-west, at the angle of the wall, opening on a height; and the Raḥmún Darwázah on the west side, on high ground. This gate is also known as the Multání Darwázah. A short distance outside this gateway to the west, there are a few ancient buildings, and it is said that these formed the property of the saint, and are now in ruins. A little farther west again is the shrine of 'Azíz, Makkah-í [that is, of Makkah] who, it is asserted, was one of the companions of the prophet, Muḥammad, who was here buried. It is a grave plastered over with mud mortar, but, is enclosed within brick walls; and south of it is a large *masjid*, founded by Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Taghluk Sháh." In another place it is stated, that, "To the north of the *ḥiṣár* there is a great lake, three or four *kuroh* long and nearly as broad. The place was completely ruined by the famine of 1197 H. (A. D. 1783.)"

This Sulṭán, before he came to the throne, as Ghází Malik, held the fief of Debál-púr, to which Ajúḍḍhan belonged. He came to the throne of Delhi in 720 H. (1320 A. D.). The town was then known as "the Pák Pattan," (this is a *little* before "the reign of Akbar"), as well as Ajúḍḍhan. Abú-l-Faẓl, in the Akbar Námah, states, that, in 979 H. (1571-72 A. D.), while at Ajmír, Akbar Bádsháh determined to proceed to Nág-awr and the adjacent parts, and from thence to go and visit the shrine of the Shaikh Faríd, at the Pattan-i-Panj-áb. He accordingly went; and on the way thither, at the Tal-wanḍí of 'Alá-ud-Dín, near the river, which in this tract of country they call the Hariárí, he hunted the wild ass in the *ṣaḥrá* and the *registán*, that is, the open uncultivated country—the wilderness, so to say—and the sandy desert. He killed thirteen wild asses; and was, at times, distressed for want of water. If this Tal-wanḍí could be correctly identified, which at this lapse of time would be very difficult, it would throw some light upon his route, and also on the course of the river Sutlaj at that period. See note 236, page 273.

depression is about twenty-five feet below the level of this part of the district.

In the space between these high banks there is another old channel, running in this great depression near the southern high bank here referred to, which runs a little north of west from near Tiháṛah, and with a very winding course for some twenty-six miles. It then bends more towards the south-west, passes close to Fírúz-púr, and from thence on to within about two miles and a half of Khá'e, and almost parallel to the present course of the Haríárí or Nílí, but about five miles east of it, down to within seven and a half miles of Fáẓil ká, when it unites with the present channel. The northern part of this channel in the Fírúz-púr district, is what is referred to by Mr. E. L. Brandeth, C. S., in his Settlement Report of that district, dated 1854, under the name of "Sukha Nai"—Súkhá Ná'e—Dry Channel[422]—but the lower part, where it turns to the south-west from Fírúz-púr, and passes between Bázid-púr and Khá'e, is what he also refers to, as far as the Fírúz-púr district extends, as "a still lower *danda* marking a later river course." The ancient channel of the Sutlaj farther east he distinguishes from this one, as the "*great danda*," which is "very strongly marked" in the Fírúz-púr district.

This "lower" or lesser "*danda*" evidently marks the later channel in which the united streams flowed after their first junction, when they became the Machhú-Wáh, Haríárí, or Nílí, and when, after running in one channel for about twelve *kuroh* or twenty-one miles, they again separated, as previously described, the Biáh returning to its old channel and retaining its old name; while the other turned southwards into the low sandy tract between the ancient bed of the Sutlaj and the present Haríárí or Nílí, and cut this intermediate channel, which retained the latter names. The soil along this intermediate bank or lower *ḍanḍah*, is sandy, and covered with sand hillocks.[423] It will also be noticed that part of this intermediate channel

[422] Mr. Brandeth says: "There is a curious old channel, called the Sukha Nai, or "dry channel," between the new and the old beds of the river [Sutlaj], which has its origin near Tihára, whence it runs in a very serpentine course along the whole length of the district to near Mamdot. Notwithstanding its winding course, the banks of the channel are so regularly formed as to have induced many to think it entirely artificial [just like the Siḍh or Siḍhú Ná'e mentioned at page 370]. More probably, however, it was originally a natural water-course, afterwards shaped into a canal. Its breadth is 100 feet, and its depth 7 or 8 feet. As recently as forty years ago, it is stated that some little water flowed into it, but since then it has remained quite dry."

Parts of this old channel have since been utilized for inundation canals.

[423] The whole tract of country around, near the present place of junction of the Biáh and Sutlaj, is seamed with old channels of the latter river, and abandoned

was, in one part, intersected by the present river, and that it branches off from it towards the south, about fifteen miles south of Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, between Laluh ká and Chawi kí, and which branch, even in the maps which miscall the river the Sutlaj, still appears as the "Hariari." It runs almost parallel to the present river for about thirty-two miles or more, passing within one mile of Ḳásim ká on the south, and down to near Muhár and Jhinḍú ká Shahr,[424] where it inclines towards the south in the direction of Mubárak-púr, and its traces are lost in the remains of the old channel of the Sutlaj or great *ḍanḍah.*

We learn from the Memoirs of that extraordinary man, George Thomas, that the Sutlaj in his time [1798] "flowed towards the south from near Fírúz-púr, in the channel called the *Danda* or high bank of the Sutlaj;"[425] and I fully believe, that the intermediate channel above noticed, and mentioned by Mr. Brandeth as a "lower *danda,*" is what is referred to in his "Memoirs."

Towards the close of the last century, the river ceased to flow in this channel, consequent on both the Biáh and Sutlaj finally uniting at Harí ke Paṭan, abandoning altogether their former channels, and forming the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah as it at present flows. In this instance, the action of the Biáh was contrary to that of all the other rivers of this part, which, in the course of ages, had inclined from east to west. The Biáh, however, could not do as the others had done, because the country from its right high bank, which rises in places, some forty feet above the tract over which it had flowed from time to time, *slopes* gradually *down* towards the channel of the now united Biáh and Sutlaj; and the fact that, around Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, the country is some thirty feet or more above the bed of the united rivers, this, together with the gradual rise of the country towards the west, prevented, in the same manner, the Sutlaj from inclining farther westwards.[426]

sites show how often, from its continual changes, the inhabitants have had to abandon their homes and move elsewhere.

The sandy soil and hillocks along the banks of the rivers of these parts are known by the general term of *sothrah.*

All the old sites lying along the course of the dry channel of the Sutlaj, the "great *ḍanḍah*" described at page 398, which passes by Makhti-sar, are situated on mounds.

[424] It is about fifteen miles east of Luḍhan, and nine miles north of Mubárak-púr. The "Jhidu ka Sheher" of the maps.

[425] According to the map given in the Memoirs of George Thomas, the channel referred to therein, is still farther *east* than the Uboh-har channel, but the mistake is apparent.

[426] If the Sultaj had inclined westwards farther up stream, then it *might* have cut a channel for itself in much *lower ground*, and have found its way into the

Another old channel of the Sutlaj requires to be noticed here, which runs still farther east than this *ḍanḍah*. It commences a little to the west of Rúh-paṛ, from whence it takes a south-westerly course, passes within a short distance of "Chumkour" (six miles east of Bahlúl-púr) and "Kuhralla" of the maps, and disappears after a distance of twenty-five miles. Of this ancient channel of the Sutlaj, either the "Eastern Nyewal," or the "Dulwali Nyewal" of the maps, is the continuation. More on this subject will be found in the account of the Hakṛá or Wahindah farther on.

Rennell, in his "Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan," published in 1793, gives a map of the "countries between Delhi and Candahar;" and he makes the Haríárí, under the name of "Kerah" (he meant the Ghárah, no doubt) turn southwards between Fírúz-púr and Ḳaṣúr, which, after passing *close* to Ajúḍḍhan (which it never did) on the east,[427] fifteen miles beyond it, throws off a branch more to the westward which re-unites with the Bíáh. Lower down still, another branch (making four instead of three), which is made to unite with the previous one near Koṭ Ḳabúlah; while the Sutlaj under the name of "Dena" (for Ḍanḍah) is made to bend more towards the west below Ajúḍḍhan. This likewise, south of Multán, is made to unite again

old bed of the Bíáh. Indeed, there is a tradition that it did make the attempt near Fírúz-púr, but, meeting with some obstruction, turned aside again. There is no doubt but that water might be again brought into the bed of the old Bíáh, by a cut higher up stream.

[427] Cunningham ("Ancient India") makes the "old Bias" pass some *sixteen miles west* of Debál-púr, but the extreme right high bank, beyond which it was physically impossible it could pass, is nowhere more than *eleven miles* north-west of Debál-púr; and the old bed, that is, *the old bed now traceable*, and the last in which it flowed independently before uniting with the Sultaj in the last century, is less than *five miles* distant from Debál-púr. He places the old bed in the middle of the tract of country between his *Hyphasis*, and *Zaradrus*, or *Hesudrus*, or *Satadru*; for he has all these names, while the most recent channel of the Sultaj before its junction with the Bíáh, called the "Danda" in our maps, and which I have described previously, is called the "*old Sutlej*." I should call it the "young" Sutlaj, because it is the most recent, and after its junction with the Bíáh it was no more the Sultaj. I conceive that in whatever channel it might have flowed it was still the "Zaradrus, or Hesudrus, or Satadru," *since it would not change its name with taking to a new channel* as long as it flowed *independently*. See last paragraph of note 420, p. 398, note 390, page 381, and note 345, page 343.

Alexander's march is traced, in Cunningham's work, by "Kot Kamália, Tulanba, and Multan;" and from thence downwards, his route is made to follow the banks of the rivers *as they at present flow*; as likewise Hwen Thsang's route from Shor Koṭ along the banks of the Chin-áb, as it at present flows, by "Multan, Uch, and Mithan-kot," as though they had never altered for twenty-two centuries, and so on into Sind to Karáchí.

with the Bíáh, and to form one river under the name of "Galougara" or "Setleje" (here making the usual mistake), which afterwards unites with the "Indus or Sinde," at "Veh," a place not known (at present certainly, and I cannot imagine from whence he obained it), which he places a short distance north-west of Sít-púr, and thirty-five miles below Uchchh; while the Chin-áb and its tributaries, forming the Panch Nad or Panj-Áb, are made to run *close* under the walls of Multán on the west side, which it never did. He had heard of the facts respecting the different rivers as they then flowed, and which I have been here relating, but, unfortunately, he possessed not the local knowledge necessary, neither had he the benefit of actual surveys to go by, nor history to guide him, except the History of Tímúr contained in P. de la Croix's work, and therefore, he is deserving of much credit for what he was able to accomplish from reports. The high bank or *ḍanḍah*, marking the last independent channel of the Sutlaj appears in his map as the "*Chalescouteli Hills*," but they are only made to commence a little east of Ajúḍḍhan, and are carried down towards Sind. Of course he derived this also from P. de la Croix, who says, that Amír Timúr "crossed the river *Dena*, and encamped on *the hill* of Chalescouteli,[428] ten miles distant from Adjoudan." Then, aware of the existence of the well defined high bank or great *ḍanḍah*, Rennell, at once appears to have converted it into the "Chalescouteli" range of hills, because Kháliṣ Koṭlah, the Pír-i-Kháliṣ of the present time, lay in that direction. The *ḍanḍah* is eighteen miles south-east of Ajúḍḍhan, but P. de la Croix, in his extracts from the Ẓafar Námah, makes a *kuroh* a mile only, while it is equal to a mile and three quarters.

Lower down again than the Fírúz-púr district, both in the Ghugherah or Montgomery, and Multán districts, the Machhú-Wáh, Hariárí, Nili, or Ghárah has no high or defined bank, like that represented by the *ḍanḍah* or high bank of the Sutlaj, and the whole tract of country extending from the banks of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah to the commencement of the high plateau marking the extreme point reached by the Bíáh before it deserted its old channel, rises but very slightly, and is of comparative recent formation.

Of late years this river has set against the extreme southern point of the Ghugherah district, and the inundations have decreased considerably. This last, however, may be caused by the opening of new canals and utilizing old ones, and a greater expenditure of water for irrigation purposes, consequent on a settled government. The bank on one side is abrupt in many places, but it is not more than from ten

[428] See page 285.

to twelve feet above the cold weather level of the stream, which overflows its banks during the inundation season. In the lower part of its course, in many places in the Multán district, the bank is still lower, and the bed is full of quicksands. Sometimes, after inundations, it leaves a deposit of sand upon such land as its waters have covered, thereby spoiling them, and leaving such tracts a desert; and this it has done, *upon all occasions*, in every part it has deserted from time to time in its inclination from east to west, as shown by its old channels farther east, presently to be described.

Just to show some of the changes in the course of the Sutlaj, and, also of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah (when the Biáh and the Sutlaj lost their former names after uniting), in less than a century, I will give a few extracts, as illustrations, from the Survey record. At that period—when the Survey was made—in going from Jírah (the "Zeera" of the maps) towards Debál-púr by way of Bázid-púr, six miles south-eastwards of Fírúz-púr, "the Sutlaj," it states, "lies about half a *kuroh* on the right hand (that is, north-west), and the *ḳaṣbah* of Fírúz-púr about four *kuroh*, also on the right hand. The Sutlaj having passed from Bázíd-púr another three or four *kuroh* to the north-north-west, unites with the Biáh, and receives the name of Machhú-Wáh and Haríárí.

"In going from the same Jírah, by Gáḍí-Wálah, Phiro kí, 'Al-ípúr and Bhák or Bahák, having proceeded four *kuroh* to the north-north-west, the road winding considerably, and through much *jangal*, you reach the Sutlaj, and crossing it by boat from the point called Paṭan-i-Burhán to the other side, half a *kuroh* from the bank, is Mullá-Wálah, in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah. * * * Previous to the time of this Survey the Sutlaj used to flow north of Mullá-Wálah; and the south bank of the river the people call the Ḍanḍá or Ḍanḍah."

Mullá-Wálah is the "*Moolanwala*" of the maps, which is now thrown out of the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and is fourteen miles from the nearest point in it. It forms part of the Jírah district of Fírúz-púr at present, but, at the time here referred to, it lay in the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and Fírúz-púr lay Berún-i-Panch Nad, as it is termed, that is, without the area of the five rivers—extra Panj-áb—as it is at present.

Again: "In going from Baháwal-púr to the Goṭ of Ḳá'ím Khán, Ra'is, leaving Baháwal-púr, you go one *kuroh* north-east and reach the Kadhi river or Khán-Wá-han,[429] which, coming from the right

[429] The term *Wá-han* or *Wá-hah*, is derived from the Sanskrit वह्, 'run, 'flow,' 'glide,' etc., and is the common termination to names of water-cuts, canals, and streams utilized as such, both in the Panj-áb and in Sind, but the word is invariably

hand, and passing near Uchchh, unites with the Ghárah. From the Kadhhí two *kuroh* in the same direction is Ratání ["Rotani" of the large scale Revenue Survey map], and the Nílí *daryá* [river] lies three *kuroh* on the left hand. The Sutlaj and Biáh united in one channel, the people of this part call Hariárí, Nílí, and lower down, Ghárah and Ghallú-Ghárah. From Ratání you go another three *kuroh* to Muhí-Wál ki Ṭhaṭhí and from thence three *kuroh* more in the same direction to Bhakhí ká Dherá ["Bhakidera" of the maps]. After this, going another three *kuroh* in the same direction as before, you reach the Kadhhí or Khán-Wáhan again. * * * Passing by Ichrání, you come to Khair-púr, a large *ḳaṣbah*, the place of residence of 'Umar Khán, Kahrání, the Dá'úd-pútrah, who pays allegiance to Bahâwal Khán. The Nílí or Hariárí lies five *kuroh* from it on the left hand,[430] and the Rúd-i-Kadhhí or Khán-Wá-han passes on the west side, under the walls of the *ḳaṣbah*." Then, going by Aḥmad Sháh, now Aḥmad-púr, another village belonging to 'Umar Khán, and by Shaikh-Wá-han, where is the famous shrine, the Goṭ i-Ḳá'im Khán, Ra'ís, is reached, where resides, Ḳá'im Khán, the Ra'ís. The Kadhhí Rúd or Khán-Wá-hah passes close by the *ḳaṣbah* on the east side; while the *daryá* [the Nílí or Ghárah] lies four *kuroh* distant on the left hand[431] (west)." Then, in going from the Goṭ in question to Multán by way of Mailsí, the Survey account says: "going four *kuroh* north-west, you reach the Hariárí or Ghárah, and pass by boat to the other side, and in going, the Kadhhí or Khán-Wá-han is crossed two or three times. Having crossed the Ghárah by boat, you proceed six *kuroh* west, inclining north-west [W. N. W.], and Mailsí is reached, passing by many villages, and through much *jangal*, by the way. From thence you go fifteen *kuroh* [allowing for windings: it is really twenty-two miles as the crow flies] to Núr Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah ["Tibba" of the maps], passing by the way two or three small villages, and through much *jangal*. Half way the channel of a great river is reached, which is that of the Biáh, which once flowed therein; and from the time it left its channel near Ḳaṣúr and the neighbourhood of Debál-púr, and united with the Sutlaj [see pages 372 and 374], this channel became dry. In the time of the inundation, in the rainy season, it still flows, and *opposite Bahâwal-púr unites with the Ghárah,*" etc.

written 'Wah' in the maps and some Gazetteers, as if the word meant 'bravo,' 'well done,' and the like, which is Persian, and Wá-hah is not. The "Sind Gazetteer," however, says "*Vah*" means a canal!

[430] It is now only two miles and a half, or about a *kuroh* and a half.

[431] At present it flows seven miles and a half west of it, and ten miles and a half north.

With respect to the course of the Ghárah lower down, the routes between U'c͟hc͟hh and the Derah of G͟hází K͟hán show great changes there likewise, and also in the course of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. "Setting out from U'c͟hc͟hh, and proceeding one *kuroh* west,[432] you reach the Ghárah, which you have to cross by boat, and having so done, you go four *kuroh* a little to the north of west, and reach the C͟hin-áb.[433] After this you proceed six *kuroh* farther in the same direction, and reach the banks of the Áb-i-Sind and cross by boat, after which another *kuroh* takes you to Siṭ-púr, a large village on the banks of the Áb-i-Sind. The people here generally call all these three rivers Áb-i-Sind, the whole of which, six or seven *kuroh* to the right hand (north) having united, again separate."

At the present time, the Ghárah is eleven miles north of U'c͟hc͟hh, where the C͟hin-áb and its tributaries unite with it, and form the Panc͟h Nad or Panj Áb, which flows forty-two miles as the crow flies, in the direction of south-west before it unites with the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. Siṭ-púr is now three miles or more west of the Panj-Áb, and the Sind flows eighteen miles west of Síṭ-púr.

Likewise, at the time this Survey was made, in going from Rattá or Rattá-Mattá (the "Kot Ratta" of the maps—about two miles and a half from the east bank of the main channel of the Indus in 1871, and thirty-two miles south of the Derah of G͟hází K͟hán) to U'c͟hc͟hh, you went from thence to 'Alí-púr, then on the bank (*lab*) of the Indus. It is now fifteen miles east of the Indus, and a few years since it was ten miles and a half only. Rasúl-púr, and G͟hauṣ-púr (not that referred to at page 308) were also on the banks of the Indus, but the latter, according to the map of 1859, was nine miles from the east bank, and by the 1871 map, it was seven and a half. Jáṭú-í, when this Survey was made, was close to the bank of the Indus, and in 1871, it was five and a half miles from the main channel; but, at this point, the river, at the latter date, flowed in five channels, and the smallest of the five, was within a mile and a quarter of that place; and four miles and a half farther west, on the same map is marked "*old Puttun.*"

Consequently, when this Survey was made, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus flowed from Rattá-Mattá in a direction a little to the east of south, close by that place, and downwards by Jaṭú-í, 'Alí-púr, and Siṭ-púr on the east, as previously stated at page 303.[434] A glance at a late map will thus show what vast changes have occurred in the course of less than a single century, which changes are always going on.

432 It is now six miles and a half west of U'c͟hc͟hh, or lately was.

433 See page 349, confirming this account.

434 See also my *Notes on Afg͟hánistán*, etc., page 664, and foot-notes.

The bend in the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind just below "Keenjur" of the maps, fourteen miles south-south-west of the Derah of Ghází Khán, will show the direction in which it flowed at that period.

It now remains to notice the still more ancient channels of the Satadru or Sutlaj, which appear in our maps as "Nyewal N.," of which there are three, not two only, as mentioned in the Calcutta Review paper on the "Lost River," and the map appended thereto; and also in the map appended to Mr. R. D. Oldham's article on the same subject in the Society's "Journal," Part II of 1886. The middle one of these three channels appears in our maps as the "*Dubwali* Nyewal" because it passes by "*Dubwali*" of the same maps, probably. There can be no doubt, however, that the Sutlaj, in ancient times, and at different periods, flowed in these three ancient channels. The whole country west of Rúh-paṛ, near which the waters of the Sutlaj issue from the hills, where changes are less likely to occur than in sandy, level plains, as far nearly as Lúdhíánah west, is more or less seamed with channels, some larger than others, although they are, from being partially utilized as canals, and the effects of rain, and other causes, being gradually obliterated, and some are already nearly so. It is evident, that the river, hereabouts, in endeavouring to find its way to the southwards and south-westwards, has flowed over every part of it almost, from Rúh-paṛ to Fírúz-púr.

One of these old main channels, that of the western Ná'e Wálí,[435] can be distinctly traced a mile or thereabouts east of Cham-kaur, which is a little over eight miles south-west from Rúh-paṛ, and six miles east of Bahlúl-púr.[436] The direction of its course points from near Rúh-paṛ, and from thence in a south-westerly direction by Cham-kaur. It then passes east of Kakaralah, and from thence by Akhárah, three miles south-south-east of Jagráon. From that point it can be traced, more or less distinct, and in a few places nearly obliterated, in the same south-westerly direction, to some three miles south of Maháráj,[437] and from

435 The meaning of this compound word is not very clear, *Wál* or *Wál-ah*, or *Wá-lí* means 'a stream,' 'river' 'running water,' also 'the false appearance of water in a sandy waterless desert tract—*mirage*.' The meaning ascribed to *ná'e* is 'a tube,' 'passage,' 'canal,' 'channel,' 'water-course,' but from what is mentioned at page 447, it seems to be used in the same sense as *nahr*, which means, 'a rivulet,' 'a river' 'running water.'

Mackeson, in his "Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage from Lodiana to Mithankot by the river Satlaj in 1832-33," states, that, "at Jane-gill, 12 miles below Hari-ke, the united streams of the Beás and Satlaj, are called Ghara, but known to the natives by the name of *Nai*."

436 "Bhilolpoor" of the maps.

437 "Mehraj" and "Mehrajpur" of different Survey maps, and about sixteen miles to the north-eastwards of Bhaṭinḍah.

thence about four miles north-west of Bhaṭinḍah[438] and on towards Mal-oṭ, three miles east of which the channel becomes very distinct again. From Mal-oṭ, which is a short distance to the north of its right bank, it continues to run to Uboh-har, which is close to its south or left bank. At present, higher up, a cánal is to be brought into this channel from the Sahrind canal system, if it is not actually running at this time.

The direction of the central of the three old channels, called "Nyewal N." and "Dubwali N." in the maps, takes a course somewhat more to the south-south-west than that just noticed; but, although its channel is not quite so distinct upwards, it also comes from the direction of Rúh-paṛ and Chham-kaur, at which former point, or near it, it branched off, and can be traced into Budhúr,[439] just thirty miles to the north-eastwards of Bhaṭinḍah, nearly thirty-two miles above Dab-Wálí, and some thirty-eight miles in the direction of south-south-west from Akhárah. It passes close to Dab-Wálí on the north, and Fatḥ-púr on the south, and subsequently bends towards the west, and unites with the channel passing Mal-oṭ and Uboh-har.

The third or easternmost of these old channels evidently came from the same direction as the other two, as the slope of the country which declines from north-east to south-west, and the direction of the channel show.[440] At present it is not very distinct, for the reason pre-

[438] Bhaṭinḍah, which is a very ancient place, I believe to be the identical-place referred to, the idol temple of which "split asunder on the night that Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín was born," and not Uhand on the west bank of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus above Aṭak, miscalled "Ohind." It will be remembered that the Hakṛá is also called the Wahind and Wahindah, and the temple is called "the But-Khánah of Wahind." See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, p. 76, and note 2.

The Táríkh-i-Yamíní, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's victory over "Brahman-Pál, son of Anand Pál," states, that they met on the banks of the "Wahind river"; and, in another place, it is related in the account of the capture of Kal-Chand's stronghold, which seems to refer to one of the old ruined fortresses on the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, between Bhaṭnír and Wal-har, that "a foaming river flowed on the other side of the fortress," and that "the infidels, in attempting to cross it," were drowned in great numbers. See page 415.

[439] "Budhaur" of the maps, to the north-eastwards of Bhaṭinḍah, not the place about eighteen miles east of Bhaṭinḍah.

[440] In his "Ancient Geography of India" (p. 144), Cunningham, referring to the "district of Satadru"—the "She-to-tu-lo or Satadru, described by the Chinese pilgrim as having a large river on its western boundary"—says: "the position of Satadru will correspond almost exactly with the large city of Sarhind or 'frontier of Hind'."

"Sarhind," however, is not the correct name of this place, neither is "Sirhind." It is Sahrind and that does not mean "frontier of Hind."

viously mentioned, until within about seven or eight miles north-west of the fort of Bhikí, where it runs nearly parallel to the central or Dab-Wálí channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between them, to within nine miles north-east of Bhaṭnir. Here it becomes less distinct, but it united with the Ghag-ghar near the fortress of Bhaṭnír on the north side, and subsequently with the Hakṛá or Wahindah twenty-one miles farther to the south-west. Into this channel, likewise, a canal has been brought from near Rúh-paṛ: in fact, these canals, it may be said, or their proposed extensions, will run all the way, or nearly so, in these ancient channels of the Sutlaj.[441]

The channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, after this junction, is clear and distinct, and has been already described; but, the channel of the united Uboh-har and Dab-Wálí branches, which unite near Karár-Wálah, about twenty-nine miles below Uboh-har in the direction of south-west, and nearly eleven miles north-west of Gaṇes Gaṛh, is, in some places, not quite so distinctly apparent, but can still be traced to

Then, because this "large river" does not appear at present, although the position corresponded "almost exactly" with his "Sarhind," Hánsí is thought of, by applying "a correction" of only 110 miles; but this, too, not being quite satisfactory, he adds: "as it was bounded on the west by a great river which cannot be the Satlej or Satadru, it is quite impossible that Hunsi can be the place intended, as it is upwards of 130 miles distant from *the nearest river.*

There is nothing in what the Chinese pilgrim says to prevent Sahrind being the place referred to, because, when the Sutlaj or Satadru flowed in the oldest channel that we know of, which I have here pointed out, it flowed not more than seventeen or eighteen miles west of Sahrind; and the Sutlaj or Satadru is said to have formed the boundary between the territory of the Panj-áb and Hindústán.

Hánsí *now* is certainly distant from any great river, but at the period of the Chinese pilgrim, and long after his time, the Chitang, which, with the Sarsutí or Saraswatí, formed the Hakṛá or Wahindah, was *a great river, and flowed within a few miles* of Hánsí; and the Ghag-ghar, also a great river in those days, and the Sarsutí or Saraswatí by no means a small river, *both flowed within twenty-three miles* of Hánsí.

In one of his Archæological Reports, Cunningham says, that, "Satadru or Sirhind in the plains formed part of the states of the Rajput Kings of Kangra," which Mr. Barnes, the Settlement Officer of that district, discredits.

The Editor of Elliots' Indian Historians (Vol. IV. p. 519) tells us, that, "Tabarhinda is an old name for Sirhind," in which I beg most distinctly to differ from him.

[441] The ancient channels of nearly all these tributaries of the Hakṛá, mentioned herein, have been, or are being, utilized as canals, sometimes without its being generally known what rivers once flowed in them. Very shortly, therefore, all the ancient traces of them will be obliterated or altogether lost. See note [496], page 442 where some of the causes of the decrease in the volume of the Ghag-ghar are mentioned.

within twenty-four miles of Walh-har on the Hakṛá, and beyond, in the Baháwal-púr territory. The direction of its course shows that it united with the latter, or main river, a little to the north of Márúṭ, lower down stream, near which, at the time the Survey quoted from was made, it could be distinctly traced, as mentioned at page 423. North and west of Márúṭ the channel of the Hakṛá is very broad and distinct.

The facts I have here related, and the extracts I have given, show clearly, that in each of these three Ná'e Wálí channels the Sutlaj once flowed; and, that it has, in the course of ages, deserted one channel after another as it got silted up, covering the country between with a sandy deposit,[442] in inclining from east to west, a distance altogether of some eighty-five miles now intervening between its easternmost channel, and that in which it, along with the Bíáh, under the new names of Hariárí, Nílí, and Ghárah, now flows. The three channels above described, are, unquestionably, older than that of the great Ḍanḍah or Ḍanḍá,[443] and the easternmost of the three is the oldest.

If we merely take into consideration the heights of the different places above the sea level from Rúh-paṛ to Fírúz-púr from east to west, we shall find the reason why the Sutlaj took a course nearly due west from Rúh-paṛ by Lúdhiánah, and Dharm-Ḳoṭ, and to the north of Fírúz-púr, where it united with the Bíáh in the last century. While Rúh-paṛ is 900 feet above the sea, Lúdhiánah is 806, "Dallowala," west of Dharm-Ḳoṭ, 727, and north of Fírúz-púr 650. On the other hand, if we take the levels from along the parallel of 75° E. Longitude, which cuts across the ancient channels in which the Sutlaj formerly flowed, we shall find, that, as we go south, the country gradually rises from 700 feet at Mogah (I here give the map names for facility of reference, but they are all written in the same peculiarly incorrect way) to 759 at Daraoli of one map, and Duroulee of another, a rise of 42 feet. After this again the country gradually declines, and at Alkwala of one map and Ulkawala of another, it is 737 above the sea, at Ahmadwala 729, at Thuna, seven miles to the south-west of Bhaṭinḍah, 703, at

[442] The Sutlaj held, and the Ghárah, or Nílí, or Hariárí, through it, still holds, a great deal of sand in suspension, much more than the other rivers of these parts. See note 423, pages 403-406, and first paragraph of note 446, page 415.

[443] I do not know what the correct origin of this name may be, unless it is derived from the word ڈنڈ, which means 'a pool' and the like; and it is from this, probably, that the word, written ڈھنڈہ and ڈھنڈا, used in the Panj-áb territory and in Sind, comes, by which names the long, and narrow pools of water left in the channels of old rivers after inundations, are known; but the people on the banks of the old channel of the Sutlaj, in the Fírúz-púr district, apply this name to any high bank of a river.

Sarawa of one map, and Sarwa of another, immediately south of the so-called "Dulwali Nyewal," 722, at Peeplee of one map, and Pipli of another 717, but another Table gives it at 692), and at Gorkhawali 679. From this point going farther south the country begins gradually to rise again, and at Choor Tibi, on the south bank of the Chúwá river, called the "War N." in the maps (See page 442), it is 721 feet, but again sinks towards the channel of the Ghag-ghar to 704 feet a little south of Fírúz-ábád; while at Sirsá, nine miles and a quarter farther towards the north-west, it is 762 feet.

Continuing southwards on the same parallel, at Gidaranwala the height is 679 feet, and after that the elevation increases, until at Moria, nearly as far south as the parallel of Bikánír, the height above the sea is 1,080 feet; while on the same parallel westwards it declines from 1,080 feet to the depression in which the Hakrá channel lies, and then rises again to 231 at Kanḍ Koṭ, a little west of the Indus.

Now let us examine the heights along the left bank of the united Sutlaj and Bíáh—the present Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah. At Fírúz-púr, as before stated, the elevation is 650 feet; and at Fazil ká it lessens to 585, at Pír-i-Khális (Amír Tímúr's Khális Koṭlah) it is 548, while at Thuna, seventy-three miles farther *east*, the height, as stated above, is 703, or a difference of more than two feet to the mile from east to west. At Goṭ-i-Ḳá'ím Khán, the Ra'ís, it is 434 feet, at Baháwal-púr 375; and from thence to the banks of the Panch Nad, near the junction with the Indus, the height is 337 feet above the sea.

Such being the facts, as each of the successive channels of the Sutlaj became silted up, it could do no other than betake itself to lower ground, and being unable to incline east, it took to the west; and in the course of ages, has now, by its last change towards the close of the last century, when it deserted the Ḍanḍah channel, its last independent one, reached the lowest level of the country;[444] for west of the present channel of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, the ground begins to rise again, and the right high bank of the Bíáh to intervene; hence that river, when it deserted its old channel, could not

[444] The only points where the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah is now at all likely to incline farther westwards, are north-west of Ḳásim ká, which is 492 feet above the sea, where it *might* enter the most depressed of the old channels of the Bíáh or its minor branches in case of any extraordinary flood; or lower down, ten miles north-east of Mailsí in the Multán district; or twelve miles and a half north-north-west of the Goṭ of Ḳá'im Khán, the Rá'is, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district, the country opposite lying somewhat lower at these points than others: indeed, within the last ten years, it has set against the southern part of the last named district north-west of Ḳásim ká.

flow west for the same reason, and, consequently, it turned east, and so met the Sutlaj, and formed the new river.[445]

The same causes that led the Sutlaj at Rúh-paṛ to alter its course by degrees from south-south-west and south-west, to due west, in all likelihood, affected the Ghag-ghar, Sursutí, and Chitang more or less; and, at last, when the Sutlaj left the westernmost or Uboh-har branch of the so-called "Nyewal N." channels (which it certainly had not done up to the time of Ibn Baṭúṭah's journey to Dihlí, and which was still flowing when Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, marched from Pír-i-Khális to Bhaṭnír), and took to that called the Ḍanḍah in the present day, the waters of the Hakṛá, lower down, beyond the junction of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursutí, also failed. By degrees, the Chitang likewise, lessened by the canal of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh,—and other minor cuttings probably, or from the same causes that led the Sutlaj to abandon its older channels—failed, except in time of floods, in reaching much beyond Bhádaṛá, and consequently, that feeder of the Hakṛá could barely reach Bhaṭnír. Likewise, the waters of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursutí alone, were not sufficient in volume (after the Sutlaj deserted it), to feed the Hakṛá, and it ceased to be a perennial river; but, up to the last century, it contained some water, and up to the present time (before the channel was utilized as a canal), in the rainy season, water still flowed in its channel as far down as Márúṭ and Moj Gaṛh and beyond. Indeed, in some years during the present century, after copious rainy seasons, its waters have reached Lár or Lower Sind, and almost to the ocean.

On the other hand, as long as the Sutlaj continued to flow in an independent channel, its volume was sufficient to reach the channel of the Hakṛá, between Khair Gaṛh and Ṣáhib Gaṛh, to which latter place its last independent channel can be traced, but, below that it gets mixed up with the old channels of the Hakṛá. It can be traced upwards from thence; and the farther one goes up the more distinct it becomes.[446] As long as this junction continued, the Hakṛá was of

[445] According to the Geologist, Lyall, all rivers on being silted up betake themselves to the next lower level; and here, between Pír-i-Khális and Ajú'dhan the ground is lower than that of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj—the "great ḍanḍah." This will be found to be the case with respect to all the old channels I have described, the easternmost, which is the oldest, being the highest of all.

[446] "It has been observed of all large rivers, and been particularly mentioned by the same Geologist, that the silt with which their waters are charged is deposited during the season of overflow most abundantly near the edge of the stream, and in proportionally smaller quantity at a greater distance from it. It thus forms a natural *glacis*, the crest of which is on the river, and the slope falls away gradu-

sufficient volume, with its other tributaries, to reach Lár or Lower Sind, under the names of Sankṛá or Sankṛah and Sind-Ságar, as well as Hakṛá or Wahindah.

The channel of what is now called the Nárah (*vul.* "Narra"), which is said to be only well defined, or rather, "to commence" near Faḳír-ábád, is merely the remains of the westernmost and lesser of the two branches, the Rá'ín or Rá'íní branch—the "Rá'iní Nálah" of the present day—into which the Hakṛa separated between Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro and Wanjh-rúṭ after it had united with its then tributaries at Dosh-i-Áb, and formed the "Mihrán of Sind" or "Great Mihrán."[447] This branch was diverted from Aror by the excavation of the commencement of a new channel, and the raising of a dyke at the same time, some twenty-six miles above that place on the east; for after this branch had been diverted, and had cut its way to the westward of the limestone range of hills where Bakhar and Rúṛhí afterwards rose,[448] and subsequently, through the Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind deserting the Hakṛá, and other changes noticed in another place, it ceased to flow from the Hakṛá altogether. The waters of the latter, however, including the Sutlaj, lower down, near Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro and Wanjh-rúṭ, again separated into two branches, one, the western and minor branch, finding its

ally towards the boundary of the valley. That the Indus is not an exception to this rule will be seen on reference to the Cross Section (No. 1) across the valley at Sukkur, and the Profile (No. 2) showing the relative heights of the Bhawulpoor road and of a line nearly parallel to it, ten miles inland. A continuation of this process would gradually raise the level of the river-bed, until, during some extraordinary flood, it should burst its natural embankment and take to one of the lower tracts, to be, in its turn, raised and deserted. In the meantime the cross section of the valley would present the general features of a raised central channel with a depression on each side.

"On the east bank of the Sutlaj, from Rooper [Rúh-paṛ] to near Bhawulpoor, a depression of this nature is met with, and is believed to extend in a course parallel to that of the Garra [Ghárah] and Indus to Subzulcote [Sabzal Koṭ], from the vicinity of which it has been traced to the head of the Eastern Narra, about eleven miles east of Roree [Rúṛhí]. It receives water from the river by direct overflow and innumerable canals, and its drainage, though variously interrupted, is the source of the Narra supply." "Report on the upper portion of the Eastern Narra:" Bombay Government Records, 1857.

This last part is not quite exact. Near Sayyidah, the Nárah unites with the main channel of the Hakṛá, called Hakṛo by the people of Sind, and their waters still unite in time of floods.

447 After the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind deserted the Hakṛá for good, the name "Mihrán of Sind" or "Great Mihrán," applied to the whole of the rivers after their junction at Dosh-i-Áb, fell into disuse, and the names Hakṛá, Wahindah, and Sankrah were again generally applied.

448 At this period, no river separated Bakhar from Rúṛhí, as in after times, as will be explained farther on; and those places then did not exist.

way into the diverted channel of the Rá'ín or Rá'íní[449]—the Rá'íní Nálah of the present day—which, near Sayyidah, some eighty-five miles lower down stream, united with the main branch again, as the Rá'ín branch had previously done. These channels still exist, and water still finds its way into them, but, the so-called Nárah "river," on the other hand, merely arises from the overflow from the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which, considerably higher up, near Ghauṣ-púr, during the time of the inundations, finds its way by the ancient channel of the united Ab-i-Sind or Sindhu, and the Sind Rúd, or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Musalmán travellers, also known as the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, and now consisting of a great depression only, into the ancient channel of the diverted Rá'ín branch of the Hakṛá, which, before it was diverted, had flowed past Aror on the east.

Except in the season of inundation, this main branch is a mere series of lakes or *ḍhanḍs*, most of which, however, are of considerable size, and some as much as three miles and more in length, and half that extent in breadth.

It must also be remembered, that we continually read of the "rainy season" in the Multán province, up to,[450] and in the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Híndústán; but there is no rainy season now as in the parts farther east, and has not been for a long period of years, the influence of the monsoon not being felt so far westwards in the present day. These climatic changes must also have had effect on some of the rivers of this part. Between the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), and the reign of Akbar Bádshâh, a period of some two hundred years, great changes must have taken place in the courses of many of the rivers, to judge from the notice of them in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, finished in 1004 H. (1595-96 A. D.), and from the accounts of the English merchants, already narrated, who visited these western parts of the Mughal Empire in the following reign; and such being the case, other changes must have taken place during these intervals of time.

Thus it will be seen that in the course of ages, the Sutlaj, and all the other rivers west of it, including the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, some to a greater extent than others, have gradually deserted their old channels, as a glance at the map No. 1, will show, and moved westwards from

[449] This is evidently the river referred to by Al-Mas'údí at page 207; for the letters ر, د, and ن, are somewhat similar in Mss., and if the point of the latter letter should be left out, as is constantly, and I may say, commonly done by scribes, the latter is likely to be mistaken for ر and د. See also note 114 to the page above-mentioned.

[450] See page 282.

the causes mentioned in the preceding note, 446, with the sole exception of the Biáh, which, on account of the high plateau forming its extreme right or west bank, had to betake itself in the contrary direction, when it united with the Sutlaj and formed the Hariárí, Nili or Ghárah; and that the alterations in the course of the Sutlaj—"the Satadru of the Hundred Bellies or Channels"—have been far greater than in those of all the others. There has been, likewise, during the same period of time, great changes in the courses of the Ghag-ghar and the Sursutí and their tributaries, as will be shown in the notice of them farther on.

The Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and the Chitang.

The Survey record says, with reference to this river, that "One of the principal tributaries of the Hakṛa, and the easternmost, is the Chitang,[451] which is (now) dependent on rain, that is to say,

[451] Both Cunningham and the "Calcutta Review" writer make this name "Chitráng," whereas there is no 'r' nor long 'a' in the word, which is written چتنگ. Chitr-áng is the name by which the hard, smooth portions of the soil of a part of the present desert tract is known, which extends for many miles together, as will be noticed in its proper place.

It was within two miles of the present south bank of the Chitang, between Tháni-sar and Karnál, thirteen miles south of the former and ten north of the latter, that the two battles took place between Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shausabání Tájzík Sulṭán of Ghaznín and Rá'e Pithorá, in the last of which the latter was overthrown, and killed in the act of flying. These battles were fought near A'zim-ábád-i-Taláwaṛí or Taráwaṛí—'l' and 'r' being interchangeable—otherwise Tará'in Gaṛh, the "Turaoree" of the maps, nearer which, in ancient times, the Sursutí or Saraswatí may have flowed, for its course has changed considerably in the lapse of ages. See also *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, page 608 and note 8. Dow calls it "*Sirauri* on the banks of the *Sirsutty*," while Briggs, by way of improving it, turns it into "*Náráín* on the banks of the *Soorsutty*," by turning 't' into 'n'—ن for ت. Mr. J. Dowson, Elliot's editor ("Indian Historians," vol. II, p. 295) also makes it *Naráín* after the same fashion, as though such a word was contained in the text of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, which it is not, and in a foot note adds, that, "according to Gen. Cunningham, the battle-field of *Naráín* is on the banks of the Rákshí river;" but, as there was no battle of "Naráín," compilers of Indian history, according to the inaccurate manner so captivating to the English reader of "popular works," and the pernicious system of copying from each other, instead of seeing for themselves (if capable of so doing), stick to "Naráín." This seems, indeed, to be a favourite name, for Sulṭán Maḥmúd, the Turk Sulṭán of Ghaznín (p. 449 of the same vol.) is brought to another "Naráín," but this one is supposed to be "Anhalwára, the capital of Gujarat."

Wilford, who notices this river Chitang, also makes the mistake of confounding its name with that of the Chitr-áng Zamín. He says (As. Res. vol. 9, p. 214), that "The river Stranga is now called the Chitrangh and Caggar [the Ghag-ghar he means]," but the Ghag-ghar was merely a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah,

its waters arise from the torrents flowing from the Siwálik range of hills north of Saḍhúrah. It runs, with many turns and bends, in a general direction of south-west, like all the rivers west of it, as far as the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus. It passes within half a *kuroh* of Láḍwá on the west, and about nine *kuroh* west of Karṇál towards Jíndh, a little more than five *kuroh* north-east of which, at Dahtrat, the waters of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh's canal from the direction of Safídún, farther east, unites with it. Here it winds considerably, passes close to Jíndh on the west side, then on to Ramrá, which it passes on the south and west.

and is totally distinct from the Chitang. He also says that the Chitrangh passes to the westwards of Thánú-sar [Thání-sar is meant], and, that although its waters are absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Bacar [Bakhar] on the Indus." From this it will be seen that he mistakes the Ghag-ghar for the Hakṛá, of which it was merely a tributary.

It must also be remembered, that what has appeared in our maps as "the old Chautang nála," as the Chitang has been incorrectly styled, has been now utilized and called the "West Jamna Canal."

Ibn Aṣir, the Shámi, who relates some wonderful Indian history, says, that Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, whom he, too, will style "Shiháb-ud-Dín (his previous title before he came to the throne of Ghazní), having entered Hind and passed Multán, he proceeded to Uchchh. "At this time," he says, "the greatest of the Ḥákims (rulers) of Hind was a woman, whose sway extended over all the Rájahs, on account of the importance of her family, to which the greatest of the rulers of that country had belonged.

"The Sulṭán's army consisted of Ghúrís, Khalj Turks, and Khurásánís, but he was overthrown; and being severely wounded by a champion of Hind with his mace, fell senseless to the ground, and, in the flight which ensued was passed by unrecognized. In the middle of the night his *ghuláms* returned to the field of battle to search for him, and, having found him, took it by turns to carry him on their shoulders; and after having gone all night in this manner, on foot, by morning they reached the city of Uchchh."

Then he says, that "on his safety being known, his dispersed troops rallied round him again, and his brother sent a fresh army to his assistance," not knowing, apparently, or at least, not noticing, what events transpired in the meantime, a period of nearly a year and a half; and, that Shiháb-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, turning his face towards Hind on this occasion with a fresh army, the people of Hind mustered a far greater force than before, so much so, that there was no *ṣaḥrá* (plain or open space) which could contain them. Shiháb-ud-Dín, filled with fear in consequence, had recourse to stratagem and deceit. He sent an agent to the Malikah (female sovereign) of Hind with promises of marriage; but, as she was aware of the deception he had previously practised on the wife of the Rájah of Uchchh. [See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, note, page 450], she would not give ear to his offers in the least, and her reply was 'Fight, or return to Ghazní, and let that suffice.' He then tried another ruse, which was, that he might have time to send a messenger to his elder brother [his suzerain]. Knowing the position which Shiháb-ud-Dín held with respect to his elder brother, and the situation in which he now was, and conceiving that he did not desire to fight, she consented, and gave the requisite time

From thence it runs to Nárnol or Nárnor, which it passes near to on the east side, and runs to Hánsí, which having passed on the east and south, it turns to the westward, and runs in a direction a little to the north of west, winding considerably, to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, founded by the Sulṭán abovenamed. Passing close under its walls on the south side, it continues to run in the same direction to a point two *kuroh* and a half from that Ḥiṣár, to a place called Mátarsaum, where another channel branches off to Bhádaṛá. From thence it runs to Chhíní, about nine *kuroh* still farther west, where it turns south-westwards, winding considerably, to Bhádaṛá, rather more than a *kuroh* south-south-west of which the old channel from Mátarsaum again unites with it. Half way between, another old channel runs westwards, and again unites with it about two *kuroh* and a half farther down stream.

to enable him to receive a reply from his brother, the Sulṭán of Ghúr; and each of the hostile forces betook themselves to their respective positions.

Between the two hosts was a river, "the passage of which was everywhere impossible, save by means of a bridge or by boats"; and yet the historian says, that "wherever a passage was possible the place was carefully guarded by the Hindú forces. At this juncture one of the people of Hind came to Shiháb-ud-Dín, and told him that he knew of a place where the river was fordable, and would conduct him across in such wise that the Hindús would be entirely unaware of it until he should fall upon them. Shiháb-ud-Dín doubted at first whether or not some treachery was intended; but, as some of the people of Uchchh and Multán became security for the man, Shiháb-ud-Dín despatched Amír Ḥusain, son of Kharmíl, Ghúrí [the same who was previously governor of Siál Koṭ and afterwards Malik of Hirát. See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, pages 453 and 475], at the head of a strong body of troops along with the man, to cross at the place he should point out, and then fall upon the encampment of the Malikah. It so happened that the man guided Amír Ḥusain across the river in such a manner that he came upon the Hindús entirely unawares, until he had surrounded them. On this, Shiháb-ud-Dín, having obtained intimation of the success of the movement, mounted and crossed over likewise, which he was now easily enabled to do, the Hindús having abandoned the ferries [which he said before did not exist] and decamped. Shiháb-ud-Dín reached the camp of the Hindús, and made such slaughter among them that but few escaped, and the Malikah likewise perished. Such a vast amount of booty fell into the hands of the people of Islám as could not be computed; and Shiháb-ud-Dín acquired sway over the whole of the country of Hind, and all the contumacious Rájahs became submissive, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes. Shiháb-ud-Dín's slave, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, was sent to take possession of Dihlí and exercise the rule over that territory; and Muḥammad, *son* of Bakht-yár [see "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 548, and Appendix C. xiii.], with a large force of Khalj [Turks], was sent to the farthest part of Hind, in such wise that they penetrated into the borders of the territory of Chín [China], and captured some places which no Musalmáns had hitherto reached." Here we have the events of some twenty-nine years in as many lines, and not a word about Rá'í Pithorá. Such is the account contained in Ibn Aṣír, the Shámí historian; but this Malikah or female ruler is quite new, and was unknown to the native writers.

"Bhádaṛá is an ancient place, and still a large *kaṣbah*, under the sway of the Rájah of Bikánír. The river passes close under its walls on the north and east; and in rainy seasons, when it overflows its banks, which hereabouts varies in breadth from half a *kuroh* to two *kuroh* or more, it causes great damage, so much so, that, respecting it, there are two very old sayings, the first in particular, which is Hindí, is:—

جب ٹپ چتنگ بہادرا بناس

'When the Chitang begins to leap [come down with violence], it brings destruction to Bhádaṛá.'

The other, in Persian, is as follows:—

هموارہ چتنگ موجب ویرانۂ بہادرا است

'At all times the Chitang is the cause of Bhádaṛá's desolation.'

"About another *kuroh* or little more south-west of Bhádaṛá the Chitang again resumes a westerly course, and passes close under No-har on the south, six *kuroh* farther west of which it turns to the west-north-west, winding considerably in several places. Then passing close by the walls of the large village of Ganḍehlí [گنڈیہلي][462] on the south side, it makes a sharp bend to the north, and flows on to Raot-sar, distant about four *kuroh*, and situated on its southern or left bank. It then bends to the south-west for about three *kuroh*, and, after that, suddenly turns to the north-west, where another channel, on the south or left hand, appears to have separated from it, with an interval of about three *kuroh* and a half between them. This re-unites with the main channel a little over seven *kuroh* farther north-west, and runs towards the west once more for nearly six *kuroh*, when the junction of the Hakṛá or Wahindah with the channel of the Ghag-ghar takes place; and here the bed is of considerable breadth. Many small villages are situated near the banks of the Chitang all the way along, and the sites of many more are scattered about every here and there.

"Continuing to run in a south-westerly course, and winding considerably as before, it passes immediately north of Súḍar-har [سوڈرهر] or Ṣúrat Gaṛh, where it runs west again for a little over six *kuroh*, to Ulwá-nah, one *kuroh* south of which it bends towards the south-west again, passes north of Suhán Koṭ,[453] in ancient times a fortress of great size, but now completely gone to ruin, distant seven *kuroh* and a half from Súḍar-har or Ṣúrat Gaṛh, and near the southern bank. From Suhán Koṭ it runs by Jal-Mathúrá,[454] the name of a great and lofty *khák-rez*

[452] "Gandelee" of the maps.

[453] Incorrectly called "Sehwan Kot" in the maps.

[454] "Matoola" of the maps, and, of course, incorrect.

or mound, visible from a distance of three or four *kuroh*, distant from the first named place a little over seven *kuroh*, and situated on the northern bank.[455] From thence running by Joeyṛ-i-Balúchán, so called from a *joeyr* or lake dependent on rain in its bed, at the distance of another seven *kuroh*, the Manggú-Wálah *joeyr* or lake in the river bed, also dependent on rain, is reached, and three *kuroh* more to C͟húhar-har, a large village of Musalmans, with a fort built of unburnt bricks, a lake, and several wells. North-west of it, distant rather less than two *kuroh*, is Ḍubh-lí, distant six *kuroh* south-south-west from Bhaṭnír. This is a large village, and in the seasons of inundation the Ghag-ghar reaches it [at the present time, Ḍhub-lí is two miles and a half from the channel of the river]. Chúhar-har is situated in the C͟hitr-áng Zamín, and being on the border of the Bikánír and Baháwal-púr states, it sometimes pays allegiance to the Rájah of the former, and sometimes to Baháwal K͟hán. The bed of the C͟hitang from thence runs for another seven *kuṛoh* to Walh-har (وَلْهَر)[456] in the Baháwal-púr territory, which is a fort constructed of kiln burnt bricks, situated close to its northern bank, and a place of some antiquity. Here its bed becomes very broad again."

Before tracing the channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah farther, it is necessary to describe one important and peculiar feature of this great desert tract, extending from Bhaṭnír on the north, down into Sind on the south, and between Bikánír and Jasal-mir on the east, and the valley of the Mihrán of Sind on the west. One of the main feeders of the Hakṛá was the C͟hitang river, already described; and the hard ground which everywhere crops up in this great desert tract, and rings under the hoofs of a horse passing over it, is called C͟hitr-áng (چترانگ),

[455] It is now on its south bank, or south side of its channel.

[456] Now also known as Sar-dár Gaṛh. The writer on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review" refers to this place, apparently, under the name of "*Bullur*," and says that "near here is the junction of the eastern and western arms of the Sotra or Hakrá." The Ná'í Wál is merely the name of one of the ancient channels of the Sutlaj, which, like the C͟hitang, Ghag-ghar, and others, was a tributary of the Hakṛá. As I understand the words Ná'í Wál, they merely signify *the new* or *recent channel* or *stream*, referring to the change in the course of the Sutlaj.

Tod says, that "Seogurh" was the former name of Bullur, which was "one of the most ancient cities of the desert [!]," and "like Phoolra, is a Johya possession."

In this name '*b*' and '*w*,' as in others, are interchangeable, and it *might* be called and written Balh-har, but not "Bullur." The usual mode of pronouncing the name is as above. When this and other places here mentioned were in the height of their prosperity, the country was not "a desert;" for a city in a desert would not be inhabited.

but which some recent writers confound with the name of the river Chitang (چتنگ), between which two words there is no affinity whatever.

Under the head of Jasal-mír, the author of the Survey says: This Zamín-i-Chitr-áng is a waterless waste or wilderness wherein the *mirage* prevails, extending from Bhaṭnír down into Jasal-mír for a distance of some two hundred *kuroh* in length, with a breadth of about twenty-five *kuroh*, and which crops up in other directions on both sides of which are vast deserts of sand. Here, as before stated, the *mirage* prevails; and great lakes and trees appear to view, only to vanish when one approaches them. By digging in this Chitr-áng, water is obtainable, but it lies very deep, and, after all, is brackish. But few wells are sunk in these parts on account of the excess of sand, which appears like unto a vast sea. Snakes and scorpions abound; and the only trees are the *pílú* [Salvador Persica], and the *sánjí* [red jujube or *ber*]. The *pílú* grows to a large size; and the other, which in Hindústán they call *bútah-i-sánjí*, attains to about the height of a man."

In another place he says: "The surface of the ground of this tract is, for the most part, bare and even [and its surface is clear of any growth], and such ground or land they style in this locality 'Zamín-i Chitr-áng.' In former times, according to all the traditions of these parts, a great river used to flow out of the Siwálik mountains, and running through these parts used to unite with the Sind *daryá*,[457] and which was known as the Chitang, and, lower down, as the Hakṛá; and, from the time this river became obstructed, this tract of country ceased to be cultivated and to be inhabited."

"This vast tract has been called Chitr-áng on account of its hardness, and the flatness of its surface. It is also stated that part of it is the old channel of the Ghag-ghar, which runs through Sahrind, and which used to unite with the Hakṛá. In short, at the present time, the first-mentioned river does not flow much beyond Bhaṭnír, Moj Gaṛh Márúṭ, Phúlṛá, Chúhrhú or Chúhr-hú, Súdaṛ-bar, etc., are places situated in this Chitr-áng. The inhabitants of this part do not dwell in masonry houses, but in huts or shanties; and their wealth consists of a great number of cattle of different kinds."

I have said that this Chitr-áng Zamín crops up every here and there, but it seems to prevail chiefly where the channels of these dried up rivers occur, and in parts over which their waters appear to have flowed or to have spread.[458]* For example: "In going from Bikánír

[457] The Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind. See the extracts from the old 'Arab travellers, at pages 211 to 218

[458]* Tod notices this Chitr-áng Zamín, but, under a wrong name, and under the supposition that it was temporary, instead of which it is permanent. He says:

to Bhaṭnír by Mohan Gaṛh, this Chitr áng commences about eleven miles[454*] south of Súdaṛ-har, also styled Ṣúrat Gaṛh in the present day, and terminates some miles to the north-wards of that mud-built fort. The channel of the Hakṛá intervenes in this space. In proceeding from the Goṭ[455*] of Ḳá'im Khán, Ra'is between Khair-púr and Mubárak-púr, in the direction of Bikánír, you first go to Márúṭ. For the first ten *kuroh* on this route you proceed through sandy desert, but after that the Chitr-áng commences, and extends all the way to Márúṭ, crossing by the way the old channels of the Sutlaj and Hakṛá, a short distance from the south or left bank of which last named river bed Márúṭ stands, and beyond which for some distance farther the Chitr-áng extends.

"In going from Bikánír to Ajúḍḍhan, fifty *kuroh* north is Chúhar-har, and from thence thirty-five *kuroh* farther is Admírí, also called Ajmírí, after a Musalmán Jaṭ tribe; and for forty *kuroh* the route lies

"Chittram—considerable tracts of low, hard, flat, formed by the lodgment of water after rains." In a foot-note he says: "the name is literally 'The picture' from the circumstance of such spots almost constantly presenting the *mirage*, here termed *chitrám*," Vol. II, 329.

In Hindí, *chítá* is a picture or painting, from Sanskrit चित्र 'to paint,' 'draw,' but the derivation of Chitr-áng might more probably be from the Hindí *cheṭak*—'deception,' 'miracle,' etc. See also page 361, where it also crops up.

454* About six and a half *kuroh.*

455* Goṭ, in the language of Sind, Multán, and Jasal-mír, signifies literally, a station or halting place, but is now applied to a village; and in our maps, such is the confusion of tongues because a uniform, and *correct* system is not adopted, and an "official" system devised instead by some one who knew nothing of the matter, and was probably ignorant of the vernacular, that this word appears as "GOAT *Kaimrais*"—"GOTH *Kaim Raees*," and "GOTE *Kaim-rais*," in as many different maps.

In the same manner respecting the rather common name of Ghauṣ-púr (from the 'Arabic word *ghauṣ* applied to a class of Muḥammadan saints), two places of which name lie only a few miles from each other south-west of Baháwal-púr. Actually, the names are written "*Ghospoor*," "*Khospur*," "*Gaospoor*," "*Ghouspoor*" and "*Ghuspoor*" in as many different maps; and yet it is treason almost to venture to point such absurd blunders out lest the "susceptibilities" of those who make them "should be hurted." It is just the same with other names; for example, the new station in Southern Afghánistán called by the Pus'hto name of Tal, which is a verdant tract and well cultivated, and another west of Koháṭ of the same name, where water never fails and cultivation is abundant, but the map makers and Gazetteer compilers will make it "*Thal*," the Hindí name for *a sandy, water-less desert*, used in the Panj-áb and Sind, and by the Balúchís dwelling on their borders, because the compilers in question *thought* the words were all one; and so Thal—*a sandy, waterless desert*—has become the "official" names of these two *green and verdant* Afghán towns, while the Government is studiously kept in ignorance of such blunders.

over this Chitr-áng, and the last five *kuroh* is over the sandy desert, the old channels of the Hakṛá and Ná'e Wálí or Ná'e Wál intervening.

"In going from No-har,[456*] between Bhaṭnír and Bhádaṛá, on the way to Bikánír, this Chitr-áng Zamín commences near to No-har, which is situated on the north bank of the Chitang, and extends a considerable distance farther south. In another direction, in going from Jasal-mír towards Bikánír, this Chitr-áng extends all the way to Bikam-púr, the road leading across the channels of the two old feeders of the Hakṛá, which take their rise near Poh-kurn, east of Jasal-mír, and noticed at page 451.

"Then again, fifteen *kuroh* west-north-west from Walh-har, on the west bank of the Hakṛá, eastwards [about fifty-eight miles] of Moj Gaṛh, is a place called Farid-sar, where, as the last part of the name indicates,[457*] is "a large lake of brackish water; and on going from thence five *kuroh* in the same direction, the Chitr-áng Zamin terminates, and the *Registán* or sandy desert again commences. Hereabouts the *sar-áb* or *mirage* greatly prevails; and many are the *ḳáfilahs*, that, thinking they were going towards water, have perished in following after it. This Chitr-áng Zamín, as before stated, is bare and even, over which the phantasms or shadows of *jal-gáhs* [grassy plains] hover to deceive. Three *kuroh* north-north-east from this place (Faríd-sar) is Mubárak-púr." This Chitr-áng also occurs in other places near the last independent channel of the Sutlaj.

"By another route by Máhi-Wálah Bungá, and Faríd-sar above-mentioned, and ten *kuroh* north from the last named place, is Táj-i-Sarwar, commonly called Táj Sarwar; and on the way to the first named place the Chitr-áng Zamín commences near the deserted channel of the Sutlaj, and Mubárak-púr lies away distant on the left hand.

"In going from Bikánír to Baháwal-púr by Púgal, a mud-built fort under the Rájah of Birsil-púr, towards Moj Gaṛh in the territory of Baháwal-púr, the Chitr-áng Zamín commences about half way [near the present frontiers of Bikánír and Baháwal-púr], and the sandy desert ceases. Between Moj Gaṛh and Baháwal-púr again, the road lies over the Chitr-áng, but, in some places the sandy desert intervenes." This route, it must be noted, crosses the old channel of the Hakṛá, and the ancient channel of the Sutlaj between Moj Gaṛh and Baháwal-púr.

456* There is another place of this name, it must be remembered. Names ending in 'har' I believe to refer to towns or places where there were ferries or crossing places. See note 465, page 429.

457* Tod writes this word "Sirr," but Sar (Sans. सरः) is correct. He says: "Sirrs are temporary salt lakes or marshes formed by the collection of waters from the sand hills, and which are easily dammed up to prevent escape." Vol. II p. 280.

The Chitr-áng again occurs at Diláwar or Dirâwar to the southwards of U'chchh-i-Sharíf, near the north or right bank of the present channel of the Hakṛá, and extends south-eastwards by Ghauṣ Gaṛh (now, also called Rukn-púr), in the old bed of the Hakṛá, towards Birsil-púr, beyond the frontier of Bahâwal-púr, in the Bikánír state. Nearly the whole distance between Diláwar to within a few miles of Birsil-púr, a distance altogether of about fifty-six miles, is perfectly seamed with channels, plainly indicating that the Hakṛá at different periods has flowed over nearly every part of it. It is clear, that at one epoch, the river took a more southerly course by Márúṭ, Moj Gaṛh,[458] Dirâwal, Chaní-sar or Ṭibbah Chaní-sar,[459] Ghauṣ Garh, Khán Gaṛh, Wanjh-rúṭ (the "Beejnot" of the maps), and No-har or Islám Gaṛh, into the territory of Jasal-mír, and confirms the traditions prevalent respecting it. It then continued onwards towards Ḍhúnḍhár, and from thence towards Amar Koṭ in Sind. Subsequently, altering its course more to the westwards from near Márúṭ, it ran towards Tríhárah or Dín Gaṛh, and from thence towards Dirâwal and Khair Gaṛh, as will presently be more fully noticed.

The Survey from which I have been quoting, does not, I regret to say, trace the old bed of the Hakṛá farther than Walh-har, not

[458] Boileau, quoted farther on, also notices this Chitr-áng Zamín in his "Personal Narrative," but does not mention it by name. In going from Bahâwal-púr towards Ghauṣ Gaṛh, he says: "Leave Bahâwal-púr and proceed eight *kos* E. S.E. over a bad road to the little village of Poharwala. Hard ground for the first *kos* and half. Two *kos* low sand hills: last four over hard ground interspersed with light sand drifts and bushes. Then sixteen *kos* S.E. to Mojgur: tolerably hard path: the fort on firm ground, with low, sandy eminences around, but at a considerable distance; built of brick with very lofty walls about fifty feet high with a seven foot parapet: mosque with a high dome on the east side: the body of the place about one hundred and ten yards or half a furlong square with bastions: well supplied with water."

"Left Mojgur, and not going to Poogul as Elphinstone did, march twelve *kos* S. by W. to Troohawalee over a tolerably hard path." He then went to "Rukhanpoor or Ghausghar, fourteen *kos*, the path over sandy ground, with occasional hard plains called *duhar*." He then went on to Birsil-púr in Jasal-mír.

Elphinstone, who crossed from Bikánír to Bahâwal-púr, says:—"From Poogal for the fist ten or twelve miles sand, but after we reached the *hard clay*. * * * Poogal to Bahawalpur flat, hard clay, which sounded under our horses' feet like a board, and occasionally some small hills of sand formed by the sand blowing over the clay * * * the clay is destitute of vegetation."

[459] This is a very ancient site, and is mentioned in the Chach Námah. Jai Sepha son of Rá'e Dâhir, retired to this place, on the advance of the 'Arab forces against Bahman-ábád. It lies about twenty-eight miles south-east of Dirâwal, and about twenty miles west-north-west from Ghauṣ Gaṛh or Rukn-púr. See note 189, page 240, para. 5.

having been carried farther towards the frontier of Sind, although it gives several routes which crosses it by various places still on, or once on its banks.

Continuing to run in much the same direction as before, and winding considerably, the bed of the Hakṛá, at present, passes by Phúlṛá, a *ḳaṣbah* and masonry fort, with lofty walls, and surrounded by a ditch. It was formerly of considerable importance,[460] but now much decayed, once situated on its bank, but, at this day, about a mile and a quarter distant from it on the south. In the bed, about three miles to the north-wards of Phúlṛá, are the ruins of an old place called Tehrí. After making a short bend to the north-west, from the tomb of Imám S͟háh, now *in* its present bed, it again bends towards the south-west, and runs towards Márúṭ, distant from the south bank a mile and a half. Here the bed is from four to five miles in breadth. Márúṭ, it will be remembered, is mentioned by Mangútah, the Mug͟hal leader, in the account of the investment of Uch͟chh; and up to this day, after heavy rains, water still runs in the Hakṛá bed to within three or four miles of Márúṭ, which, at the time the Survey was made from which I have given these extracts, was a small town with a fort constructed of burnt bricks, standing on a *k͟hák-rez* or artificial mound about feet in height. The drifting sands since that time have encroached so much towards the west as to reach near to the top of the walls; and the town, which then carried on a considerable trade in grain, has now gone to decay, and there is no cultivation.[461] A number of routes branch off from this place in every direction, and also the most ancient channel that we know of, more towards the south.

After passing Márúṭ—a little east of which, one of the ancient channels of the Sutlaj can be distinctly traced,[462] and which river bed, appearing in our maps as the "Nyewal," and "Western Naiwal,"

[460] Masson, who passed it in 1826, says, that, "Púlarah," as he calls it, "has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water in which is an island studded with trees." This expanse of water was, of course, in the channel of the Hakṛá.

[461] That is to say, forty years since, about the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb.

[462] At least it could be distinctly traced in 1849-50, at which time, in going from Márúṭ to Baháwal-púr, you reached it about seven miles from the first named place, and there the channel was more than a mile and a half broad. It was subsequent to this being the point of junction, that the Sutlaj again moved farther westwards, between this old channel and the present Gbárah, which channel is referred to at page 400, which passes east of Bág-sar, Mubárak-púr, K͟hair-púr, Baháwal-púr, down as far as Noh-s͟hahrah, below which it united with the Hakṛá, as already mentioned at the page referred to.

formerly united with the Hakṛá a few miles lower down—the bed of the Hakṛá continues to run in much the same direction as before for just eight miles, when it bends to the south, and afterwards to the west, to Mol Gaṛh, or Moj Gaṛh as it is also called, a masonry fort, situated close to the southern bank; and immediately east of it, the bed is some four miles in breadth. Continuing in about the same direction as before, towards the west-south-west, the channel contracts again, and passes the fort of Dín Gaṛh or Tríhárah, situated rather more than a mile from the south bank. Here the channel widens again, and near the ruins of an old fort called Bárah, close to the northern bank, and for many miles away to the southward, the action of water is plainly visible over the face of the whole country. Soon after passing Dín Gaṛh the channel becomes still broader, takes a south-westerly course, passes the ruins of the Bárah fort above referred to, and reaches Diráwar or Diláwar, which is close to the southern bank. This place, also called Dirávat,[463] a vitiated form of the first name, is a fortress of great strength from its situation, where the Nawwábs of Baháwal-púr used to keep their treasures, as it was considered impregnable, but it was captured by Tímúr Sháh, the Sadozí Durráni Bádsháh, in the last century, as Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, had taken it from the Langáh Jaṭs of Multán in 1525 A. D.

Here between Dín Gaṛh or Tríhárah, and Dirávar or Diláwar, a vast change takes place in the Hakṛá bed. The channel becomes indistinct, because the whole country round, from actual survey, is filled with innumerable long banks and channels, some of the former being from two to four miles in length, and one, and sometimes more in breadth. They chiefly run parallel to the hitherto distinctly defined channel, namely, south-west, down as far as Baghlá and Ṣáḥib Gaṛh, towards the frontier of Upper Sind, a distance of one hundred and eight miles, after which, the channel becomes distinct again. Some of these banks and channels, but not running in such long, unbroken lengths, run to the south in the direction of the ancient channel referred to under, and stretch away beyond Ṭibbah Chani-sar, Ghauṣ Gaṛh or Rukn-púr,

[463] This place, together with several others lying along the course of the Hakṛá, which separated the territories of Sind and Multán from Bikánír and Jasalmír, still belonged to the Bhaṭí tribe in the middle of the last century. Tod says, "Derawal" was the capital of the Bhaṭís—of this part, probably—and taken from them by Mubárak Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah. He then adds that it was "the chief town of Khádál" belonging to the Bhaṭís.

The name is sometimes written Dhiráwal, but the above appears to be the most correct mode of writing it.

Khán Gaṛh, Wanjh-rúṭ,[464] and No-har or Islám Gaṛh,[465] towards the boundary of Bikánír as shown in the map, No. 1, a distance of upwards of one hundred and ten miles to the southward of Dín Gaṛh, where the action of water first begins to show itself.

From thence these channels—for the whole country round is seamed with them—run southwards towards Ḍhúnḍhár, through the western part of the Jasal-mír territory, some miles west of the town of that name, and immediately west of Ḍhúnḍhár, in the direction of Amar Koṭ in Sind, showing, unmistakeably, that at some remote period, and as asserted in all the traditions current in these parts, the Hakṛá or Wahindah flowed through the Jasal-mír country (on the west side), into Sind.

The next to the oldest bed of the Sutlaj approaches nearer to the bed of the Hakṛá north of Dín Gaṛh than in any other part of its course above this point. At Moj Gaṛh or Mol Gaṛh,[466] it is twenty-five miles distant on the north, while at Dín Gaṛh, only thirteen miles farther

[464] Called, formerly, Wanjh-rúṭ of Multán, it being then included within the boundary of the Multán province and territory dependent on it. In 625 H. (1227 A. D.), the district or territory of Wanjh-rúṭ was the fief of Malik Táj-ud-dín, Sanjar-i-Gajzlak Khán, a *mamlúk* or slave of Sulṭán I-yal-timish of Dihlí. Its site is described farther on. See also *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí* page 723.

Shahámat 'Alí states, that Mubárak Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah chief, who succeeded his brother, Baháwal Khán, in 1163 H. (1750 A. D.), erected a fort on the site of a fortification constructed by an infidel named Ránjah which was demolished by Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ghúrí, and which was called Wanjh-rúṭ. No such Sulṭán as 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ghúrí, ever passed the Indus, and no history says so: it is an error for Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Ghúrí, who invaded Multán and Uchchh in 571 H. (1175 A. D.), but, as above shown, Wanjh-rúṭ was the chief place of the district fifty-five years after that period. See also note 218 page 264.

[465] No-har or Islám Gaṛh is also an ancient place. It was visited by Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers in 1835, referred to previously. He says: "Halted at Nohur or Islamgurh, an ancient possession of the Bhatee family [Bhaṭí *tribe?*]. The fort is a very ancient structure built of small bricks, the area about 80 yards square, with very lofty ramparts 30 to 50 feet high. It is disadvantageously situated in a deep basin half a mile or three quarters of a mile in diameter, surrounded by sand hills from 50 to 80 feet high."

Of course, when it was built, and for centuries after, these sand hills did not exist, nor would such a place have been of any use in a howling wilderness.

[466] Moj Gaṛh is the stronghold whither the Dá'úd-pútrahs always sent their women in times of danger. This place, together with Márúṭ, Triharah, Phúlṛá, and Rukn-púr, were taken from the Bikánír Rájah about one hundred and thirty years ago by the Dá'úd-pútrahs, who were new comers in those parts, together with Diráwal or Dirávar, Islám Gaṛh, and Dín Gaṛh, from the Rájah of Jasal-mír. Shahámat 'Alí says that Dín Gaṛh was built by the first Baháwal Khán, which I think is an error; for, in some places he contradicts his own statements.

south-west, it is but fifteen miles distant; and the face of the country between indicates plainly the action of water towards Dín Gaṛh and beyond. Farther south-west, this old channel of the Sutlaj approaches still nearer to that of the Hakṛá, as will presently be shown.

Near the ruins of the fort of Khair Gaṛh, thirty-six miles and a half below Diláwar or Diṛáwar, in the midst of the long, narrow banks and channels before referred to, the old bed of the Sutlaj, which is distant only nine miles farther west, becomes less distinctly defined, and banks and channels from it, extending for many miles, become mixed up with those of the Hakṛá, until, near the forts of Baghlá and Ṣáḥib Gaṛh, twenty-four miles lower down than Khair Gaṛh, their traces merge into one, showing very clearly that they once united hereabouts at the Dosh-i-Ab, or Waters' Meet, before noticed. Near Baghlá, the channel of the Hakṛá again becomes clearly defined, and that fort, as well as Ṣáḥib Gaṛh, lies close to its right or western bank, the channel here being nearly two miles in breadth. Six miles lower down, the channel bends a little more towards the south, and afterwards resumes its general course of south-west; and under the name of "Rainee Nullah" [467] in our various maps, but known to the natives as the Wahind, Wahindah, or Hakṛá, and being from four to five miles from bank to bank, it Kanḍhárah (the Kanḍháro of the Sindís), Liárah, and Khán Gaṛh, all three forts being on its eastern or left bank, into Upper Sind. Here I will, for the present, leave it, and turn back towards the old beds of other rivers, which in by-gone times were its tributaries, and which, even now, during the rainy season, contribute some water to it.

The Sursutí, the ancient Saraswatí.

Next in rotation to the Chitang on the west is the Sursutí,[468] the ancient Saraswatí, which, like the first named river, rises in the

467 Styled "Nullah," perhaps, because, in some places, the channel or river bed is some four or five miles broad; and never less, I believe, up to this point at least, than a mile broad.

468 The "Soorsuttee Nud" of the maps. The tract of country lying on either side of the banks of the Sursutí or Saraswatí, extending from Thání-sar to Se-wan, six miles N. N. W. of Kaithal, and embracing a circuit of about sixty *kuroh*, is the most sacred part of Hind from the Hindú point of view, and was known as Bramhá-warta, or the abode of the gods. Herein, likewise, the Pánḍús and the Kúrús met in battle, hence it is known as Kur-Khet or Kúr-Khet, and Kúr-Chhatr. Abú-l-Faẓl says that this battle, the subject of the Mahá-Bharata, took place just 4831 years before the last year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, which would be just 6721 years ago, or only 827 years before the world was created according to the chronology of our Bible, a mere trifle in Hindú chronology. This sacred part of the Hindús contains upwards of three hundred and sixty places of worship or devotion, and the most sacred of them all are Thání-sar and Pehú'á.

Siwálik range, and arises from the overflow of waters in the hills between Náhún[469] and Saḍhúrá. From ancient times, a peculiarity of this river is, that a few miles from its source, it disappears for a time from the surface in its sandy bed, and again appears. This it does two or three times in the present day, and, during this temporary disappearance, is supposed to unite with the C̲h̲itang, until after re-appearing at last at Baṛah Kheṛah, it flows on uninterruptedly. Its course, lower down, has undergone vast changes during the lapse of centuries,[470] and in modern times was also known as the Súkhh Sutí (سوکهه ستي). In the last century when the Survey I have been quoting was made, it passed half a *kuroh* north and west of Muṣṭafá-ábád, two *kuroh* east of Babain,[471] north of Tháni-sar, and south of Pehú'á;[472] for in going from thence to Kaithal by Gumthailá, you crossed the Sursutí from Pehú'á over a masonry bridge. It then took a course more directly towards the south-west than it does at present; and its old bed can be distinctly traced from Pehú'á to Furis Májrá,[473] and within four *kuroh* of Ṭihwánah,[474] down to Ban-

Lassen says, "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra *south* [sic] of the Sarasvatí and *north* of the Dṛishadvatí [which is entirely out of the sacred part], dwell in heaven." The doctors disagree, however, here. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts' (II, 338), says, that the Hindús attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, the Sarasvatí is the *western* boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahminical laws."

Here he is somewhat mistaken, because the "Dṛishadvatí" flows *West* of the Sarasvatí," and the sacred tract lay between the two rivers. This statement of Muir here, even by his own account at page 397, is wrong. There he says: "It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmávertta *between the Sarasvatí and the Dṛishadvatí*, alluded to in the classical passage in Manu II, 17–24, must have been for a considerable time the seat of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages."

According to the Hindú legends, the Saraswatí was the one only river which flowed on pure from the mountains to the sea, in which case it could not have joined the C̲h̲itang or the Ghag-ghar, nor have been a tributary to the Hakṛá, which it was, or at least, along with the C̲h̲itang formed it. Some, however, consider the passage to be entirely allegorical, and that the Saraswatí being the goddess of sacrifice, with her libations, the *samudra* (the sea) is merely typical of the vesse destined to receive the libations.

According to the same writer (p. 399), (quoting Manu II, 17–24), "The tract fashioned by the gods which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Dṛishadvati, is called Brahmávartta."

469 The "S̲h̲ahr-i-Sirmor" of history.

470 See note 451, page 418, respecting A'ẓim-ábád-i-Taláwaṛí.

471 "Babyn" of the maps.

472 "Pihooa," and "Pehowah," of the maps and Gazetteers.

473 "Farrus Majra" and "Faras" of different maps.

474 "Tohanuh" in the maps.

húrah,[476] a little more than eight *kuroh* south-south-west of Ṭihwánah. It passed Banhúrah a *kuroh* and a half on the east, where the channel becomes indistinct, but north of Chhini, on the north bank of the present channel of the Chitang. About twenty-eight miles in the same direction from Banhúrah, where it becomes indistinct, it can be again plainly traced until its junction with the Chitang a short distance west of Bhádaṛá, where the united streams formed and received the name of Hakṛá. The Ghag-ghar was never called Sursutí, and only those unaware of these facts could have imagined that it was so.[477] These rivers, the Chitang and the Sursutí had no connection in former times with the Ghag-ghar, until they united with it upwards of twenty miles south-west of Bhaṭnír.

At the close of the last century, when this Survey was made, when the Sursutí became flooded, the cultivators of Kaithal, which belonged to the Mandaṛ Afgháns (a colony of that division of the Khas'hís settled here from the time of the Afghán rulers), used to cut the *band* or dyke of the river at Pehú'á, and bring water to their lands round about Kaithal. "A little to the north-west of Harnolah, on the route from Kaithal by Agúnd to Samánah," the Survey says, "the great river Sursutí is crossed, which, on ordinary occasions, contains but little water, and shortly afterwards two other branches of it have to be passed." Now there is but one channel; but two large lakes, about two miles or more farther west, indicate where these branches formerly flowed.

Another old channel of the Sursutí can be traced between that just described and the present main channel, which runs within just two miles and a quarter of Ṭihwánah, and is lost again eleven miles and a half south of the last named place. It branches off three miles and a

[476] "Buhoonah" of the maps.

[477] Cunningham, in the maps to his "Ancient India," numbers V and VI, indicates correctly the course of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, but, in the first map calls it the "*Nudras Fl.*," and in the second, the "*Sotra* or *Chitrang R.*;" and he does not indicate the Ná'í Wálí branches—the old Sutlaj beds—merely the Chitang, which he, like some others, incorrectly calls "*Chitráng*" (which refers to a part of the great desert already explained), and the Háríárí or Ghárah under the usual incorrect name of "*Satlej.*" The names "Sotra," "Sodrah," and "Sothaur," as the name is written in different maps, and by different English writers, is applied by them to the Ghag-ghar not to the Chitang at all. See page 439, and note 489, and note 423, page 403, para. 2.

In a recent "Settlement Report of the Hissar District," we are told, that, in days of "Shams *Shiraz* the Ghaggar was called the Saraswati." It may have so at "Shiráz," but it was never so called in Hind, because they are totally different rivers. See note 218, page 264.

half east of the present (or late) point of junction with the Ghag-ghar mentioned in the next paragraph.

At the present time, the Sursutí unites with the Ghag-ghar near Rasúlah, twenty miles north-east of Ṭihwánah, and fourteen miles and a half west-north-west of Kaithal, or eight miles or so west of the course it formerly took to unite with the Ghag-ghar.

Another change in the courses of the rivers of these parts is indicated by that of the Márkanḍah, which formerly, after reaching Thaská from the direction of Sháh-ábád, ran west to Kuhṛám, and, after passing one *kuroh* south if it, united with the Ghag-ghar. At the present time it turns off before reaching Thaská, runs to the south, and unites with the Sursutí about two *kuroh* or three miles and a half east of Pehú'á.

THE GHAG-GHAR, THE ANCIENT DṚISHADWATÍ.

I now come to the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries. The course of the Ghag-ghar[477]* river has probaby changed oftener than that of any other of these parts; and its shiftings, no doubt, had a deal to do with the drying up of the Hakṛá. The author of the Survey says, "the Ghag-ghar is now a rain-formed river [that is, dependent on rain], and very famous in the parts through which it flows. Its exact source has not been determined, but it comes from Kahlúr; and it is related, that, having flowed past Bhaṭnír, in by-gone times, it used

[477]* This river is styled "*Cuggur*" by Dow and Briggs, although there is no such letter as c in the Persian, in which Firishtah's history is written, nor is there in Sanskrit or Hindí. Elphinstone, who quotes Briggs, makes the matter still worse by writing it, in his "History of India," "*Cágar;*" and Rennell writes it "*Cagga.*"

The word in the original form is گهگّر, the second '*g*' being doubled.

In the "Memoirs of George Thomas" it is stated (p. 164) with respect to the course of the "*Cuggur,*" as the author of the "Memoirs" styles the Ghag-ghar, that, "during Mr. Thomas's residence at *Batnier*, he could perceive little vestige of what is called the *antient bed* of this river, but from the scanty information he procured, it appeared to him that the river, *tho' it formerly ran along the south side of the fort*, its channel had been choaked up by vast quantities of earth forced down from the mountains, and according to the prevailing opinion of the natives, tho' now lost in the sands, west of the city, it formerly extended as far as the Sutlege which it joined in the vicinity of Ferozpore."

The author of the "Memoirs" appears to have reversed Thomas's meaning, since in the map to the "Memoirs," the Sutlaj is made to run southwards *from* near Fírúz-púr into the Hakṛá, which it once did, but from a point a long way to the east of Fírúz-púr.

In another place it is stated, that the country of the Bhaṭís "extends along the banks of the *Cuggur* from the town of *Futtahbad* to that of *Batnier*. The soil is uncommonly productive, which arises in a great measure from *the immense bo-*

to unite with the Sind on the frontiers of Jasal-mír,[478] but, for a long period it has become obstructed and blocked up." The writer here, of course, refers to the Ghag-ghar and Hakṛi united, and when the Ghag-ghar was not entirely dependent on rain.[479] This river arises from the overflow of water in the rainy season from the Siwálik range near Pinjor, on the north and west of the tract wherein the Chitang and Sursuti take their rise. It then ran towards the south, passed east of Múni Májrá and west of Rám Gaṛh, then turned south-west, and reached the *kaṣbah* or bázár town of Banhúr,[480] below the walls of which it flowed. So far, the changes in its course do not seem to have been very great; but, about four or five miles above Banhúr, another rain-fed river, the Unbhalá (انبهله), now branches off to the south-west towards Anbálah, which river will be presently noticed.

From Banhúr the Ghag-ghar ran more to the south-south-west, and passed about two miles, or a little over, west of Mughal Sará'e; and crossed the present line of railway near a place which still preserves its name, namely Ghag-ghar Sará'e,[481] about eight miles and a half to the north-westwards of Anbálah.

Now it passes less than two miles west of that place.

From Ghag-ghar Sará'e it ran away in a direction about south-west passing near Chappar and Fatḥ-púr on the east, and midway between the latter place and Bhunareṛí, winding considerably in some places; then turning a little more westerly, it ran on towards Samánah, and washed some of the buildings of that place on the east side. The Survey account says, in proof of this, that, "in going from Banhúr to Paṭiálah by way of Rám-púr, Madan-púr, Ujráwar, and Kheri,[482] the

of water descending from the mountains during the rainy season, thus causing the banks of the river to overflow to an extent of several miles "

At page 7 of the article on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review," the writer says, that, "the old river bed *now* [sic] known as the Gaggar, in which flows the stream of that name, according to tradition, was originally the bed of the Satlej." The tradition so called must have been misunderstood: the so called "Eastern Nyewal" must have been meant; and the "*old* river bed *now* known as the Gaggar," that is the Ghag-ghar, is as old as the hills.

478 See page 450.

479 See note 485, page 438.

480 "Boonoor" of the maps. See following note 485, page 438.

481 The merchants, Steel and Crowther, quoted in note 357, page 354, who passed the Ghag-ghar two hundred and seventy-five years ago — in 1614–15 A. D.—mention it as follows: "Mogall Será or Gaugar, on the route from Shahabad to Sunam."

482 This word continually occurs in the names of places in these parts, generally in conjunction with another word, sometimes following, sometimes preceding. It means a village, from Sanskrit खेट. Another form of the word is Kheṛá. In

Ghag-ghar had to be crossed in two places by the way. In this neighbourhood, and farther north, it used, in former times, to cause great destruction from overflowing its banks, but now, save and except a contemptible channel, nothing else remains.

"At that period, likewise, the route between Anbálah and Samánah, three *kuroh* distant from Kuhṛám, used to become so flooded from the overflow of the Ghag-ghar, that it became entirely closed."

The distance between Kuhṛám and Samánah is seventeen miles, and there were then as now, many villages between. Now, the Ghag-ghar flows four or five miles farther eastward, and after passing within four miles or more of Kuhṛám, flows towards the south-west, and unites with a river which appears in our maps as the "Konsilla N." or "Puttealuh river," but, at the period in question, it was not known.

In going from Paṭiálah to Kuhṛám by Fatḥ-púr, Sunnúr, and Bhunareṛí, the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed between Fatḥ-púr and Bhunareṛí; but, now, it flows more than two miles and a half on the other or south side of the last-named place.

Proceeding from Agúnd to Samánah[485] by way of Ujhh and Sehún

our maps it is sometimes "Kheruh," sometimes "Khera," and "Kheree;" and, in some places, all three variations of the word, after this fashion, will be found written almost adjoining each other. See note 230, page 269, and note 455,* page 424

[485] I may mention that Hánsí, Samánah, Sunám, Kuhṛám, and Sarastí, or Sirsá of the present time, particularly Hánsí and its dependencies, were some of the most important fiefs of the Dihlí kingdom, as may be gathered from the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." This fact also shows that they must have been far more flourishing at that period than they were in the time of Akbar Badshah. In former times there was no scarcity of water, and then these parts were in very prosperous condition, and contained a far greater number of inhabitants, as the numerous ruined sites confirm.

Ibn Baṭúṭah says Sarastí, when he went thither from Uboh-har, was a large city, and abounded with rice, which the people carried to Dihlí for sale. Hánsí, his next stage, he says, was a fine, well, and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. Then he went on to Mas'úd-ábád.

In the time of the last Shamsíáh Sulṭáns of Dihlí, Hánsí was held by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, afterwards Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban. It was a very ancient and strong place, and was captured in 427 H. (1035-36 A.D.), by Sulṭán Mas'úd, the Martyr. This was one hundred years or more before the time of "Rae Pithaura" who, we are told, "is supposed to have founded it."

In the last century it was totally depopulated and ruined. On the north side of the city and adjoining it was a high *tall* or mound, and on its summit the remains of a strong fortress also in ruins. Within the fortress is the shrine of Shaikh Jamál, Hánsawí, who was one of the orthodox disciples, and the successor of that Sulṭán-uz-Záhidín, Shaikh Faríd, the saint of Ajúḍḍhan, and on the saint's day is visited by thousands of people. To the north of the fort there is a great lake some three or four *kuroh* in length, and nearly as broad. The cause of the desolation of this place

Májrá, two miles and a half north-east of Agúnd and Marorhí, two branches of the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed; but now, there is but one branch. Likewise, in going from Agúnd to Sunám westwards by Ujhh and Nanherá, a distance of four miles and a quarter, in the time of the Survey, the Ghag-ghar was crossed mid-way between these two places; but now, even the "Old Ghuggur Nud" of the maps is crossed less than a mile west of Ujhh, and the present channel is a little over a mile and half east of Nanherá.

is said to have been the great famine of the year 1179H. (1782-83 A.D.) It was the capital of George Thomas's short lived principality.

"When this place went to decay, merchants and traders began to take up their quarters in the *karyah* of Nangálí (ننگالی) (the "Mingalee," "Mangalee," and "Buleealee" of as many different maps), and made it thereby the envy of the other towns of this part. It is five *kuroh* to the south-east of Hánsí."

Sultán Mas'úd had captured Sarastí, the modern Sirsá, in the year 425 H. (1033–34 A. D.); and in 427 H. (1035–36 A. D.), he moved against Hánsí, having, when very ill, vowed he would undertake a holy war against the infidels, if he recovered. Hánsí was a fortress of vast strength, and considered impregnable by the Hindús. In six days, however, one of the bastions was thrown down, leaving a practicable breach, and the Musalmán troops rushed in and captured it. This was in the beginuing of the year 428 H. (it began 24th October, 1036 A. D.); and a great deal of booty fell into their hands.

After this Sultán Mas'úd moved against the fortress of Soní-paṭ (north of the city of Dihlí), which was the stronghold and residence of Deobál (Dewa-Pála, probably) of Hariánah. On the Sultán's approach, Deobál retired to the *jangals* with his numerous forces, leaving the garrison to defend the place. It was captured, however, and sacked, and its idol-temples given to the flames. A spy having brought information of Deobál's whereabouts, he was surprised by the Musalmán troops, defeated, and put to flight.

After this the Sultán left his son, Abú-l-Mujallá-i-Majdúd, governor of Láhor and his territories farther east.

Soon after Sultán, 'Abd-ul-Fatḥ-i-Maudúd, had avenged the assassination of his father, Sultán Mas'úd, in 433H. (1041-42 A.D.), and he had himself been worsted by Sultán Alb-Arsalán, the Saljúḳ, in his endeavours to recover Khurásán from the Saljúḳs, the Musalmáns of the territory of Láhor and its dependencies,—who in Sultán Mas'úd's reign, had crushed the rebellion of their then governor, Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín, who, as elsewhere related, was drowned in the Mihrán of Sind near Manṣúriyah, but had thrown off their allegiance to Sultán Maudúd—found themselves about to be attacked by three of the most powerful of the Rájahs of Hind, who had combined to recover Láhor and its territory from the Muḥammadans, who now marched to Láhor and invested it. The ringleaders in this act of disloyalty, now thought it advisable to renew their allegiance, which secured to Sultán Maudúd the services of all the Musalmán soldiery in that province; and two of the Rájahs, out of fear of Sultán Maudúd, determined to relinquish this enterprise against Láhor, and retired into their own territories again. But one more rash than the others, named Deobál of Hariánah, stayed behind for a

"At present," says my Survey account, "the channel having passed by Chapar, Fatḥ-púr, and between the latter place and Bhunareṛí, about a *kuroh* farther south-west, the tributaries of the Ghag-ghar [presently to be noticed], unite with it, after which it is also known as the Panch Nadí, and lower down towards Ṭihwánah[484] as the Gájí Wá-hah as well. From this place of junction, the Ghag-ghar or Panch Nadí

short time, thinking, that if the Musalmáns ventured out, he might be able to overthrow them. They considering themselves now strong enough, did so, encountered him, overthrew him with great slaughter, and put him to flight, killing great numbers in the pursuit. Deobál fled, and shut himself up in a strong fortress which he possessed, and in it he was invested by the victors. The name of the place is not mentioned, but is said to have been small, although very strong; and the Rájah had brought thither along with him such a number of followers, that famine began to stare them in the face. He had, therefore, to sue for terms, but the Musalmáns would agree to nothing short of his surrendering up all his fortified places to them, and he was obliged to comply. He obtained quarter; but the property and wealth contained in these strongholds, which was very great, fell into the hands of the people of Islám, and 5,000 persons of that faith, detained as captives by the Rájah, Deobál of Hariánah, who, in pomp and power exceeded all the other Maliks of Hind, were, incorporated with the Muḥammadan army.

This Rájah appears to be the same as the one referred to in Sulṭán Mas'úd's time, but the names are differently written, the first mentioned being plainly ديبال Diobál, probably Dio-pál—and the other دوبال without points, which may be Do-bál, or Do-pál, or even Do-tál, or Do-yál. If one and the same Rajáh is not referred to, the latter must be the son, or the successor of the former, but they probably refer to one and the same person.

After finishing this affair, the Musalmáns marched against the other Rájah, who was named Mát Márí. He sallied forth from his stronghold to encounter them; and although they did not amount to more than a tenth of the number he brought against them, they defeated and slew him, with the loss of some 5,000 men killed, and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands. The rest of the neighbouring Maliks of Hind, having become aware of this disaster, agreed to pay tax and tribute; and thus they saved themselves from the swords of the people of Islám. Sulṭan Maudúd died on the 20th Rajab, 441 H. (about the end of January, 1050 A.D.), at which time his son, Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-Muḥammad, held the government of Láhor and its dependencies.

[484] Ṭihwánah, in Akbar Bádsháh's reign (written "Tohánah" in Blochmann's text) was a *maḥáll* of the *sarkár* of Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, and had a fort of kiln-burnt brick. Its revenue amounted to 4,694,354 *dáms*, with free grants amounting altogether to 150,680 *dáms*. The people were Afgháns of the Núḥární or Lúḥání tribe, who had to furnish 400 horsemen, and 3,000 foot for militia purposes. It is probable that some Afgháns have been located in these parts ever since the time of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-dín, Balban, who was the first of the great feudatories of the Dehlí kingdom who took Afgháns into pay. But this was not "in the sixth century A.D. in the time of Anang Pál Tunur Rája of Dehli," as some tell us. It is said, in history, to have been founded by Rájah Ṭihwán Pál son of Abí Pál.

takes a more south-westerly course, and winding in several places by the way, reaches Samánah on the east side close to the walls of the place.[485] It then takes a course nearly south towards Nanheṛá and Bádsháh-púr; separates into three channels east of Nanheṛá, two of which pass between that place and Sehún Májrá farther east [about two *kuroh* north of Agúnd], and the third east of Sehún Májrá; after which they take a more south-westerly course again, and, subsequently, more towards the south-west, and reuniting, and bending and winding considerably, pass towards Múng Ãlá."

Now, the Ghag-ghar is, at its nearest point, six miles or more from Samánah to the south-east. At the period in question the Ghag-ghar flowed within six miles and a half of Paṭiálah; now it is distant between eleven and twelve miles east and south-east of that city. At the same period, it passed eight miles west of Anbálah, while now it is but two.

At the time of this Survey likewise, after passing the Suwetí on the way from Bádsháh-púr, above referred to, on the road to Múng Ãlá, a little over twelve *kuroh* towards the south-west by way of Duhanḍál, Rá'e Dhiráná, and Ḍúdián, you cross the Ghag-ghar twice."

Now, the Suwetí or Chhú-hey runs three miles east of Rá'e Dhiráná, and a mile and half east of Ḍúdián, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Ãlá; while an old channel of the river, called the 'Old Ghuggar Nud" in the maps, is nine miles and a half east of Rá'e Dhiráná, and the present channel two miles and a half still farther east. The Sursutí now unites with the Ghag-ghar seventeen miles and a quarter to the north-eastwards of Múng Ãlá; but, when this Survey was made, it flowed some six or seven miles

485 When Bábar Bádsháh invaded Hindústán, the Ghag-ghar flowed under the walls of Samánah, and from thence to Sunám. He says, in his Tuzúk, that, "Marching from Sarhind towards Anbálah, "we alighted on the banks of the river of Banúr [Banhúr—foreigners always drop the 'h' in Hindí words] and Sannúr. In Hindústán, apart from the *daryás* (great rivers) there is one running stream, and this they call the Ãb-i-Gaggar (Ghag-ghar). Chhat (the "Chuth" of the maps), likewise, is situated on the bank of this river." The Bádsháh set out, up stream, to view the country, and says, that, "three or four *kuroh higher up* than where this river issues forth, there is another stream, its tributary, which issues from a wide, open *darah*, which contains a volume sufficient to turn four or five water-mills." It was such a pleasant spot that he gave directions to form a garden there on its banks. Then he says: "This stream having entered the plains and flowed for a distance of a *kuroh* or two, unites with the river Gaggar (Ghag-ghar), the point at which the latter issues [from the hills] being three or four *kuroh* lower down. In the rainy season, a great volume of water comes from this channel, and unites with the Gaggar (Ghag-ghar), which flows on to Samánah and Sunám." Compare "Elliot's Historians" (Vol. IV, page 249) here, containing the Editor's version of "Tuzak-i-Bábarí." It is a dangerous practice *to leave out what is not understood,*

farther east than its present place of junction with the Ghag-ghar, and its old bed can be distinctly traced. At the period in question it did not unite with the Ghag-ghar at all, but passing Ṭihwánah about six miles and a half on the east, ran away towards the south-south-west, and united with the Chitang a little west of Bhádaṛá; and the two rivers then lost their name, and the united channels were known as the Hakṛá or Wahindah, as already stated.[486]

"In going from Kaithal towards Múng Ælá by Sher Gaṛh and Gulá-har, the Ghag-ghar passes the latter place close under its walls. Five *kuroh* farther down is Manḍohí, and the river passes north of it," but now, it is close to it on the west; and beyond Makoḍaṛ, some four miles lower down, and about three miles and a half south-east of Múng Ælá, the Suwetí or Chhú-hey unites with the Ghag-ghar, which then separates into two branches as before mentioned.

In going from Múng Ælá to Fatḥ-ábád, at the same period, in the direction of south-west, you first went "two *kuroh* and a half south-south-west to Hanḍhah,[487] on the bank of the Ghag-ghar, and in the Jamál-púr *parganah;* and, after that, four *kuroh* farther in the same direction to Ḥaidar-Wálah on the other side of the river; and half-way between those two places the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed. From thence you had to go five *kuroh* to Shukr-púr,[488] which was also on the banks of the Ghag-ghar, which ran close by it on the right hand (north)." Now, you have to cross one channel of that river from Múng Ælá to reach Hanḍhah; and both it and Ḥaidar-Wálah are close to the west bank of another channel, and Shukr-púr is at present some two miles from the banks of the Ghag-ghar. Moreover, in 1821, when Captain John Colvin of the Honourable Company's Engineers surveyed these rivers, the present southern-most of the two

without mentioning it. On this occasion the Bádsháh's son, Humáyún, was despatched from the right wing of his army to Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, some ninety miles S. S. W., against the Afghán troops there, but from Mr. Dowson's version it would appear that Humáyún was with his father all the time. Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, the revenue of which was estimated at a *karoṛ* (of *tangahs?*) was sacked, and was afterwards conferred upon Humáyún, together with a *karoṛ* in money.

Chhat (mis-called "Chuth" in the maps) was a *mahál* of the *sarkár* of Sahrind in Akbar Bádsháh's reign; its revenue amounted to 750,944 *dáms*, and free grants computed at 49,860 *dáms;* the people were Afgháns and Ráj-púts; and they had to furnish 650 horsemen, and 1100 foot for militia purposes.

[486] See page 422, and compare the "Calcutta Review" article which makes it no to the Ghag-ghar instead.

[487] Turned into "Handee" in the maps.

[488] This is the place called "Shikohpoor" in the maps, and not that called "Shukoorpoor," twelve miles south-west of Múng Ælá.

channels passing between Múng Alá and Ṭihwánah,[489] was lost (or, at least, is not marked in his map), a mile and a half south-west of Hanḍhah. Lower down again, in going from Múng Alá by Ṭihwánah to Baṛ-Wálah nearly due south, it was necessary to go two *kuroh* and a half in that direction to Rám-púr, and to pass the Ghag-ghar, which flowed under its walls. Now, you have to cross two channels, and the second one nearly a mile *before* reaching Rám-púr. Jamál-púr, an ancient place, likewise, was then one *kuroh* east of the Ghag-ghar, but now it is two miles and a half distant from its southern-most channel.

[489] For some miles north of Ṭihwánah in Hariánah, where the Ghag-ghar separates into two branches, and from thence westwards towards Sirsá, the villages and lands lying along the banks of the northern channel are known by the general name of Sot-har or Sotá-har, so called from the Sanskrit स्रोतः *sot* or *sota* signifying, 'a spring,' 'a stream' 'a river,' but the river Ghag-ghar is not called by that name save in the sense of 'the river.' These *sot-har* lands are very productive and yield two harvests yearly, the autumnal one being rice. Sarsutí or Sirsá produced much rice in Ibn Baṭúṭah's time (see page 264). On the other hand, the villages lying along the banks of the southern channel are known as the Ḍában villages, on account of the abundance of a species of grass known in Hindí as *ḍáb* (a sacrificial grass—*poa cynosuroides*) growing along its banks.

In the Fírúz-púr district the broad belt of sandy soil covered with hillocks, of from two to three miles in breadth, lying along one of the old channels of the Satlaj, is called "*sot-har*" or "*sot-hara.*" See note 477, page 432, and note 423, page 403.

Hariánah, especially its western and southern parts about Fatḥ-ábád, the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, Tohsham, and Bhawání, the parts nearest to Bikánír and Jasal-mír, is called *Bánjar* - بانجر - or *Banjar* - بنجر - from Sanskrit बंध्या in which there is no '*g*,' but the word has become vitiated, and this part is called *Bángar* by those who do not know the derivation of the word. The term means 'lying waste,' 'dry,' 'arid,' 'thirsty,' etc. These parts contain sand hills, and are subject to violent dust storms, so violent, indeed, that very often after one of these storms, the seed sown by the cultivator is covered and spoiled. In some places villages have been abandoned on account of the wells becoming filled up from the same cause.

From fifteen to twenty-five miles towards the south from Suháṇí (the "Sewanee" of the maps) and the Bikánír border, in place of sand hills there are some bare rocky hills, which rise like islands from the sandy tract, but they do not rise to any great height, the highest not exceeding eight hundred feet or thereabouts. The town of Tohsham stands on the northern skirt of the highest of them. These appear to be the hills referred to by Ibn Baṭúṭah on his way from Uboh-har to Dihlí. See page 264.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient India," (page 247), says: "the country of which Bikaner is now [!] the capital was originally called *Bâgar des*—the land of the Bâgri or Warriors, whose leader was Bâgri Rao. If so, it would be "*Bâgri des*, not "*Bâgar des*;" but it will be seen that he has merely "identified" the word *bánjar*, or rather the vulgar form *bángar*, above referred to, for "a warrior" (we are not told when the "leader, Bâgri Rao," flourished), and that the "Bâgri warriors" are sand hills. "Hariánah," herein referred to, the Survey record states,

"To the south of Múng Ḱlá," according to my Survey account, "is the river called the Chhú-hey (چهوهي). Some say it is the Paṭíálah river, which passes one *kuroh* west of Samánah, and unites with the Ghag-ghar, and, that in the district and neighbourhood of Samánah, they call it the Suwetí; but, according to the most trustworthy accounts, it is the Ghag-ghar, the waters of which, through the closing of the *band* or dyke of Jamál-púr in this same district, spread out [in that direction]."[490]

The closing of this *band* or dyke appears to have tended to the formation of the present southern-most of the two channels into which the Ghag-ghar now separates east of Múng Ḱlá; for, at the time of the Survey here quoted, "the Ghag-ghar," it is stated, "flows towards the west in *one* channel, and winding considerably, to Rutíah, situated close to its south bank, and Kulotah, close by on the north."[491]

"is a dependency of Dihlí, and they likewise call it *Bánjar*, that is to say *Khushk* [signifying, in Persian, and used in the Urdú dialect], dry, arid, etc., (see preceding note 489)," but *harí*, from which the name is supposed to be derived, is from Sanskrit, and that signifies 'green,' etc.. Haríánah extends in length from Bahádur Gaṛh to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár more than one hundred *kuroh* in length, and in breadth, from the river Ghag-ghar to Mewáṭ, about the same distance. It contains excess of sandy waste and uncultivated tracts and *jangal*. It is not usual to build fortifications, forts, or walled towns, or villages, but around each inhabited place they set up branches of thorns to about twice the height of a man, dig a ditch around it, and consider this sufficient. In defending such places these people manifest great bravery.

"The inhabitants are Jaṭs, Gújars, Ránghars, Aṛá'íns, Háns, and Afgháns. The latter began to settle here during the rule of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk ruler of Dehlí, who was the first to entertain Afgháns in his pay, and, subsequently, during the time of Afghán rulers. On account of the difficult nature of the country these tribes have become rebellious to the authority of any ruler [that was when the author wrote, about a century ago], and are a source of trouble and difficulty on account of their lawlessness and excesses. * * * Without a force of cavalry, this territory cannot be brought under control [See following note 498]. Jíndh, Hánsí, Ḥiṣár Fírúzah or the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, Agrohah, Fatḥ-ábád, Jamál-púr, Ṭihwánah, Kaithal, Miham, Bhawání, Chirkhí, Dádri, Bírí, Nángálí, Kharkhodá, Jajh-har Rohtak, Kohánah, Bainsí, etc., are its principal towns. Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, Hánsí, Agrohah, Fatḥ-ábád, Jamál-púr, Ṭihwánah, and some other places in that direction, are in a state of ruin and desolation through the rapine of the Sikhs, and the tyranny and lawlessness of the Bhaṭís."

490 At the present time (that is, when the "Indian Atlas" map was made) the Chhúhey passes two miles and a half east of Múng Ḱlá, and unites with the Ghag-ghar about the same distance south-east of that place, and just two miles west of Makoḍaṛ ("Mukodur" of the maps), immediately north of which the Ghag-ghar flowed, and still flows.

491 It now passes south of it.

From thence it runs to Ḍunḍhál,[492] a little before reaching which, it turns to the south-westwards, and runs on towards Sirsá, which it passes a little over four *kuroh* on the west, and close under the walls of Jhorur and Dhunor, situated on the right or north bank. Hereabouts the bed becomes very broad, and the waters to spread out for nearly a *kuroh* or more farther eastwards. The channel passes within a short distance—about a quarter of a *kuroh*—south of the ancient Fírúz-ábád;[493] and water is to be found for a long way farther west to near Bhiráj kí Ṭibbí,[494] and considerable quantities of wheat are cultivated. From Fírúz-ábád westwards the channel becomes very broad, and runs a little to the north of west to Bhiráj kí Ṭibbí, which lies close to the south bank, a little north of which the channel of the C̱huwwá (چوّا)[495] from the north-westwards joins it; and the united channel runs to Bhaṭnír, distant six *kuroh* from the afore-mentioned Ṭibbí, and passes under the walls of that ancient fortress on the north side."

The Ghag-ghar appears to have changed but little hereabouts for some thirty years; for, at the time of Captain John Colvin's Survey, the channel was found to be much the same[496] as noted in my Survey record, but, at the present time, after passing Ẕaffar-ábád, close to its south bank, and thirteen miles south-east of ancient Fatḥ-ábád, there are several large *ḍhands* or lakes of standing water. Seven miles west of the first-named place, this southern-most of the two channels becomes well defined, and runs nearly due west, passing under the walls of the ancient town and fort of Sirsá[497] on the south, and unites with the

492 "Doodhal" of the maps.

493 Now, the other, or southern channel, unites some distance farther south.

Water is to be found in the Ghag-ghar in several places between Múng Álá and Fírúz-ábád.

494 All the villages of this part, nearly, and the old ones in particular, are situated on mounds, hence the constant use of the Hindí words *ṭibbah* and *ṭibbí*, signifying a 'mound,' 'height,' 'rising ground;' and this fact indicates anything but scarcity of water.

495 Called the "War N." in the maps, immediately north of Sirsá; but, above Sunám it appears as the "Choeea Nud," as though a totally different river!

496 But it may have changed and re-changed its course several times in the interim.

In days gone by, it flowed without interruption from the hills, but, in more recent times, a good deal of its water was drawn off for irrigation purposes. At the present time, the greater portion is drawn off for that purpose; but, even now, when the river is in flood, the current is too dangerous for boats. Except on rare occasions, it is fordable everywhere almost.

497 The Á'ín-i-Akbarí says that near Sirsá is a *kol-i-áb* or lake, the name of which is Bhádará. This seems to have disappeared.

northern channel two miles and a half east of Fírúz-ábád. From thence the united channels take a course more towards the west-south-west, towards Bhiráj kí Ṭibbí[498] and Bhaṭnír, as abovementioned; and it still passes, as in times gone by, close under the walls of the old fortress on the north side.

From Bhaṭnír, in former times, as at present, the channel took a south-westerly course; but, according to my Survey information, it passed at the period referred to, "close under the village of Fatḥ Gaṛh or Beghor on the west." Near to Ḍubh-lí,[499] the chief town and residence of the Wálí of Bhaṭnír, two *kuroh* west-north-west of Fatḥ Gaṛh, there are *kolábs*, *ḍhanḍs*, or lakes, which are filled in the rainy season when the Ghag-ghar is flooded, the river at such times, even now, reaching this point which is between five and six *kuroh* south-west of Bhaṭnír. From the afore-mentioned Fatḥ Gaṛh it passed also close to the village known as Bhárá Mal ke Bhauṇrá,[500] also on the east bank, immediately west of which the channel of the Hakṛá passed close to the said Bhauṇrá on the south, which is just twenty-three miles and a half from Bhaṭnír. At, and near the point of junction, there were numerous long, narrow banks with dry channels between, the effect of changes in the courses of the two rivers caused by inundations.

At the present time the bed of the Ghag-ghar runs a little more west from Fatḥ Gaṛh than previously; and the junction with the Hakṛá channel is now more than two miles farther east than Bhárá Mal ke Bhauṇrá.

The Survey record states, that:—"Bhaṭnír, which constitutes part of the tracts inhabited by the Bhaṭi tribe, and styled the Bhaṭi country, contains about 40,000 families of this tribe. It is about sixty *kuroh* in length from east to west, and about twenty *kuroh* in breadth. The part lying along the banks of the Ghag-ghar and Chitang rivers, reached by the inundations from them, is very productive; but, on the north-west and south, Bhaṭnír adjoins the sandy, arid, uncultivated desert tracts, called the Chúlistán, and which the Bhaṭís term the Thal."[501]

[498] In the time of the glorious East India Company, when India was happy and contented, but a time which, to her cost, she is not likely ever to see again, and the *rúpí* was worth *two shillings and three pence*, Skinner's Horse, soon after their formation, were stationed on this, the then eastern frontier. See note 514 page 449.

[499] Dubh-lí appears in our maps as "*Dabli*" and "*Dhubli*." See page 410.

[500] Bhauṇrá, in Sanskrit, means 'a cavern,' 'a vault,' etc.

[501] A most amusing mistake has been made respecting the Bhaṭís, and by Gladwin, I believe, originally, in his translation, such as it is, of the A'ín-i-Akbarí; and from that day to this the blunder has been carefully handed down by different writers, just like the "Pathan Dynasties," and the 'Ghickers' and 'Ghukkurs,' etc., for the Khokhars.

TRIBUTARIES OF THE GHAG-GHAR.

I must now refer, as briefly as possible, to the chief tributaries of the Ghag-ghar as they flowed about ninety years since.

"The Máŗkandá, which is a perennial stream, rises a little to the west of Náhún, where it is known under the name of Júŗá Páni, and passes a little west of Rasúl-púr, which is just two *kuroh* north of Saḍ-húrá, after passing which it loses the name of Júŗá Páni and is known as the Máŗkandá. It flows in the direction of about south-west, and reaches Sháh-ábád, which it passes close by on the north; and here it is known by the name of Makŗá as well as Máŗkandá. From thence it runs on to Ṭhaská, which it passes close to on the north, and thence by Ismá'íl-púr, Chhaprá, and Bibí-púr, which two latter places lie on the north bank. From the latter place it runs south of Májŗá one *kuroh* from Kuhŗám, to reach which place, from the southward, the Máŗkandá has to be crossed to Májŗá. From Sháh-ábád to this point the course is a little to the south of west, after which it bends more towards the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar a little to the west of Agúnd."[402]

At the present time, the Máŗkandá turns towards the south immediately *east* of Ṭhaská, and unites with the Sursutí instead of the Ghag-ghar, rather less than four miles north-east of Pehú'á, twenty-three miles and a half farther east than its former place of junction with the latter river.

In the account of the "Country of the Bhatties" by W. Hamilton, in his "Hindustan," Vol. I., p. 523, he says: "The Bhatties were originally shepherds. Various tribes of them are found in the Punjab, and they are also scattered over the high grounds [!] to east of the Indies, from the sea to Ooch. In the Institutes of Acber [the Á'ín-i-Akbarí] these tribes are by Abul Fazel named *Ashambetty*."

Abú-l-Faẓl in the "Á'ín-i-Akbarí," referring to the people inhabiting the Ṭhaṭhah province dependent on Multán, says, that, "they are از احشام بهٹي وجز آن *az aḥsḥám-i-Bhaṭí wo juz-i-án*." He of course referred to the various sections or sub-tribes of the Bhaṭís, *aḥsḥám* being the plural of the 'Arabic word حشم — *ḥashm* — and the person who originally made this absurd error, mistook the two words "*aḥsḥam-i-Bhaṭí* (here again the Persian *iẓáfat* was not understood. See note 242 page 276), for *Asham-batty*, leaving out the '*ḥ*' of one word and '*h*' of the other. *Aḥsḥám*, literally, means 'fraternity,' 'bands,' 'bodies,' 'followers,' 'attendants,' 'servants,' etc., but is used to indicate, not as regards the Bhaṭís only, 'clans,' 'septs,' 'tribes,' etc.

402 There is no mention whatever of any river "Begunuh" which now, according to the maps, unites with the Máŗkandá two miles and a half south-west of Paplúthá, and this shows what great changes have taken place hereabouts in less than a century. This "Begunuh" river of the maps, is the "Begná" of the Gazetteers. It appears to be considered right that the two should differ — variety is charming!

"In going from Musṭafá-ábád to Anbálah, two *kuroh* west of Dhín you reach and cross the Máṛkandá; and, in going from Tháni-sar by Ṭhaská to Paṭíálah, that tributary of the Ghag-ghar has to be crossed north-west of the latter place. Also, in going from Kuhṛám to Pehú'á on the Sursutí, the Máṛkandá is crossed one *kuroh* south of Kuhṛám."

Now all is changed: the Máṛkandá does not reach within twelve miles and a half of Kuhṛám, and has deserted the Ghag-ghar altogether. It turns south-south-west just before reaching Ṭhaská, and now unites with the Sursutí three miles and a half north-east of Pehú'á.

At the same period, the Máṛkandá was but a *kuroh* and a half from the Sursutí in going from Thání-sar to Paṭíálah. The Survey record says: "You leave Thání-sar and go half a *kuroh* west and reach the Sursutí; and another *kuroh* and a half brings you to the Máṛkandá. After crossing it, and going another half a *kuroh*, Hiṣálah ("Hussaluh" of the maps) is reached, lying on the right hand. Proceeding two *kuroh* farther in the direction of north-west, inclining north, you reach Baṛársí, where the Thání-sar *parganah* ends. Another two *kuroh*, in much the same direction as before, and you reach Sil Pání, in the Kuhṛám *parganah*. From thence two *kuroh* more brings you to Dunyá Májrá on the right-hand side of the road. South of it is a small river channel dependent on rain, which comes from the right hand and flows towards the left, called the Wulinḍá, and from thence, after going another *kuroh* and a half west, inclining north-west, Ṭhaská is reached."

Here again are great changes. The Máṛkandá now does not come nearer than within eleven miles of Thání-sar; and two small river beds intervene between that place and the Máṛkandá, which, at present, passes close under Ṭhaská on the south. The bed in which it now flows is evidently that in which the Wulinḍá then flowed, and to which it must subsequently have taken.[503]

Another tributary of the Ghag-ghar, called the Unbhlá (اُنْبْهلا), conveying the overflow of water from the hills south-west of Náhún, and between the Máṛkandá and the Ghag-ghar, has next to be mentioned. "It passes two *kuroh* north-north-west of Mauhṛá (موہڑا)[504] on the road from Sháh-ábád to Anbálah, and about three *kuroh* and a half from the former place, and subsequently unites with the Máṛkandá

[503] The Máṛkandá, from the nature of its stream and channel leaves much rich deposit after overflowing its banks, and in this deposit the sugar-cane flourishes exceedingly, as it also did on the banks of the Ghag-ghar in ancient times, when Sulṭán Mas'úd filled its ditch with sugar-cane to enable the troops to storm the walls of Sarastí or Sirsá. See note 261, page 288.

[504] "Mowruh" of the maps.

north-west of Kuhṛám. It flows in a very deep bed." [505] Another minor tributary also called the U'nbhlá, will be noticed presently.

"The Tilúhí (تلوهي), a river dependent on rain, arises from the overflow of water in the hills a little south of Náhún. Its course is towards the south-west, and it passes close to Saḍhúrá on the west side; and a considerable distance lower down unites with the Panch Nadí, as the Ghag-ghar is also called after other tributaries unite with it."

Now, this rain-dependent river unites with the channel of the Máṛkandá six miles and a half south-west of Saḍhúrá.

"The next tributary westward, the U'nbhlá (ونبهلا), rises in the hills west of Pinjor, a little to the west of the Ghag-ghar, passes west of Banhúr, and from thence runs towards Ráj-púrah, about mid-way between Anbálah and Sahrind, and passes the last-named place about one *kuroh* distant on the west side. In going to Sahrind from Ráj-púrah you cross it by a brick masonry bridge, but it is now in a dilapidated condition."

Where it unites with the Ghag-ghar is not said, but it seems to have united with the Suwetí (سويتي) or Chhú-hey (چهوهئي) a few miles between Sannúr and Paṭiálah; and it now unites with a river called the "Puttealawalee river" in the maps, [506] but which, at the time of this Survey, does not appear to have been in existence.

The next tributary is the Gumhtalá (گمهتلا). "It comes from the hills south of Pinjor, and a little to the east of where the Ghag-ghar rises. It takes a southerly course, and passes west of Anbálah. After leaving that place on the road to Sahrind, after passing the *kol-i-áb* [lake] outside Anbálah, one *kuroh* and a half north-west is that deep rain-dependent river, the Gumhtailá; and you cross it by a masonry bridge of brick, called the Pul-i-Ráj Gaṛh, now dilapidated. Ráj Gaṛh itself lies half a *kuroh* north on a *khák-rez* or artificial mound. This river unites with the Ghag-ghar between seven and eight *kuroh* farther to the south-west."

Here a vast change has occurred. The Gumhtalá is no longer known; and the Ghag-ghar, since the period in question, has deserted its former bed a little below Chhat; and instead of flowing by Banhúr, it has entered, and flows in the old bed of the Gumhtalá to within

505 At the present time, its waters (or a river of the same name) unite with the Ghag-ghar north of Agúnd. It is the "Oonbla" of the maps.

506 This is the "Landra," and "Patiála *rau*" of the Gazetteers, and the "Konsilla N." of the maps, south of Paṭiálah; and the "Puttealwalle Riv." of the maps, north of that place, is a mere tributary of the so-called "Konsilla." See page 449.

about four miles to the northward of Anbálah; and then, having left it again, has kept nearer to Anbálah, within two miles and a half of which the Ghag-ghar now flows.

To continue the Survey account: "After passing the Gumhtalá over the Pul-i-Ráj Gaṛh, one *kuroh* and a half farther north-west, and one *kuroh* south-east of Mug͟hal Sará'e, and before reaching the Ghag-ghar from Anbálah, is the Bhág Ná'e (بهاگ نائي) or Bhág Nahr (بهاگ نهر).[507] It comes from the north-eastwards, but the exact place where it rises is unknown to the writer. Some say that it runs in a channel which was excavated by a former Bádsh͟áh to conduct water to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár. After flowing in a southerly direction for some distance, it passes west of Kámí and Gahnúr,[508] and from thence to Kuhṛám, among the buildings of which town it passes on the west side. It then takes a course more to the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar away in the direction of Samánah, near where the other tributaries unite with it, after which the Ghag-ghar is known as the Panc͟h Nadí as well as Ghag-ghar.

"Another tributary is the Khánḍ [كهانڈ]; but, respecting the place where it actually takes its rise, the writer has no satisfactory information. In going from Kaisúr (كيسور),[509] south-west of Agúnd, to Bádsh͟áh-púr, crossing by the way three channels or branches of the Ghag-ghar, here called Ná'e Wá-lí and Gájí Wá-hah,[510] and a little west of that place (Bádsh͟áh-púr), you reach the rain-dependent river, the Khánḍ. It comes from the right hand (north-east) and passes to the left (south-west), and unites with the Ghag-ghar some few *kuroh* lower down; and the Suwetí river runs nearly parallel to its channel about two *kuroh* farther west."

This Khánḍ river seems to have been of minor importance; and, at present, all traces of it have, apparently, disappeared.

"Lastly comes the C͟huwwá, a perennial stream, which rises in the Siwalík range like the others, but directly north of Anbálah.

507 In another route it is said, in the Survey account, that, "on the road from Ṭhaská to Paṭíálah after passing Ballá (بلّا), the "Ballur" of the maps, six miles south-east of Paṭíálah, the Ghag-ghar is joined by another tributary known as the Bágh-Na'e."

508 "Ghunnoor" of the maps, six miles and a half S. W. of Anbálah. The correct mode of spelling the name, according to the people is as above.

Now the Ghag-ghar passes those two places about two miles on the *east*, instead of between three and four miles on the *west*, as in the time of the Survey.

509 "Kussour" of the maps.

510 In another place the writer says: "at Ṭihwánah it is called the Gájí-Wá-hah." He means, that, there it is *also* called the Gájí Wá-hah, etc.

It passes east of Sahrind, and is spanned by a masonry bridge of brick near that place. It then runs almost due south to Paṭiálah, winding considerably, and passing close to that city on the east and south, flows towards Samánah by Mayan and Khíṛí, and passes Samánah one *kuroh* on the west. It then separates into two branches, one of which taking a more southerly course, flows two *kuroh* west of the Khánḍ at Bádsháh-púr, and then runs towards Múng Álá, and east of it unites with the Ghag-ghar. The other branch runs from near Samánah towards the west-south-west in the direction of Sunám, under the walls of which it passes on the east[511] side, and is expended in the irrigation of lands beyond, or lost in the thirsty soil, about four *kuroh* east-south-east of Bhikí. This last branch is considered as the Chuwwá proper, and is not known as the Suweti after bran ching off below Samánah, that name being applied to the other branch only. In former times this Chuwwá turned towards the south after passing Sunám, and ran a *kuroh* or more north of Bohah, again bent southwards and passed Fatḥ, after which it ran westwards once more for some distance, and then again turned towards the south-west, passed east of Gúduh, and finally united with the Ghag-ghar immediately west of Bhiráj kí Ṭibbí."

"In going from Sahrind to Anbálah, or to Patíálah, you have to cross the Chuwwá by the bridge before mentioned; and, in going from Patíálah eastward to Sannúr, you issue from the Dihli gate of that city and pass the river by the brick-built bridge. Proceeding from Patíálah to Samánah by Mayan, Khíṛí, and Dhanan Thal,[512] you keep along the Chuwwá.*** In going towards Samánah by Suh-laun (سہلاؤن), a *kuroh* and a half nearly south from Patiálah, you go along the Chuwwá, and Mayan, before mentioned, is two *kuroh* farther down stream. In going from Patiálah to Sahrind by Múl-púr (مول پور), you cross the Chuwwá two *kuroh* before reaching that place; and, after going another six *kuroh* farther, cross the bridge over the Chuwwá and enter Sahrind."

Here too, vast changes have taken place in the course of less than a century. Now, the Chuwwá (called "Choeea Nud" in the maps), runs from Sahrind by Manṣúr-púr, which it was twenty miles distant from before, to Sunám, and nearly encircles it; and another river (called "Choa N." in the maps)[513] comes from mid-way between

511 It passes it now on the *west* side. See note 485, page 438.

512 This Sanskrit word here means 'dry or firm ground.' In the Panj-áb territory and Sind, however, the word is used to signify a 'sandy, waterless desert.' See note 455,* page 424.

513 One is styled "*Choeea*" and the other "*Choa*" in the maps, by way of distinction, perhaps, but the word is Chuwwá, nevertheless.

Sahrind and Patiálah, and does not reach within five miles and a half of Patiálah on the west; passes two miles and a half west of Samánah, and eight miles west of Bádsháh-púr; runs towards the south, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá. Another new river from the north, which runs eight miles and a half east of Sahrind, and seven and a half west of Ráj-púrah (which, north of Patiálah, appears in the maps as the "*Puttealawalee Riv.*"), and which is joined by the Unbhalá five miles north of Patiálah, is the only river which at present passes near that city, and immediately north of which it appears to run in the old bed of the Chuwwá, which used to flow close under the walls of both Sahrind and Patiálah on the east. It is entered in the maps, below the latter city, as the "Konsilla N.;" and passes four miles east of Samánah (the old Chuwwá passed one mile *west* of it), and unites with the Ghag-ghar, which formerly ran under its walls on the east; but, the nearest point at which it approaches that place now is six miles farther east.

To continue the Survey account.

"North of the Ghag-ghar, after the Sursutí and other tributaries unite with it, and between it and the Chuwwá proper, is a tract of country, often mentioned in history, and known as the Lakhhí *Jangal.* It is nearly thirty *kuroh* in length, and somewhat less in breadth, consisting of excess of sandy tracts; and there is great paucity of water. Its name is said to be derived from Lakhhí, son of Júndhárah, who belonged to the Bhaṭí tribe. During one of the invasions of Hind by Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, he became a convert to Islám, and acquired the title of Ráná—Ráná Lakhhí. He obtained a number of 'Arab horses;[514] and with a considerable following of the Bhaṭí tribe, who paid obedience to him, he was induced to take up his residence in this *dasht*, and was there established for the purpose of holding in check and harassing the Hindú idol-worshippers of the country

[514] It might have been expected that the horses of Sind would have been good ones, from the infusion of 'Arab blood. The 'Arab conquerors must have brought numbers of horses into the country from time to time, and we might naturally have expected to find the breed of Sind horses good, but the contrary is the case: the horse of Sind is a miserable animal, whereas those of the Lakhhí *jangal* or Lakh-Wál, and Haríánah, generally, are good.

The "Memoirs of George Thomas" states (page 132), that, "adjoining the province of Beykaneer is the district called the *Lacky jungle,* so much, and so deservedly celebrated for the fertility of its pasture lands, and for a breed of excellent horses of the highest estimation in India. The *Lacky jungle* is comprised within the district of *Batinda,* forming a circle of 24 kosses of the country each way. On the 'N.' it is bounded by the country of Roy Kelaun, E. by the province of Harianah, S. by Batiner, and W. by the great desert."

around. These Bhaṭís, in time, peopled three hundred and sixty villages; and they bred thousands of excellent horses, which traders used to take and dispose of in distant countries, and so continued for ages to do. At the present time, through the tyranny and violence of the Sikhs, this tract of country has fallen into a state of complete desolation. * * * In going from Patiálah to Sunám, and from thence by Bhíkí to Bhuláḍá from the last named place, you proceed seven *kuroh*, crossing the channel of the Chuwwá by the way, and reach Lakhhí-Wál, in ancient times a large town, but now it is completely desolate.[515] The tract of country dependent on, or appertaining to it, is called the Lakhhí *Jangal*; and Ajának and Sayyidí-Wálah, are Bhaṭí villages therein. From Sayyidí-Wálah one *kuroh* and a half distant, is Aortá, and from it another two *kuroh* is the afore-mentioned Lakhhí-Wál.

"In another direction, in going from Jíndh to Bhaṭinḍah, after crossing the Ghag-ghar, seven *kuroh* and a half to the north-westwards of Múng Klá, you reach Sangat-púrah; and from thence go on another three *kuroh* to Hariá-o, which is a large village of the Bhaṭís in the Lakhhí *Jangal*, and in the Sunám *parganah*. Another two *kuroh* in the same direction is Phulhaṛá, from which, two *kuroh* west, is Bahádaṛá on the Chuwwá."

Other ancient tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah coming from a totally different direction, must not be passed over, and which confirm the traditions respecting these parts. Jasal-mír, in by-gone times, was in a far more fertile and populous condition than it has since become,[516] and contains the remains of some very old cities or towns.

515 In the year 657 H. (1259 A.D.), during the reign of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, Malik Badr-ud-Dín, Sunḳar-i-Ṣúfí, entitled, Nuṣrat Khán, held charge of the city of Tabarhindah, which is said to be the former name of Bhaṭindah, and Sunám, Jajh-har, and Lakh-Wál, together with the then frontier parts of the Dihlí kingdom, as far as the ferries over the river Biáh. See my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 788.

516 See the extract from Bú-Riḥán at page 219, and also page 261, where mention is made of Nuṣrat Khán, son of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk sovereign of Dihlí, who was directed, in 697 H. (1297-98 A. D.), to march the army under his command from Bakhar in Sind to Jasal-mír to take part in the campaign against Gujarát.

Lieut. A. H. E. Boilean, of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers, in his "Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara," in 1835, acquired some valuable information respecting the Hakṛá, and these its once perennial tributaries. He says: "That this country was not always so desolate may, however, be inferred from the tradition that Bikumpoor once stood on the bank of a river which was drank dry by a divinity taking up the water in the hollow of his hand: this exploit could not easily have been performed since the days of the royal hero who gave his name to the fort, the Raja Beer Bikrumajeet,

Its eastern part is still traversed by two river beds, now entirely dependent on rain, which take their rise in the low range of hills to the south-east of the town of Jasal-mír, a little to the east-wards of Poh-karn (the "Pokurn" and "Pokurun" of the maps). These run in the direction of north-north-west, and unite with the Hakṛá channel. These were once perennial tributaries of the Hakṛá, and at present even, the waters, when they are at their full, still reach the old channel of that river. These two rivers are known to the people of the country under the name of Hakṛá. The water contained in these, together with other water in the bed of the Hakṛá, now go to form extensive

about whose era it is said to have been founded; and there are really within its precints a couple of *mundurs* or pagodas that appear almost old enough to have been coeval with the great Bikrum who flourished about nineteen hundred years ago. The fort of Birsilpoor, of which an account has already been given, being only seventeen hundred years old, modestly claims a less antiquity than the above, and is said to have been built as a half-way house or resting place in the dreary track between Bikrumpoor and Poogul.

"Should there be any foundation for the above tradition, it may have arisen from one of these three causes; either that the small stream running north-west-wards between Pohkurn and Jesulmer, instead of losing itself in the marsh near Mohungurh and Bulana, may have found its way through the low lands at Nok into the neighbourhood of Bikumpoor; or, secondly, the river Kagur [the Ghag-ghar he means] that waters part of Huríana may have continued its westerly course to the valley of the Indus [here he, of course, refers to the Hakṛá of which the Ghag-ghar was one of the principal tributaries], being possibly in those distant ages unchoked by the sand-drifts that have been accumulating for centuries to the west of Futehabad and Buhadra: or, lastly, *the bed of the Sutluj and Ghara* [sic] *may at some remote era have had a much more easterly position* [see page 417 of this]; *for it seems to be admitted that the channel of the great river Sind has itself shifted from the same quarter, perhaps at a comparatively recent date;* for instead of running as formerly from below Dera Ghazee Khan to near Ooch, it now flows more than twenty miles to the westwards of this city."

Tod also says: "The same traditions assert that these regions [Bikánír, etc.], were not always either arid or desolate," and that its deterioration dates "from the drying up of the Hakṛá river, which came from the Panjab [!] and flowed through the heart of this country and emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekker and Ootch * * * It ran eastward [referring to the "Sankra"] parallel with the Indus * * * This catastrophe [the drying up of the Hakṛá] took place in the reign of the Soda prince Hamir." Vol. II.

From this, however, it will be seen that he has mistaken the Sutlaj for the Hakṛá, which latter is his "Sankra," and which was one of the names it bore, and still bears after entering Sind.

The same writer also observes, that, "History affords no evidence of Alexander's passage of the *Gharah*," which is quite correct; for no such river existed until the Bíáh and Sutlaj finally united their waters in the last century. See note 390, page 380.

rańs, the name given in these parts, as well as in Sind and the southern parts of the Panj-áb, to marshes or marshy ground. Some of these *rans* or marshes are very extensive, one of them, near the very ancient and deserted city of Hardah, is seven or eight miles in length, and from two to two and a half miles in breadth. There are others near Mohan Gaṛh, Gaṭhorah (Boileau's "Gotaroo"), Khabah or Khabo, and some other places. The water found in these marshy places is quite sweet, with the exception of that in the *ran* of Gaṭhorah, and perhaps one or two others, which are salt.

After the waters of these two river beds under notice subside, the land which had been flooded on either of their banks when the waters were at their height, are brought under cultivation, and yield good returns. The beds, in some places, contain a great deal of *jangal*, and trees here and there, and also some extent of grass land, in which the Bhaṭí Rájah of Jasal-mír pastures his horses and brood mares.

The town of Jasal-mír is very ancient, its foundation being attributed to the great Rájah, Sálbáhan [Sáliwánah]. The people have reservoirs of stone attached to their dwellings for storing rain water, that element being very scarce. Most travellers have found water in the wells of this part and of Bikánír only at very great depths; but, in the bed of the Hakṛá, in many places, excellent water is said to be obtainable within a foot or thereabouts of the surface.[517]

517 Tod's explorer, confirms the finding of water here, but confounds the bed of the Ghag-ghar with that of the Hakṛá, of which the former was a tributary. Tod says: "Abu Birkat in going from Shahgurh to Korialloh [which, in his map, is written "Kharroh," on the extreme north-west boundary of Jasal-mír, and to the northward of Gaṭhorah mentioned in the previous note], notices the important fact of crossing the dry bed of the *Cuggur* [as he spells Ghag-ghar] five *kos* west of Korialloh, and finding water plentifully by digging in its bed."

The Khároh here mentioned lies close to the western boundary of Jasal-mír towards Sind, on the route from Khair-púr Dehr ke to Jasal-mír. One of the most ancient channels of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, which comes from the direction of No-har or Islám Koṭ, passes near Khároh, and some eighteen miles west of Sháh Gaṛh, on its way towards the main channel of the Hakṛá near Khiprah or Khipro, by Koṭ Jíboh ("Jeeboh" of the maps), there unites with the Hakṛá channel about midway between Bahman-ábád and Amar Koṭ. Between Sháh Gaṛh and Khiprah several small *ḍhanḍs* or lakes still remain in this old channel, now nearly obliterated.

This place, Khároh, appears to be the same as is referred to in the legend of "The Seven Headless Prophets," related by Burton respecting the prophecy that the waters of the Hakṛá shall again run in its ancient channel. The verse is:—

"Karo [Kháro?] Kabaro's walls shall view
Fierce combat raging half a day;
The Mirmichi shall routed be,
Then, Scinde! once more be blithe and gay."

To the west of Jasal-mír, about half way between it and the channel of the Hakṛá, which formed in ancient times the boundary between Sind, Multán, and Jasal-mír, the face of the country changes considerably, and habitations there are none, with the exception of a few huts here and there. Scarcely anything but sand hills, and loose, shifting sand of a reddish yellow colour, meet the view. Some of these sand hills are over fifty feet in height, the sides of which nearest the wind, or rather the sides mostly acted on by the wind, are almost perpendicular; while in some places *ṭibbahs* or mounds are to be found, some of considerable elevation and area, the surfaces of which are free from sand, and are covered with grass, and sometimes have a few stunted trees and shrubs upon them, and sometimes a pool or well,

"Mirmichi," he says, "has no precise meaning." The verse respecting the Dyke of Aror and the Hakṛo, has been given farther on.

We have some valuable information respecting the state of the country between Multán and Jasal-mír and beyond, the part through which the two rivers, rising near Poh-karn once flowed on their way to unite with the channel of the Hakṛá, which passed by No-har on the west frontier of the Jasal-mír state, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's march from Multán by Jasal-mír towards Somnáth.

"The Sulṭán set out from Ghaznín in Sha'bán, 416 H. (towards the end of September, 1025 A. D.); and was joined by 30,000 cavalry from Turkistán, volunteers, who of their own accord came to serve in this campaign against the infidels and their notorious idol, entirely at their own expense, without pay or allowances of any kind." The Sulṭán reached Multán on the 15th of Ramaẓán, the following month. "As a waste tract of country had to be crossed, he commanded that each person should carry water and forage sufficient for several days' consumption, by way of precaution; and also had 20,000 camels laden with water and forage. In short, after the army had passed that waste tract, it reached, situated on the border or edge thereof, the fortress of Jasal-mír, and the city [shahr] situated near it. This city was taken and sacked, but the Sulṭán did not allow himself to be detained by the fortress, wishing to husband the energies of his troops for the more important matter. They likewise passed by the way several other places, which were filled with fighting men, well provided with all the implements of war, but such was the fear inspired by the appearance of this army in their country, that all the forṭified places were given up without fighting. These were left uninjured, and only the idol-temples were destroyed, and the country cleared of infidels, who were in the habit of molesting all travellers who chanced to pass that way, in such wise, that it used to be avoided." The Sulṭán's route appears to have been nearly due south, passing between where Dísá (Deesa) and Palhan-púr now stand, and between Anhal Wáṛah and the modern Aḥmad-ábád, and from thence near Júnah Gaṛh on the east.

"In the last month of the year, Ẕí-Ḥijjah (about the end of January, 1026 A. D.), the walls of Somnáth appeared in view;" but, into this I need not enter here: I hope to do so soon, if time permit. The Sulṭán returned from Somnáth by way of Manṣúriyah, as already related, in note 105, page 196.

See note 232, page 271 on the wonderful "Mahárája Maṇḍalika" and "Bhim Deva" of the "Tarikh-i-Sorath."

and seem to have been sites of towns. As one continues to proceed westwards these sand hills begin to decrease, until at last only the ordinary sand hills, or waves of sand peculiar to these parts, remain.

The ancient town or city of Khabah or Khabo, before referred to, to the south-westwards of Jasal-mír, on the route to Mithraho (also pronounced, at times, Mitharo) and Khair-púr in Upper Sind, must once have been a place of great size and importance. It is said to have contained some eleven or twelve thousand houses, mostly constructed of hewn stone, many of which houses were of great size, and ornamented with stone carvings, the remains of which, still to be seen, attest the truth of the statements respecting it. There are also the remains of what must once have been two large *buds* or idol-temples, ornamented with stone carvings. When the Jasal-mír territory comes to be regularly surveyed, I apprehend that some interesting and valuable discoveries will be made, which will tend to throw some light upon the ancient state of these parts, once fertilized by the waters of the Hakṛá or Wahindah and its tributaries; for, from the traditions and histories of the past, there can be no possible doubt, that these parts were once flourishing and populous, and contained several important towns and cities, the names of which have now been lost.

I have not deemed it necessary to the subject to mention the still smaller tributaries of any of these rivers, only such as refer to the main subject.

I must now return to the Hakṛá or Wahindah again from where I left off on its entering Sind at page 422.

I have already mentioned that it passes Ṣáḥib Gaṛh and Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro. It passed the latter place three miles to the westward, and close to Khán Gaṛh of Baháwal-púr on the eastside, into the Rúṛhí district of upper Sind; but, although the channel appears in our maps of the Baháwal-púr territory as the "*Dry Bed of Rainee Nullah called Wahund,*" it is only called by its correct names of Hakṛá or Wahindah in one: the rest have "Old Bed of Rr. *Wandu,*" or "*Wandun.*"[513]

[513] This is called by all sorts of names. The "Gazetteer of Sind," page 4, says: "The deserted course of a large river now known as the Rén Nála still exists in the Baháwalpúr territory and the Rorhi district, and this joining the Nára [this is contrary to fact: the Nárah unites with the channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah], may very probably have emptied itself into the sea by what is now called the Kori mouth of the Indus."

When the "Report on the Eastern Narra," before referred to, was being drawn up in 1852, little was known respecting the course of the Hakṛá, or possibly of its existence beyond the northern border of Sind, although Lieut. Fife of the Bombay Engineers, in his valuable "Report" (page 40) mentioned, that, "from Choondawa

At a place called Jangan ten miles below Khán Gaṛh above referred to, the channel of the Hakṛá, the old Mihrán of Sind, turns towards the south for some miles, and then returns to the general course of south-west again, and becomes less marked than before, but distinctly traceable. This part is full of banks, and is seamed with channels of greater or less depth, indicating the action of water, plainly showing, that, hereabouts, it has changed its course from east to west, and from one side of its channel, more or less, several times.[519] Indeed, between Wanjh-rúṭ and Dín Gaṛh or Tríhárah, one hundred and twenty miles to the north-east, and between Khán Gaṛh to within a few miles of Birsil-púr in the territory of Jasal-mír, a tract just one hundred and thirty-two miles in breadth,[520] is perfectly seamed with channels and high banks caused by the action of water, through the shiftings of the course of the Hakṛá and its tributary, the Sutlaj, on one side, and the tributaries from the side of Jasal-mír, referred to at pages 425 and 434, on the other, in the progress of the Hakṛa towards the ocean, under the process described in the first paragraph of note 446, page 415. It, however, continues to run in the same general direction from Jangan for some distance farther, and then bends south-westwards, then south for a few miles, then south-west again, in which direction it runs as far down as Mitharo or Mithraho,[521] forty-eight miles east-south-east of Rúṛhí, when it bends westwards for a little over sixteen miles, and then meets the channel of its old western branch, which flowed about ten miles still farther west before it was diverted from the direction of Aror by a dyke erected about twenty-six miles to the east of that place. The present channel, or the remains of this western or diverted branch, is the Rá'in or Rá'ini, which appears in our maps as "Dry bed of the Rainee Nullah."

to Nowakote the Narra is termed *Hakra* in this part of the country," and, that it "skirts the foot of the *Thurr* [the district of the *Thar* or *Thal* and Párkar is meant]." Also, that "the *Hakra* continues to skirt the foot of the *Thurr* for about thirty miles, after which it joins the Poorann [Puránah] below *Wanga Bazar*." He also mentions the numerous ruins of *masjids* near the villages, "which latter are all, apparently, of modern construction."

This last statement is hardly correct; for some of them are, unquestionably, of ancient date. All along the course of the Hakṛá or Wahindah from Márúṭ to the sea, are the remains of numbers of towns formerly of considerable importance, but which have gone to decay through the change in the course of that river. The large scale Revenue Survey maps will show what a number there are.

519 See note 563, page 482.

520 See page 483.

521 The "Mitarhoe," "Mitrahoo," "Mitrahu," and "Mitrao," of as many different maps.

Having united with this branch, the channel of the Hakṛá continues to run in a south-south-westerly direction, until about five miles south of a small village, the "Saida" of the maps, but correctly Sayyidah, the lower portion of the channel of its western branch, which passed Aror on the east and then turned south before it was diverted from that old capital of Sind, unites with the main channel again. In this old western channel coming from the northwards from Aror, the overflow from the Ab-i-Sind or Indus now finds its way, which having entered the great depression near Ghauṣ-púr, the remains of the ancient channel of the united Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the 'Arab writers, or Panch Nad or Panj Ab, finds it way, lower down, into this old channel of the diverted branch of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and this water is, from the winding course it takes, locally styled the Nárah or Snake, the "Narra" and "Nara" of the maps and Gazetteers.

It will be noticed that the range of limestone hills, to which I have previously referred, rise a little north of Sakhar of the present day, passes on to Rúṛhí, and, a little beyond it, begins to bend more towards the south, and that on the eastern skirts thereof Aror or Alor was situated, and there its ruins may still be seen. This range extends thirty-eight miles to the south of Rúṛhí (Dijí Koṭ,[522] formerly called Aḥmad-ábád, is situated on its western skirt), and farther down, is succeeded by sand hills, some of considerable elevation, which stretch away seventy-four miles farther south, lessening in height by degrees. This range, and these sand hills south of it, separate the present Nárah channel or old bed of the diverted branch of the Hakṛá, as already described; and those sand hills separate the united channels from what may be for convenience termed the present valley of the Indus. On the opposite or east bank, the sand hills of the *thal* or *thar* run in a direction from about north-north-west to south-south-west, and the channel of the Hakṛá runs between them. According to the account of the old 'Arab writers already quoted (pages 207–214), the Rud-i-Sind wo Hind or Sind Rúd, also called Panch Nad and Panj Ab, having united with the Ab-i-Sind below Multán, still lower down, near the borders of the territory of Sind dependent on Aror, united with the Hakṛá or Wahindah at a place called Dosh-i-Ab or "Meeting Place of Waters," and formed the great river which was known as the Mihrán of Sind and the Great Mihrán. About thirty-six miles lower down, this river again separated into two branches, the easternmost being the main branch, and the other, that which flowed past Aror on

[522] This place is said to have been a stronghold of the Sumṛahs in ancient times. It stands, probably, where a Sumṛah stronghold once stood.

the east, as already mentioned.[523] These re-uniting below the present Sayyidah, flowed in a slower current a little to the west of south, for a distance of about forty-eight miles as the crow flies; and just forty miles above Manṣúriyah, near which latter place was "old Bahman-ábád" (not meaning, of course, that there were two Bahman-ábáds, but Bahman-nih, or Bahman-no, or Bahman-ábád, *and* Manṣúriyah, or, as they were then styled, "Bahman-no—Manṣúriyah"), they again separated into two branches. This place of separation one author (Al-Istak͟hari) states, was near Kalarí,[524] which was one day's journey from Manṣúriyah. Kalarí was two days' journey from Anarí, which was four days' journey from Aror, which was three days' journey from Basmid, which was situated at about two days' journey from Multán; but the Masálik wa Mamálik, and Ibn Ḥauḳal make the distance from Anarí to Kalarí four days' journey instead of three.[525] Al-Idrísí calls the distance from Kalarí on the west bank, to Manṣúriyah "a hard day's ride of forty *míl* (miles)." One of these branches, the easternmost or main branch, flowed in a southerly direction as before, and passed under the walls of Manṣúriyah (and near Bahman-ábád) which was situated on the west side, subsequently taking a more easterly course—about south-south-east—for some distance, and then resuming its almost direct southerly course to Wángah; and this channel is represented by the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah*, or as the Sindís call it, the Puráno *Ḍhoṛo*,[526] or Ancient Channel, to this day.

[523] See note 578, page 502.

[524] Kalarí, or whatever may be the correct word, was without doubt, near the point of separation of the Mihrán of Sind into two branches, just forty miles above Manṣúriyah. Al-Idrísí says it lay on the west bank, and it was apparently situated some miles above the low lying and now marshy tract near to Jakráo, which latter place is just twenty-seven miles above Bahman-ábád and Manṣúriyah. See page 213, and note 138.

[525] From Manṣúriyah to Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, if the words الدور, دور, and ندور of the old writers be meant for it, is just six stages of twenty miles each.

[526] In Hindí, the word ڈھو—*ḍhaú*—means 'deep,' also 'deep water,' and another signification assigned to it is 'a marsh,' or 'morass.' The Sindí *ḍhoṛo* is probably derived from the first meanings.

Mr. W. A. Hughes, the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," says (page 2): "Local tradition affirms that a portion of the Rann was once a highly cultivated tract, known by the name of Sayra [See Wilford in note, 553 page 477], a branch of the river Indus [he mistakes the Hakṛá for the Indus] then reaching it, but that it disappeared altogether when either the Sindians or a convulsion of nature diverted the waters from it." He is so very careful as to *or*, but he could not have understood the tradition properly. Immediately after he says: "To this day, the upper part of the Kori mouth of the *Indus* [the Kohrá'í mouth of the Hakṛá is

The other, or westernmost of the two channels which separated near Kalarí, made a bend towards the north-east, and then gradually

referred to really] on which are situated the towns of Wangah and Rahím-ki-Bazár, is called Purán, or ancient stream [*puránah*, not *purán*, means anything ancient, and is the right word here], and the time doubtless was when the *Indus* [never: the Hakṛá here again is mistaken for the Indus] by a more easterly channel than the present, supplied sufficient water to make a portion at least of the Rann fertile and productive."

It will be seen that the writer has mistaken the tract altogether. The great *ran* or marsh of Kachchh was once an estuary.

When he comes to page 137, however, we have several "ancient streams," not one only. Referring to the channel of the Hakṛá, which he here calls the "*Nara*," he says: "Another striking feature of this valley [which part of the country, he says, is little known] is, that along its whole length you can trace the dry bed of *a large river*. This main stream I take to have been the *Eastern Nárá*, which flowing past Umarkot and through [!] Kachh, found an outlet into the Gulf of Kachh, *or perhaps* at Lakhpat [he is not quite certain about it seemingly], and in modern times lost itself in the vast lagoon the Rann. This main stream threw off in its course several branches, the Dhoras or Puráns," etc., etc.

At page 267 he says: "The Kori mouth of the *Indus*, separating Sind from Kachh, once formed, *it is supposed*, the lower part of *either* the Fuleli river *or* the eastern Nárá;" and farther on, at page 729, he writes: "The Kori or eastern branch of the *Indus*, separating Sind from Kachh, once formed the lower part of the *Fuleli*, and it also received the waters of a large branch thrown off by the main river during the inundations near Bukkur." This is what he previously styled "the eastern Nárá."

In another place (page 844), respecting the district of "Párkar," he again mistakes the Hakṛá for the Indus. He says: "In many parts of this Political Superintendancy numerous beds of rivers long dried up are found intersecting the arid tract of the Thar [the *thal* or *thar*, '*l*' and '*r*' being interchangeable, signifying 'desert']; and these *would seem to show* [What a delightful air of uncertainty pervades his statements!] that the waters of the *Indus*, *or some of its branches*, once flowed through it, fertilizing what is now a wilderness, and finding their way to the sea by *either* one of the eastern mouths, *or* through the Rann, or great salt marsh of Kachh."

On the very next page, reverting to the same subject, he says: "There being no torrents, floods, canals, or rivers in the Thar and Párkar proper, the water system comprises, in the first place, the Eastern *Nárá*, previously described as being a natural channel, and *most probably* at some remote period the outlet to the sea of the waters of *some great river like the Indus, together with its branches the Thar, Chor, and Umarkot*." Were there ever such contradictions and suppositions about one river? I may add that there are no rivers called by such names.

MacMurdo was much more correct in his suppositions half a century before, but then he was not a compiler. He says, under "Thull or Dhat, and Catch," as he spells the words: "I have been informed that there are streams of water throughout this tract during the rains, some of which descending from the hills in Marwar, empty themselves into the desert, where they are lost, or find a drain in the *run* [*ran*] north of Catch. Others on the west border are branches of the Pooran [the

bent round again in the form almost of a half circle or bow towards Síw-istán, but did not approach nearer to it than about twenty-two miles, and, in after times, within about sixteen.[527] The channel of this branch, I believe to be represented by the present Mír Wá-hah or Mír's Canal, it having been utilized as such, and which now flows just seventeen miles east of Sihwáṇ, the Síw-istán of former days. This branch, after passing east of that place, performing its half circle course, again bent towards the south-east, and re-united with the main branch about twelve miles below Manṣúriyah, and reached the ocean by one mouth, known as the Khorá'í—the "Kori" of the maps and Gazetteers—separating Sind from Kachchh. It is not to be supposed that there was no change whatever in the direction of the channels; for every inundation made some change probably, as in the case of the channels of the rivers of the Panj Áb territory and Sind at the present day, but no radical change occurred for some time. Subsequently, but in comparatively modern times, I think, because the Mihrán of Sind passed near Manṣúriyah when Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín was drowned therein in the reign of Sulṭán Mas'úd of Ghaznín (see page 196, note 105), the main branch, from the point of junction near Kalarí, took a course more to the east of south, and ran towards Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs, between which two places occur those numerous great *ḍhanḍs* or lakes mentioned farther on. It then passed from ten to fifteen miles or more

puránah ḍhoṛah above referred to], which, to this day, receives water from the Garrah or Sutledge [the usual error: he really refers to the Hakṛá of which the Sutlaj was once a tributary], by a channel known by the name of Narri [the Nárá of Hughes]. I have heard of the Nirgullee [?] and the Hagra [Hakṛá] on the west, and the Loni in the east," etc., etc.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient India" (page 251), also mistakes the channel of the Hakṛá for the "old bed" of the Indus. He says: "The old bed of the Indus still exists under the name of Nâra, and its course has been surveyed, etc. * * * The most easterly channel, which retains the name Nâra runs to the S. E. by Kipra and Umrkot."

He, however, reverses matters, and makes the Puránah *Dhoṛah* run *into the Indus*, from S. E. to N. W., instead of into the channel of the Hakṛá as it does do. He says: "The most westerly [!] channel, which is named Purâna or the "Old River," *flows to the south-south-west*, past the ruins of Brahmanabad and Nasirpur *to Haidarabad*, below which it divides into two branches * * * one turns S. W. and falls into the present river 15 miles below Haidarabad and above Jarak. The other called the Guni turns S. E. and joins the Nâra above Runaka Bazar," etc., etc.

Dr. J. Burnes, in his account of Sind, says (page 21), that, previous to the year 1762, the Puránah emptied itself into the sea by passing Lakh-pat and Kotasir; and no doubt he is right.

527 This was the distance when Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar wrote, about the year 1600 A.D.

on the west of Amar Koṭ, much as the channel still remains, which, from the place of junction, some forty miles above the sites of Manṣúriyah and Bahman-ábád, the place of separation is not yet effaced, and indicates its having occurred, as near as possible, as described by the old 'Arab writers, the place of separation above Togachh being just forty miles. West of this, above Jakráo, is a great *ḍhanḍ* or lake; and that branch gets no farther south towards Manṣúriyah than Mithráo ("Mithrau" and "Mithrow" of the maps—a different place from that mentioned at page 454)—about seventeen miles; and hence it is the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah* or Ancient Channel. Indeed, from near Mithráo, above which the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah* branches off, down to near Bakhar, fourteen miles south-south-east, there is still an extensive tract of *ran* or swampy ground some two or three miles in breadth, and extending east and west about ten, in which is a short channel from the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah* which unites with the present channel above Bakhar (but "Bukar" in the maps), twenty-six miles north-east of Bahman-ábád. In the season of inundation a large tract of country, from eighteen to twenty miles in breadth, from Mithráo to the present Hakṛá channel westwards, is under water.

Just beyond Togachh, where the channel of the Puránah *Ḍhoṛah* and the present Hakṛá channel now separate, those numerous *ḍanḍs* or *ḍhanḍs* (ڈنڈ or ڈھنڈ), or long, narrow lakes commence, amounting to some four hundred or more, with high banks between them. These run nearly at right angles to the old channel, but parallel to the run of the great sand hills of the *thal*, *thar*, or desert, on the left or east bank, showing that, at some period, not very long ago, the river must have been of great breadth here, and have contained a large volume of water.[528] Some of these *ḍhanḍs* or lakes are from four to five miles in length from east to west, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, and some of them are of considerable depth. The great lake near Amar Koṭ has been mentioned elsewhere.

There are also a number of places where there were ferries over the Hakṛá. There was one near Bakhar, and another at Khiprah, or Khipro, as the Sindís call it, lower down; and there are nine in all in the *Thal*, *Thar*, or Párkar district. Of course such ferries do not refer to the crossing places in the channel of *a dried up river*, but to a river in which, more or less, water ran, and shows, that at no very distant

528 In the "Report on the Eastern Narra," page 34, the Commissioner of Sind writes, that, "Authentic history and tradition concur in stating that *but a few generations ago*, there was more cultivation and greater population on the banks of the Narra [the Hakṛá is meant] than exists now on those of the present Indus." See also what Ibn-i-Khurdád-bih says of this part in ancient times, at page 195.

period, a constant stream of some sort flowed therein, and of some depth. The wording of the treaty entered into by Nádir S͟háh and Muḥammad S͟háh, Bádshsháh of Dihlí, tends to indicate, that, even at this period, 1152 H. (1739 A.D.), the river had not altogether ceased to flow.[529]

Even of late years, its waters, from as far northwards as the Baháwal-púr territory, have occasionally reached the ocean or very near it. In 1826 a flood from the river reached Lakh Paṭ. In 1833 a flood passed down as far as Wángah Bázár; and, in 1843, Major W. Baker of the Engineers, Superintendant of Canals in Sind, saw, near the head of the channel of the Nárah branch, the marks of flood which had risen eighteen feet, and to which, the Rá'in or Rá'ini branch of the Hakṛá or Wahindah contributed a considerable portion. The Puránah *Ḍhoṛah* appears to have once flowed between its present channel and the one now called the "Eastern Nara" by English writers; for the remains of it still exist. There can be little doubt, but that it shifted constantly from one side to another; and as most of these channels have not been subject to regular inundations for some centuries past, and only obtain a comparatively small portion of water when the rivers farther north overflow, they have not been subjected to violent changes.

There can be no doubt, that the subsequent diversion of one of the branches of the Mihrán of Sind—the Rá'ín or Rá'iní—which united into one great river at Dos͟h-i-Ắb, must, in some measure, have upset almost the whole river system of Sind so to say, and that that diversion caused, not immediately perhaps, the stream farther to the south to forsake the *puránah* or ancient channel for the present existing channel by Amar Koṭ, and was the cause of the other, which ran towards Siw-istán, and which again united with the other branch some distance below Manṣúriyah, ceasing to flow altogether.[530]

529 The water in these *ḍhanḍs* or lakes is the water of the Hakṛá in reality, which finds its way down in time of extensive floods from as far upwards as the middle of the Baháwal-púr territory, but some also comes from the overflow of the Ắb-i-Sind or Indus, which finds its way by the great depression, the old channel of the Panc͟h Nad when it was a tributary of the Hakṛá, into the present Nárah channel lower down, but this is not much.

530 Alexander, having left the confluence of the three united rivers, Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes, with the Indus, as related in the previous note 361, page 366, sails down the Indus, according to the Greek writers—but according to the courses of the rivers in ancient times, down the Hakṛá or Wahindah, after the junction of the Panc͟h Nad or Panj Ắb rivers, including the Ắb-i-Sind or Indus, with it at Dos͟h-i-Ắb—to the dominions of Musicanus, which, according to Strabo, "was *the most southerly part of India* as described by Onesicritus, who minutely describes

In proof of what I have advanced, let us look at the two channels of the Hakṛá or Wahindah in their present or recent state.

it." The author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, not knowing anything of the existence of the Hakṛá and its tributaries, supposes it to suit the well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy [the author should have added "and the *Arabis* of Arrian," which is supposed to be the Púralí river in Mukrán, ninety miles west of the Aral] and the Indus," a part, which, of course, he knew nothing about. I shall not follow his other statements, and would merely remark, that Alexander *must have* sailed down the Mihrán of Sind; for the writer just alluded to, says, "he was now approaching the upper end of the delta of the Indus [Mihrán] where the river divides into two streams." This cannot refer to the separation of the great river below the Dosh-i-Áb into two branches and below which Wanjh-rúṭ stood (See page 497), one of which passed Aror on the east, from what is stated after, but to the position of Kalarí, where the Mihrán separated into two branches about forty miles above Bahman-ábád. It is stated further, that, "the river enters the sea by two channels of unequal size, more than one hundred miles apart from each other. The enclosed space was named Pattalenè by the Greeks, from the city of Pattala, situated within the delta below the point of division," which the learned author supposes was "at no great distance from modern Hyderabad," and which he, not knowing how or when Ḥaidar-ábád was built, supposes may be "*the same cities*, as some modern Hyder might easily have imposed his own name on the ancient Pattala [!] * * * Here Hephæstion was ordered to build a citadel, and construct docks and a harbour at Pattala, while Alexander himself sailed down the right [west] branch to the ocean." He is then said to have returned to Pattala, and, subsequently, to have sailed down the left or eastern branch, and reached an extensive lake, and an estuary, to the ocean, and "was satisfied that the western branch [? eastern, apparently, from the context, and what the other writers say] was better calculated for navigation than the eastern [western ?]." See the extract from the Balázarí, page 256.

To judge from the courses of the Mihrán as it existed some fourteen centuries ago, Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád lay below the point of separation of the river into two branches, and about the position in which Pattala is said to have stood; and the lake reached in going down the left or east channel, that which existed at the time of the 'Arab conquest, and the estuary at the Shákarah or Sagárah mouth, some twelve miles wide, the Shágarah inlet or estuary. At the time of the Greeks, the last named mouth must have been at least fifty miles above Badín, and the western branch not much to the south, if so far south as the Makhahli hills near Ṭhaṭhah. The whole of the Sháh Bandar district of Sind may be said to be of comparatively recent formation.

Strabo, quoting Aristobulus, says "Pattalenè was formed by the two branches of the Indus [Mihrán of Sind], and that the two branches are distant 1,000 stadia from each other [at their greatest distance ?] * * * he reckons each side of the included island [or *bet*], which is of triangular shape, at 2,000 stadia, and the breadth of the river, where it separated into two mouths, at about 200 stadia. He calls the island delta."

These distances must be greatly exaggerated—doubled at least.

After the so called Nárah channel unites with the main channel of the Hakṛá below Sayyidah, and the rocky hills on the west side of its valley terminate and the sand hills commence, the bed of the Hakṛá begins to increase in breadth; and while the Nárah channel at Ṣáliḥ Paṭ is (or was; for the opening of the canal may have caused some change), *three hundred* feet broad, at Janjhú'í, about twenty-eight miles below its junction with the main channel of the Hakṛá, the breadth in some places is from *two to three thousand feet*, but the depth decreases in proportion. At about eighty-two miles below Aror, and forty-four below the point of junction of the Rá'in or Rá'iní (the present Nárah channel) with the main branch of the Hakṛá (just forty miles above the site of Bahman-ábád and Manṣúriyah), clearing the sand hills which kept it within bounds on the west side, the channel again separates into two. One turns to the south-south-westwards, and the other about south-south-east. The former, which is generally dry, and is very deep in proportion, is that which, in bygone times, flowed by the walls of Manṣúriyah and Maḥfúẕah—hence its name "Puránah *Ḍhoṛah*" or ancient channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Great Mihrán, as well as Hakṛá, Wahindah, Sind-Ságar, or Sankrah. It is

The account of Curtius is, that after Alexander left the confluence of the three rivers of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab with the Indus, after sailing down *four days* from that point, he disembarked, and sent Craterus "to march the army at no great distance *from the river on which he was to sail.*" Then embarking again, Alexander came down stream, but how far is not said, into the territory of the Malli [another of the same name!] and Sabracæ. * * * After sailing on *another four days*, he reaches another territory, where he built a city [one would imagine the materials were carried in their pockets: it takes time to build cities and find the materials, even if built of mud mortar], which he ordered should be called Alexandria. He then enters the country of the Musicani, subdues the country, puts a garrison into their capital, and from thence marches against the Præsti, another people of India. Their strong city is taken after the third day. He then enters the territory of king Sabus. Then *another four days sail* [twelve days in all: the distances each day must have been small] brought him to a city which *led* into the dominions of king Sambus. The city of his people was attacked, and Ptolemy wounded. Subsequently, Alexander *marched into* the province called Parthalia [Pattalenè of the other writers], whose king "fled to the mountains." There are no mountains near: the lime-stone hills near Aror are probably meant. Here he made choice of guides [pilots?] who knew the river, and sailed down to an island [*bet*] that stood almost in the middle of the channel [no doubt Bakhar, some will say, but see the island or *bet* of the Chach Námah, in note 187, page 234], but the guides got away. He had only proceeded 400 stadia, however, [about 50 miles from where he took his "guides"], when "the pilots told him, that they *began to be sensible of their near approach to the ocean.* On the third day it was perceived that the sea began to mingle its waters with that of the river." Curtius' description of the approach to he sea-coast is clear and interesting.

quite distinct a little way north-east of Mír-púr. The other passes by Pathayah and Bakhar, both of which are notable places, as I shall presently show: indeed, there are numerous ruins, the remains of ancient towns, of greater or lesser size, still remaining along the courses of these old channels;[531] and tradition affirms that this tract was once the most flourishing part of Sind, and its soil is still most productive where water is available.[532] Pathayah and Bakhar are, respectively, thirteen and twenty miles below this point of separation of the two channels, and on the banks of the main one or Hakṛá, which now runs towards Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs; but, fifteen miles above that ancient place, it bends or turns more towards the south, and after running in that direction for about eighteen miles, and passing thirteen miles and a half west of Amar Koṭ, begins to bend more towards the south-south-west again; and as far as this and beyond, it is still known as the Hakṛo, as the people of Sind pronounce it.

At Nowah Koṭ, a little over fifty-one miles south-south-west from Amar Koṭ,[533] and eighty-two south-east of Ḥaidar-ábád, it again

[531] The "Report on the Eastern Narra" says (p. 6), that "There are villages all the way [down] on either side, especially below Saya [?]; and there are sand-hills to within four or five miles of Mithrow. * * * The river runs in several smaller channels—sometimes in one only—from Sayddum down to between Mithrow and Bakhar, where some old channels occur."

[532] South of Bahman-ábád, between Amar Koṭ and Khiprah, the ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist, including one known as Koṭ Rattá near the banks of the Hakṛá, as well as others lower down towards the ancient mouth of the river, including the ruins of ancient Badín. Hereabouts are several branches from the main channel, clearly defined, but now dry, which intersect the country for fifteen or twenty miles westwards, and run nearly parallel to the main channel.

[533] Amar Koṭ, as is well-known (or ought to be) was the birth-place of Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Akbar Bádshāh, when his father, Humáyún Bádshāh, in great distress and misery, was returning to Sind from Jasal-mír, having gone thither by Diráwar and Bikánír, on his way to Mál Díw of Jodh-púr, who had promised him aid, and then deceived him. Finding he was liable to be attacked by overwhelming numbers, he, with his small following, turned off towards Jasal-mír, and from thence towards Amar Koṭ, the party being nearly starved for want of grain. Having reached Amar Koṭ, its chief, Ráná Bír-sil, treated him with great consideration, and gave up his outer fort to the Bádshāh's consort, whom he had married in Sind; and in that fort she gave birth to Akbar on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night—the night precedes the day in eastern computation), the 5th of Rajab, 949 H. (night of October 4th, 1542 A.D.). One of the "Panjab Gazetteers" actually tells us that "Malot" in the Hoshyár-púr district was the place of his birth!

Mr. Hughes in his Sind Gazetteer, of course, mentions the fact of his birth at "Umarkot," but then he adds a rare piece of history, to the effect that, "It was through this town that Akbar, when emperor, marched in A.D. 1591 to conquer Sind—an expedition, which, as history relates, was successful." Only Gazetteer "history" would relate such: Akbar Bádshāh was never in Amar Koṭ nor in Sind

separates into two channels, the westernmost of which is the largest; and just twenty miles below Nowah Koṭ, the ancient channel before referred to, the Puráno *Ḍhoro* of the people of Sind, but "Pooran River" of one map, "Phooran N. or R." of another, "Phurraun R." of a third, "Puran R." of a fourth, and "Dhora Pooran" of a fifth, unites with it, and no further separation takes place until it enters the great *ran*, marsh, or morass of Kachchh; and at times, the waters therefrom, in periods of flood above, even now find their way into the sea by Lakhh Paṭ and the Kohrá'í mouth referred to by the 'Arab writers.

On the east bank of the channel of the Rá'in or Rá'íni, in which the Nárah now flows, from near Aror downwards, the sand hills of the *thal* or *thar* or sandy desert on the east, run up close to the banks of the river, and continue to skirt the channel of the Hakṛá, after the Rá'in channel again unites with the main one, down as far as Amar Koṭ, which is situated on the high bank. The bed here is very broad and marshy, and here also is the Samarah lake, or great *ḍhanḍ* running parallel to the old channel of the river.[534] It is some fifteen miles in length, and from four to five in breadth; and on the west side of Amar Koṭ are other minor channels into which the river separated in its way to the ocean. Continuing downwards from near Amar Koṭ by Nowah Koṭ, eighteen miles below it, and four south of Wángah, or Wángah Bázár as it is also styled, the Puránah channel again joins the main one. Thus the united channel continues to run in the general direction of about south-south-west, until within six miles of Ráná ke Bázár—the "Rahna ki Bázár" of the maps—where it bends a little more southwards, and enters the great *ran* or morass of Kachchh; and the overflow

after his birth; and it was the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Raḥím, who annexed Sind, and he came by Multán and Bakhar.

534 What may be the real origin of this name I am unaware, but '*samar*' and '*sumur*,' in 'Arabic, mean 'a small lake,' but this appears to have been a large one. See preceding note 530, page 461.

This is doubtless the lake of Shákarah, or a part of it, referred to in the Chach Námah respecting the movements of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the 'Arab conqueror of Sind, and by the Balázarí in his account of the naval action there between the 'Arabs and Jai Seṇha, son of Rá'e Dáhir.

The "Report on the Eastern Narra," states (page 40), that, "Between Ding and Choondawah the sand-hills recede eastward to Omerkote, forming a kind of bay, across which the river takes a direct course *viá* Trimmoo. * * * During high floods the whole country from Omerkote to Soomara, a distance of eighteen miles, is some times under water.

"From Choondawah to Nowakote the Narra, or the "Hakra," as it is termed in this part of the country [and its correct name], skirts the foot of the Thurr. * * * Near Nowakote the channel is very large and deep."

from that channel, in time of flood in Upper Sind, passes north of the Bandar or Port of Lakhh Paṭ to the sea.

Such is the Mihrán of Sind or Great Mihrán, Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Bahindah, Wáhind-Ságar, Sind-Ságar, or Sankrah, from its source to the sea, and which as late as Nádir Sháh's time was considered the boundary between Sind and Hind.[535]

It is necessary to mention, that there are a number of old channels—indeed traces of them are every where met with—between the channel of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus as it runs at present, and the channels of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakṛá, one of which passes close to Shadád-púr on the west, and runs towards Bahman-ábád and Manṣúriyah. It may be said, in fact, that, at different times, the Mihrán of Sind or Hakṛá has flowed over a great part of Sind, as far west as Shadad-púr, and this is fully indicated from the many vestiges of ancient towns

535 Bahman evidently thought the same when he founded Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád.

The substance of the treaty between Nádir Sháh and Muḥammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí, mentioning the Sankrah, Sind-Ságar, or Hakṛá, as referred to at page 461, I am able here to give. It is to this effect in the Táríkh of Ni'mat Khán, 'Alí: "The Government of Hindústán agrees to cede to the Sháh of Írán of the Turk-máníyah dynasty, the whole territory of the west, from, and including Peṣ'háwar, the Baṅgaṣ'hát, the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábul, Ghaznih, and the *Kohistán*, the dwelling-place of the Afghán tribes [here it will be noticed that "*the* Afghánistán," as described in my "NOTES," page 453, which see, is clearly meant], the Hazárah-ját, the fortress of Bakhar, and Sakhar, Ḥamid-ábád, and the whole of the district of the Derah-ját, and the place styled Chauki-i-Sokhtah, and other places belonging to the *súbah* of Ṭhathah, the *kaṣbah* of Budhan [Badín ?], the *parganah* of Ḥaran, the *parganah* of Biáh-Wálí Kandah, and the other remaining *parganahs* belonging to Peṣ'háwar, together with the adjoining *parganahs* of Kábul, from the boundary of Aṭak, and the NÁLAH OF SANKRAH, THE EXTREMITY OF THE RIVER SIND-SÁGAR, which unites with the great ocean; and that the officials of Hindústán from henceforth shall not exercise any authority therein. And the Bádsháh of Hindústán, on his part, agrees to cede those territories, and from that date considers, that those territories here named are out of his charge and jurisdiction, and that they shall not, after that before-mentioned date, be accounted as comprised within or belonging to the empire of Hindústán;" and further, "that documents to this effect had been given to be a proof of the same." This was dated the 29th of Ṣafar, 1152 H. (26th May, 1739 A.D.). Multán was not included as Tod asserts.

By this treaty the whole territory comprised within the *súbah* of Ṭhaṭhah, as constituted in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and the southern part of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah* east of the Indus, and the whole of the territory on the west side of the Indus, were lost to the Dilhí empire; and only what constitutes the Baháwal-púr state now, and the territory of the Panj Áb or Five Rivers, were left to it.

Writers of "Reports to Government" on "*Perom, Panjnud*," etc., and compilers of Gazetteers, would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these facts.

still remaining on the banks of the old channels. These ancient channels, however, by utilizing them as canals for irrigation purposes, and the yearly inundations of the Indus, are becoming fast obliterated; and this may be some plea for my venturing to record here the little information which I possessed respecting the Hakṛá, and the other rivers herein mentioned, which were its tributaries.

The other channels between the present channel of the Sindhu, A'b-i-Sind, or Indus, and the Puránah *Ḍhoraḥ*, or Ancient Channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Hakṛá, immediately north and west of Shadád-púr, including that of the Loháno *Ḍhoro* of the Sindís, are the remains of channels formed after that branch of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakṛá, which near Kalarí branched off to the north-west and then west towards Síw-istán, and subsequently re-united with the main branch which flowed past Bahman-no—Manṣúriyah on the east. Those farther north, and extending eastwards of the present channel of the Sindhu, or A'b-i-Sind, between Sihwáṇ and the lime-stone hills and sand bluffs running south from Rúṛhi, and bounding the valley of the Hakṛá, as it may be termed, on the west, after the junction of the Nárah or old western channel just below Sayyidah, are the remains of the channels in which the Sindhu, A'b-i-Sind, or Indus flowed from time to time, in its continual movements towards the west, after it had finally deserted the Mihrán of Sind or Hakṛá subsequent to receiving the waters of the Panch Nad or Panj A'b, which likewise deserted it, as noticed farther on. The Sindhu or A'b-i-Sind took some considerable time to gain its present course, especially west and south-west between Bakhar and Sihtah. From near Kanḍiáro and Darbelo south and east, down towards Sakrand and Shadád-púr, its most ancient channels now existing run nearly the whole way between these places, as a glance at the map of Sind shows, but are still more clearly to be seen in the maps of the Revenue Survey. Among these old channels, probably, is that in which the river so repeatedly mentioned by the 'Arabs, the Khumbh, flowed, which passed between Síw-istán,[536] the modern Sihwáṇ, and the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, and into which the A'b-i-Sind or Sindhu may have found its way during its repeated changes. These movements extended over a considerable length of time; for, in the time of Mírzá Jání Beg, the last of the Tar-Khán Mughal rulers of the Ṭhaṭhah territory, which included Wichholo or Middle, and Lár or Lower Sind (999 H.—1590-91 A.D.), the river was still running six *kuroh* or about ten miles and a half east of Síw-istán or Sihwáṇ.[537]

[536] See note 545, page 473.

[537] The compiler of the Gazetteer of Sind says (p. 286), that "among the largest canals of the Jorruck Deputy Collectorate is the Baghár or Bhaghiár.

To the recent formation of the lower part of the delta of the Indus I have already alluded; and if we draw a line from near Karáchí to about twenty miles above Lakhh Paṭ, we shall be able to judge how far it extended in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, when Badín and its dependent lands constituted the extremity of Sind in that direction, all to the south of such line having been formed since.[538] To have a correct conception of how far it extended when the 'Arabs landed in Sind, we should draw the line from a few miles south of Pír Paṭho and Badín towards Wángah, or even much farther north-east towards Nowá Koṭ.

* * * The Baghár or Bhaghiár (meaning the *destroyer*) is the western branch of the Indus, diverging a little south of the town of Thatta. * * * It is said to have been in A.D. 1699 a very great stream, navigable as far as Lahori Bunder (then the principal port of Sind, and at the close of the last century, the seat of the English factory) 20 miles from the mouth, for vessels of 200 tons; afterwards it resolved itself into four branches." See the account of Debal or Dewal, note 315, page 317.

Del Hoste, writing in 1839, says "the Hajamree mouth had only then been in existence two years, and is now the main branch of the Indus."

Burton (Scinde; p. 168) says: "now the Ár or Bhágar is the western outlet of the Indus."

Áṛ, in Hindí, means 'prevention,' 'hinderance,' 'stoppage,' 'stop,' etc., and such a word as "Baghár" or "Bhaghár" as Hughes writes it, and "Bágár" as Postans renders it, I have not found; but *Bigáṛ* is intelligible, from Hindí *bigáṛná*, 'to spoil,' 'damage,' etc.

Hughes in his Gazetteer says (page 768) in confirmation of this, that there are "Traditions of a town of great size called Samma Sumro having once existed a little south of the present village of Shah-Kapur [the "Shahkupoor" of the Indian Atlas map], in Mirpur Batoro talúka. Also a town called Rohrí in Jálí talúka, and supposed to have flourished about two centuries ago. Remains of forts are also in some places to be seen, but owing to the peculiar and erratic course of the Indus towards the sea, and the consequent changeable nature of its various branches, there is no district which is likely to show less remains of antiquity than that of Sháhbandar."

These two places in Sháh Bandar district must have gone to ruin long before "about two centuries ago," otherwise they would have been mentioned in the accounts of Lár, Ṭhaṭhah, or Lower Sind. Batorá, the Batoro of the Sindís, was the chief town of one of the eleven *maḥálls* or sub-districts of the *sarkár* or district of Ṭhaṭhah, in Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

Hughes also says (p. 767), that "the extensive flood, which occurred in Sind about 1819, the year of the earthquake in Kachchh, caused great changes in the lower part of the Indus, and tended to hasten the fall of Sháh Bandar, by withdrawing the water from the branch on which it stood. Before this Sháh Bandar was the naval station of the rulers of Sind; and since that time, still greater changes have taken place, and they are still going on."

538 It is supposed, and with very good reason, that great part of the delta between Ṭhaṭhah and Karáchí south, has been formed since the Ab-i-Sind or Indus

The identification hereabouts of places mentioned in Alexander's expedition, is even more illusive than farther upwards, according to the present courses of the rivers.[539]

Thus, from all that I have here adduced, the following are the results of my investigations; and from them, as far as tradition affirms,

deserted the channel which passed by Naṣr-púr, and took a more westerly course. There is little doubt, indeed, but that great part of the Sháh Bandar district of Sind, as at present constituted, and the southern part of the Jarak district likewise, are of comparatively recent formation. See note 187, page 234 from the Chach Námah on the *Bet*.

Sulṭán Fíruz Sháh, the Khalj Turk Sulṭán of Dihlí, is said to have founded Naṣr-púr on the then bank of the Áb-i-Sind, a different place from the fort near Naṣír-púr, on the Sankrah or Hakṛá. See note 173, page 224, note 555, page 479, and note 576, page 500.

It is stated, likewise, that after the annexation of the Ṭhaṭhah territory above referred to, the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Raḥím, desired to have a look at the great ocean before he returned to the Court at Ágrah, and that he set out from his camp at Ṭhaṭhah for that purpose, and proceeding southwards two easy stages of about fifteen miles each, he obtained the sight he desired. The place from which he obtained a view of the ocean is called "Mughal-Bín,"—the Mughal's view in—consequence, to this day, *bín* being the Persian for 'seeing,' 'view,' 'sight,' 'glimpse,' etc., from the verb *dídan* 'to see,' 'to view,' etc. The place appears in the maps as "Mughulbhin," "Mogulbeen," etc. It is now nearly fifty miles from the sea.

539 With regard to the "identifications" of places, in Sind in particular, Postans very pertinently remarks on the building of cities and docks, that "though there may be every reason to imagine that he, whose whole life was a study how to acquire posthumous fame, was most anxious to leave some splendid monuments, which should attest to after ages the magnitude of his deeds on the immediate scenes of their enacting, he could not have found the two indispensables of a stable spot on which to erect them, or any sufficient lasting materials for his purpose: thus it is that throughout Sindh the most diligent and well directed antiquarian research has altogether failed to discover one single reminiscence of verified classical antiquity, or to incontestably fix one locality as that described by Alexander's historians." In another place he says, "to have trusted to such records in Sindh [and in great part of the Panj Áb also] would have been *to have written history in sand.*" Indeed, all practical men who have dwelt in these parts, and surveyed these rivers, declare that identification is a farce.

As regards the lower deltas, where people expect to find places in the same situation on the Indus and near its mouths as they were ages ago, the following extract from Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," may be useful. He says, "The river discharges 300 cubic feet of mud in every second of time; or a "quantity which *in seven months* would suffice to form an island 42 miles long, "27 miles broad, and 40 feet deep; which [taking the depth of the sea along "the coast at about five fathoms], would consequently be elevated 10 feet above "the surface of the water. Any person who chooses to run out this calculation to "hundreds and thousands of years will be able to satisfy himself that much may be "done by causes at present in action towards manufacturing deltas,"

and history confirms, the state of the seven rivers — the Saptah Sindhá-wah of the Sanskrit writings—between the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Mihrán, or A'b-i-Sind, the Indus of Europeans, the whole of which united formed the "Mihrán of Sind," or "Great Mihrán," as some of the old writers style it, may be divided or classed under five great transitions or changes. I may assume, however, that it will be fully understood, that changes more or less, to a greater or lesser degree, took place then as now, during, and after, every annual inundation of these rivers; and that the beds or channels of the majority of them, in inclining westwards, were being gradually silted up, owing to the nature of the soil through which they flowed being, for the most part, alluvial, from causes well known to geologists, and particularly so with regard to the Sutlaj, but which latter river having reached a certain point where the tract of country on the west rose so considerably as to prevent its waters from surmounting the obstacle, this inclination westwards has been prevented, and, in all probability, finally stopped.

I will not go back so far as the Macedonian Alexander's time, because we have no definite or trustworthy information respecting the courses, or even the numbers of all the rivers and their tributaries of the parts now known as the territory of the Panj A'b or Five Rivers, and of the parts immediately to the east. But we learn from Aristobulus, as quoted by Strabo, that the country was subject to the shocks of earthquakes, that the soil was loose and hollow by excess of moisture, and easily split into fissures, whence even the courses of the rivers became altered. He also states, that, on one occasion, when he was despatched into the country upon some business, he saw a tract of land deserted, which contained more than a thousand cities (towns and cities?) with their dependent villages. "The cause of this was, that the Indus, having abandoned its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand [east], much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract, so that it no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel which the river had formed, but above that of the inundation."

We also know from Indian sources, that the Sutlaj or Satadru—the Hesudrus or Zaradrus of the Greeks—long after Alexander's time, flowed in the easternmost of its ancient channels shown in the map No. 6. All the Greek accounts respecting these parts, are more or less, mere surmise and speculation; and when we find enthusiasts "identifying" towns, fortresses, and the rivers also, as they now flow, we can value such identifications accordingly.

The first reliable information that we possess, dates from about or shortly before, the time of the invasion of Sind by the 'Arabs—one thousand and thirty-nine years subsequent to the invasion of these parts by the Greeks—and when we find such changes occurring between 712 A. D. and 1890 A. D., a period of 1188 years, we may be sure that the previous 1038 years had not been without proportionate changes also.

At, or about the time of, the 'Arab invasion, the Hakṛá or Wahindah, of which the Chitang, Sursuti, Ghag-ghar, and Sutlaj, and their smaller feeders, were tributaries, flowed in two channels from near Márúṭ, one of which channels, the easternmost, flowed about south-south-west by Ghauṣ Gaṛh, or Rukn-púr of after years, Khán Gaṛh (there are several places of this name, but this one lies on the south-eastern border of the Baháwal-púr state, near the western frontier of Jasal-mír), Wanjh-rúṭ (the Bijnoot of the maps),[540] and No-har or Islám Gaṛh, skirting the Jasal-mir state on the west, and from thence down as far as Mitharo or Mitraho, on the south-east frontier of Sind as at present constituted, and from thence reached the *ran* or marsh of Kachchh, which it helped to form, by way of Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs.

The westernmost branch or channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah passed from Márúṭ more to the south-westwards, through the present Baháwal-púr state, into Sind, very nearly as indicated by the present existing channel, as shown in the general map, No. 1. Subsequently, through some change in the courses of its tributaries, probably, the eastern branch from Márúṭ deserted its old channel on the Jasal-mír border, and the Hakṛá then lost the tributaries it previously received from the direction of Poh-karn, east of the town of Jasal-mír, altogether, leaving that part a sandy waste, and the beds of those tributaries ceasing to be perennial, became *rans* or marshes.[541] This great change is indicated by existing proofs, and accounts for all the channels still remaining after so many centuries, more or less prominent. over a space of some seventy-six miles from east to west, as already recorded.[542]

Where the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, Níl-áb, or Indus[543] at that period

540 There are two places called Wanjh-rúṭ. This is different from that described at page 497, but were included, apparently, in the same district.

541 Tradition affirms, that in the Bikánír territory, the waters of the Hakṛá or Wahindah used to spread out into a great lake, near a place called Kak. Sháhamat 'Alí, in his account of the Baháwal-púr state, says, that Baháwal-púr stands on an ancient site which was called Kak. This great lake may have existed south and east of that place, for the country is seamed with channels and banks, but the position of Baháwal-púr is too far to the north-west to be the part indicated.

542 That is, from the east bank of the Hakṛá channel, eastwards. See also pages 455 and 479.

543 It will be noticed that I do not call the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, "the

united with the Hakṛá is not so clear, but, shortly after, we find from the earliest 'Arab writers, that four of the five rivers forming the Panch Nad or Panj Áb flowed within two *farsangs* (six miles) of Multán on the east, and passed from thence southwards towards Úchchh (but which place is not mentioned by that name by the 'Arab writers), which it also passed close by on the west side, and lower down again, three days' journey below Multán, in the direction of Aror or Alor, the ancient capital of Sind, united with the Sind Rúd, or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind (the Bihat, Chin-áb, Ráwí, and Biáh), and formed the Panch Nad or Panj Áb.[544] Still lower down again, between Baghlah and Ṣáhib

Mihrán," for the reason elsewhere explained. See note 124, page 211, and note 548, page 475.

With respect to crossing the Áb-i-Sind or Indus—the *Aṭak* or Forbidden River—daily by Bráhmans, Wilford (As. Res. Vol. VI, p. 536) says: "Those of Multán jocularly say, that its true bed [from constant shiftings] is not ascertained, so they may cross it with impunity."

[544] In ancient times, the Níl Áb, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, took a more direct southerly course after issuing from the hills below Kálá Bágh, and, lower down, ran much closer to Multán. It was subject to changes in its course upwards as much as downwards below that place. Here is an illustration in point, from which we may see what has happened in the course of a very few years in the upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and we may judge what the changes may have been lower down in the course of ages.

In his "Year on the Punjab Frontier," Edwardes says: "The Indus has for many years been gradually taking a more westerly course in its passage to the Sutlej. [He here makes it *a tributary of the Sutlaj*, by which he means what was the Sutlaj and Biáh, but now, since the junction of the two, the Gharah or Hariárí], and nowhere perhaps so markedly as at Esaukheyl [this shows how far north these changes commence]. Year after year it has encroached on the western bank, and in removing from the Sindh Sâgur [Do-ábah, perhaps?] has increased its breadth of *terra firma*. The alluvium thus thrown up has in process of time created on the left, or eastern bank, a low but highly fertile tract called Kuchee [*kachchhí*—this is the word, signifying 'raw,' 'new,' 'recent,' and applied to alluvium. The word occurs in Kachchh Bhuj, Kachchhí north and west of Jacob-ábád in Sind, Chhoṭah Kachchh on the banks of the Hariárí or Ghárah, and the term has even extended to the alluvium thrown up on the banks of rivers cultivated by Afgháns on the side of India, '*kats*']. At Meeanwallee, the point where you leave the Sindh Sâgur Doab to cross over to Esaukheyl, the alluvial tract just spoken of is about 12 miles broad when the river is at its lowest. In other words, the Indus has already moved 12 miles from that part of the Sindh Sâgur [Do-ábah?]; and though in seasons of its utmost flood the river still reaches its former bank, and permits the villagers on the old high ground to fill pitchers from the waters with which Kuchee [Kachchhí] is then overspread, yet, in ordinary times, the original Doab of Sindh Sâgur is now no longer discernable from the ferries of Esaukheyl."

The country of the 'Ísá Khel clan of the Níází Afgháns is here meant. More respecting the changes of rivers in this part will be found in my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., Section Four, particularly at pages 340, 341, 370, 371 and 400.

Gaṛh, about seventy-six miles south-south-west of Uchchh, at Dosh-i-Áb—*dosh* is a Tájzík word signifying 'a place of meeting:' the Waters Meet—this Panch Nad united with the Hakṛá and its tributaries, and formed the Mihrán of Sind. From thence the great river continued its course in much the same direction as before, for about thirty-six miles more; and then, between Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro ("Kundairoh" of the maps) and Wanjh-rúṭ, just sixty-four miles north-north-east of Aror, separated into two channels, one of which, the lesser in volume, passing Wanjh-rúṭ a little to the north, flowed more westwards towards Aror, which it passed about two miles or less on the east. Rebutted by the rocky range of hills, at the eastern foot of which, and into the plain eastward, where the city lay, it turned to the south, and united with the main river thirty-seven miles lower down. After the separation above noticed, the main stream, keeping more towards the south than before, near the present village of Sayyidah, the "Saida" of the maps, was again joined by the other branch from Aror. From thence, where the valley opens out considerably, it continued to flow in much the same south-south-westerly direction as before, until at a point forty-eight miles as the crow flies, lower down, where the country becomes almost a dead level towards the south, and also towards the west, it again separated into two channels, the main branch flowing in much the same direction as before, but becoming more tortuous in its course, passed near Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih on the east. The other branch turning more towards the west into the flat open tract I have before noticed, passed between Bahman-ábád and Síw-istán, about mid-way, then bending southwards, and subsequently south-eastwards, re-united with the main river some miles north-east of Badín, and fell into the sea by one mouth near Sháḳará, about two days' journey from Debal or Dewal, the ancient sea-port of Sind, on the east, where the river was chiefly known as the Hakṛá, Wahind Ságar, or Sind-Ságar, as well as Mihrán of Sind and Great Mihrán.

Subsequent to the conquest of Sind and Multán by the 'Arabs,[545]

Edwardes continues: "When Ranjit Singh first came that way—probably when he went to Lukkee in Murwut—he opened a way through the jungle [the alluvial tract he mentioned had become covered with a high *jangal* of reeds, tiger grass, and tamarisk] for his army by putting four elephants abreast. * * * In one part of Esaukheyl the Indus has within the last few years cut off a considerable slice, and made an adjacent island of it. The zumindars [*zamíndárs*—landowners] clung to their land with the usual tenacity, and actually established two villages on the island. Occasionally the Indus rose and overwhelmed the island, when both colonies took boat and retired to the mother country, Esaukheyl, but emigrated again as soon as ever the island re-appeared."

545 The Balázarí, who wrote in 270 H (883-84 A.D.), states, that when the

a change came, the first important one to be noted. The Hakṛá or Wahindah continued to flow much as before, and to unite into one stream near Sayyadah, just forty miles above Bahman-ábád, the western branch flowing towards the northwards, and then north-west, towards Síw-istán,[546] but somewhat nearer to it than before, then bent south and south-east again to re-unite with the main river, but not so far towards the south as before: at one period falling into the sea near Debal: at another about two days' journey from it eastwards, as it had previously done. At another period it separated into two branches about twelve *míl* (miles) below Manṣúriyah—for that had now been built—on the west side, six miles from Bahman-ábád, and from Maḥfúẓah on the opposite or east side,[547] and fell into the sea near the town of Shákará, two days' journey east of Debal, by one mouth, and, subsequently, by two, one nearer Debal than before; but the other, known as the mouth of the Great Mihrán, was the Shákará channel separating Kachchh from Sind. At another intermediate period, the distance between the mouth of the Great Mihrán and the port of Debal was but six *míl* (miles): at another, after the junction with the Rá'in branch below Aror near Sayyidah, the river began to flow through the middle of Sind, that is a little more to the westward than before, and with a slower current, spreading out in that part which I have mentioned as almost a dead level westwards and southwards, and forming

'Arab leader, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, advanced from Nírún to operate against Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád, a river ran *east* of Nírún and Síw-istán, parallel or nearly so, to the Mihrán. Muḥammad, having crossed that river, which appears to have been fordable, reached the *west* bank of the Mihrán, and having crossed it to the east side by a bridge of boats, moved towards Bahman-ábád. The first-mentioned river was not the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, but the river called the Kumbh in the Chach Námah, which enters into much greater detail. See the extracts from that work in note 184, page 232, and note 187, page 234.

546 Mr. R. D. Oldham, in a paper on the subject of the changes in the courses of the Panj-áb Rivers, says, that "It would be impossible for the *Indus* flowing in the Narrá to send a branch past Hermetelia or Brahman-ábad [only it is not *Brahman*-ábad, but Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih] unless water was gifted with the power of flowing up-hill in the time of Alexander the Great," etc.

As the bed of the Hakṛá lies much higher than Bahman-ábád all the way down from Khán Gaṛh and Khair-púr Dehr ke, and lower than its western branch, which passed Aror on the east, in which the overflow waters from the river Indus as it now flows find their way, there would be no necessity whatever for water to "flow up-hill," and which the Mitrṙho Canal does not do. At the period in question, where the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind separated into two branches, some forty miles above Bahman-ábád and Manṣúriyah, the country was almost a dead level, especially from east to west, but inclined slightly towards the south.

547 The Baláẓarí states, that Manṣúriyah was founded on one side of the estuary or lake facing Hind, and Maḥfúẓah on the opposite side. See note 553, page 477.

several islands, until it reached Manṣúriyah; while, lower down, it united and formed one great river. One writer states, that at this period, between the country of Mukrán, that is from the Kahtar range west of Siw-istán (Karáchí, it may be noticed, was considered, down almost to the present century, to belong to Mukrán) and Manṣúriyah, the waters of the Mihrán of Sind formed great lakes, one of which, without doubt, is the existing Lake Manchhar.

At this period the place of junction of the Wihat, Bihat, or Jihlam with the Chin-áb was about midway between Chandaní-oṭ, now in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and Sá'e-Wál in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, in about 31° 51′ N. Lat., and 72° 28′ E. Long. In their downward progress the united rivers, under the name of Chin-áb, passed from some four to fourteen miles (according to the shifting of their courses from time to time from east to west and back again, from one side to the other of the broad tract seamed with its channels), and from four to eight miles east of Jhang-i-Siálán. On the other hand, the Ráwah or Ráwí, which also flowed, at different periods, from one side to the other of a tract of country, in some parts from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth: at times on one side, at times on the other, and taking a more south-easterly course than at present, about eight miles east of Sath Gaṛh, about the same distance east of Huṛappah, and five miles east of Tulanbah, united with the Chin-áb within a few miles of Multán on the east, the district immediately adjoining the city on that side being still known as Ṭaraf-i-Ráwí, or the Ráwí Side or Quarter, to this day.

These three united rivers, known as the Trim Ao or Trim Ab, then flowing in a direction a little to the west of south, united with the Biáh about twenty-eight miles lower down than Multán, and formed what the 'Arab writers name the Sind Rúd, or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind,[548] which the

548 Al-Mas'údí, who wrote in 300 H. (941–42 A.D.), says, that the river Mihrán of Sind [See note 543, page 471] flows on towards Multán and *beyond, and receives the name* of Mihrán. * * * Another of the five rivers which go to form the *Mihrán of Sind* is called Háṭil [See page 207]. When all have passed Multán they unite about three days' journey below the city of Multán, and above Manṣúriyah, and unite into one stream at Dosh-i-áb [with the Hakṛá or Wahindah], which flows towards Aldor or Alror, which lies on its *west* bank, and belongs to Manṣúriyah, *where* [at Dosh-i-Ab] *it receives the name of Mihrán.* * * * The Mihrán goes to Manṣúriyah." See note 124, page 211.

If the ancient capital of Sind is here referred to under the name of Aldor or Alror, as it seems to be, it was within the limits of the tract dependent on Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, which territory was afterwards known as Manṣúriyah.

Al-Mas'údí, it will be observed, does not notice any third great river. The Iṣṭakhrí also states, that "the Sind Rúd, is about three stages from Multán, and that its waters are pleasant before it unites with the Mihrán," and does not refer

Istakharí says is three stages from Multán, and that its waters are sweet before it unites with the Mihrán, here referring to the Ab-i-Sind, by some also called the Nahr-i-Mihrán. This Sind Rúd then taking a course a little more to the south-south-west than before, flowed near by Uchchh on the east side, Multán and that place being then in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and united with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, Níl Ab, or Indus, which, up to this period, kept a more direct southerly course[549] after issuing from the hilly tracts near Kálá or Kará Bágh, down to the vicinity of Multán and Uchchh; and the united five rivers then constituted the Panch Nad or Panj Ab. Continuing to flow much in the same direction as before, and passing close to, and between Ghaus-púr, Jachch-Wá-han, and Ma'ú, and east of Bhatí Wá-han, Síw-rá'í, and Mír-púr[550]—by the old channel, now the great depression, by which, at the present time, the Nárah, so called, receives part of its waters—this Panch Nad or Panj Ab united with the Hakrá or Wahindah at Dosh-i-Ab, much as it had hitherto done. By degrees, however, through the erratic changes in the course of the Sutlaj, which had hitherto flowed in the easternmost channel that we know of, west of Chamkaur and Bhatindah, and whose previous junction with the Hakrá or Wahindah, consisting of the Ghag-ghar and its tributaries, including the Sursutí and the Chitang, took place near Walh-har, but which now began to incline towards the west and form a new channel for itself, the junction of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus with the Hakrá began to take place a little lower down, between Sáhib Garh and Kandhárah or Kandháro, but nearer to the former.

This junction, as previously noticed in the account of the state of the rivers about the time of the 'Arab conquest, of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, the Jand Rúd, and the Hakrá (the three great rivers mentioned in the Masálik wa Mamálik, and by Ibn Haukal) did not long continue, but, as before, again separated into two streams or branches, but to flow much in the same directions as before, the westernmost one, the Rá'in or Rá'iní, towards Aror, and the main one towards the place of junction farther south near where Sayyidah now stands. At this period these branches of the great river were navigable for vessels, or rather large boats, from the ocean upwards beyond Aror, Uchchh, and Multán, and the tradition of the Musalmán merchant, Saif-ul-Mulúk tends to confirm it.

Below Sayyidah the course of the great river, the Mihrán of Sind,

to a third great river, but this fact does not show that it did not exist. It is, however, distinctly mentioned soon after, as will presently be shown.

549 See page 301.

550 See page 488.

as it was called below Aror,[551] was much as before described. It again separated into two main branches between thirty-nine and forty miles above Bahman-ábád and Manṣúriyah, encircling a large portion of its territory, and again united below those places, flowed towards Wángah, and discharged its waters into the sea by the Shákará channel and the Kohrá'í inlet or estuary,[552] then, not far from the town of Badín, of the present day. When in flood, such redundant water as could not pass readily into the sea by the ordinary channel, spread out, and along with the overflow from other rivers farther east, including the Loní, from Sanskrit *lon*—salt—the "Loonee" and "Loony" of the maps,[553]

551 According to the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, but see preceding note 548, page 475, and note 304, page 305.

552 See note 168, page 223.

553 Tod, in the map to his "Rajast'han," actually makes the lower part of the Hakṛá close to its junction with the sea, to be the Loony R., and places it a long way west of Lakhh-Paṭ and west of the *Ran;* whereas the Loní flowed into the *Ran*, or was lost in it at its eastern extremity. Here, doubtless, was the "Loni Bari *ost*" of Ptolemy.

The writer on the "Lost River," in the "Calcutta Review" (p. 18.), makes "the embouchure of the *Indus*, *Sutlej*, and the Luni form the *rann* of Kach"; and adds, that, "all traditions of tribes bordering thereon, say that it was anciently an estuary." In another place he makes it, the "estuary of the Sutlej" only.

It certainly was an estuary, but of the Hakṛá, Sind-Ságar, or Great Mihrán of Sind, of which the Sutlaj, four degrees farther north, as well as the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, which thereabouts united with the Hakṛá, were tributaries.

The same writer recognizes this estuary at the mouth of the Hakṛá as "Arrian's great *lake*, at the mouth of the eastern arm of the Indus"; also that it is "the lake of Ságara in which according to the Chuch Náma the fleet of Muhammad Kasim lay"; also "the lake Ash Sharki upon which Al-Biladuri says the fleet of Jaishya son of Dahir, king of Sind, was destroyed by the Arab army under Junaid." This is from Elliot.

The Samarah lake west of Amar Koṭ is more probably the remains of that lake or very near it, since changed, and the "estuary" led to it.

See page 67, where the naval battle is mentioned by the Balázarí, and note 530, page 461, also note 534, page 465.

Wilford, who possessed a vast deal of information respecting these parts, though some of it is speculative and the names generally written from ear only, says: (As. Res. 6—225) The *Sigertis* of the Greeks is from Hindee *Seher Des*, the country of *Seher* or *Sehr*. * * * *Lehri* or *Lehráhi bunder* so called because it is in the country of *Lehreh* [Lár], while another part, on the eastern branch is called *Sehrí* or *Sehráhí-bunder*, from the same cause [that is in the country of *Sehr*], but now is always called *Bustah-bunder*. Its entrance is broad. * * * A salt water lake or bay was called *Saronis* by the *Greeks*, and *Eirinos* by ARRIAN in the Periplus. * * * This lake communicates with the sea through two mouths, the largest of which is close to *Bustah-bunder*. The other to the east is small. East of it is *Lacput Bundur* in *Cach'ha* [Sauráshtra or Soraṭh commences at Lakhh-paṭ]. It owes its origin to king LAC-PATI, the grandfather of the present *Raja of Cach'ha.*"

contributed to form the great *ran* or marsh between Kachchh and Sind, which previously had been a broad estuary, bay, or inlet of the ocean, but which now had begun to fill up.

It must not be supposed that this great river and its tributaries kept to a single channel only in their courses through alluvial tracts of country. There were, no doubt, then as now, in all the rivers, minor channels branching off on either side at greater or lesser distances, and flowing for greater or lesser distances, again to unite with the main channel, and again to branch off. What I have described here are the general courses of the main rivers.

Up to this period (about 335 H.=946 A.D.) Rúṛhí and Bakhar, now on the A'b-i-Sind or Indus, were unknown: there is no record in history of their existence; for, up to this time, no water from the Mihrán of Sind, the united Hakṛá, Sind Rúd, and A'b-i-Sind or Indus, passed near their sites. The waters from the eastern and southern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulimán on the west, and from the Harú and Suhán rivers on the east, as far down as Rúján, flowed to the Sindhu, A'b-i-Sind, or Indus; while such streams as the Nári and Lehrí, coming from the range of Mihtar Sulímán and the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, bounding the Afghán state (or what recently belonged to the Afghán state, and on that account christened "British Balochistan" probably) on the south, and those from the north-west, namely, the Bolán river, and the Ghár or Gháj, (some of which appear to have contained a greater volume of water than in after years), flowing southwards by Khairo Gaṛhí, and Shadád-púr, must have fallen into the channel called in our maps the Western Narra; and these waters in some parts, evidently, formed the lakes, previously referred to, between Mukrán and the territory of Manṣúriyah, including the Lake Manchhar, in which the waters collected.[554] From this lake they again issued by an outlet

Tod (Vol. I., p. 17) says, with respect to "Eirinos," that, the word is a corruption of Run or Rin; and in a note says, "Most probably a corruption of '*aranya*' a desert; and so the Greek mode of writing is more correct than the present." This is a wonderful statement, truly.

[554] It is strange that, in the detailed account of the operations of the 'Arab commander, Muḥammad, against Síw-istán, contained in the Chach Námah, there is no mention whatever of any lake near it, although another is mentioned lower down stream. All that is said is, that, "in former times the A'b-i-Sind did not flow on or from the north side of that place," but that it did at the time of the 'Arab who is relating the circumstance. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us (363 A.D.), that, in that part of Gedrosia which on its right touches the frontier of India, are several rivers of which the greatest is the Artabius, and that there, "the Barbitani mountains end, and from their lowest parts rise several rivers which fall into the Indus, losing their own names in the greatness of that superior stream." See note 185, page 233, and page 475.

running in the direction of about south-south-east to the tract in which Naṣr-púr[555] was afterwards founded, and flowing from thence, by some of the channels the remains of which still exist in that direction, towards Wángah, they united with the Puránah channel.[556] Subsequently, perhaps, they found their way by forming a new channel lower down, the Gúni channel of the present time, or a still older one, and fell into the sea by the Kohrá'í inlet, along with the Mihrán of Sind or Hakṛá.

This was the state of the rivers forming the Great Mihrán, or Mihrán of Sind, at the time of, and for about two hundred and thirty or forty years after, the conquest of Sind, when the Istakharí wrote, and for a short time after the "Masálik wa Mamálik" was written, and Ibn Ḥauḳal came into Sind and obtained the materials for his "Ashkál-

The Bolán river during the past year (1890-91) has given proof of what it had previously been. I stated in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," that it was liable to become greatly flooded, when it swept every thing before it. This was sometime *before* a line of Railway was thought of; and during this last year, the correctness of my statement has been fully proved, and at a great cost to the State. I hope I shall not, from this fact "hurt any one's susceptibilities," which is the most important thing. it appears, after all, to be thought of in these days, but only persons who make mistakes are supposed to possess any "susceptibilities."

555 In the Noh-shahrah district of the Ḥaidar-ábád Collectorate of Sind as at present constituted. The Tuḥfat-ul-Kirám says it was founded "on the banks of the *Áb-i-Sind*" by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk sovereign of Dihlí; and that he also built a fort near Naṣir-púr, which was called by the latter name, on the banks of the *Sankarah* [the Hakṛá or Wahindah], on his way from Guzarát against Ṭhaṭhah, when the Jáms were reduced to subjection." Consequently, Naṣrpúr and Naṣir-púr are totally distinct places, and far apart from each other.

Postans ("Personal Observations on Sindh," p. 161) says, that "Nasirpúr [Naṣr-púr is the correct name] is alluded to by geographers as one of the most beautiful cities of Sindh; but it declined in consequence of the desertion of the main stream. The learned D'Anville considers this to be the Mansúra of the Arabs, and a city of great importance.' See note 173, page 224.

556 The writer in the "Calcutta Review" calls the eastern branch of the "Indus" the "Dhora Puran, which meets the Narra," but, in this case where did the Puránah *Dhoṛah* come from if not from the Hakṛá?

Seven paragraphs after, the same writer says, that "although much inferior in size to the Indus, the Hakṛa must have been of vast importance," etc. It will be seen from this that he confuses the Hakṛá with the afterwards formed, and modern Nárah, the origin of which has been shown, and *vice versa*. and does not appear to have known that the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, at the period mentioned in the text above, was a mere tributary of the Hakṛá, which was a great river—the Great Mihrán as it is called by the 'Arab writers. There is no authority, I believe, in history, to show that the Indus was so great a river as the Hakṛá, in those early days.

ul-Bilád. But long before Bú-Riḥán-al-Berúní finished his "Taḥḳíḳ-ul-Hind"[557] (about 422 H. = 1030-31 A.D.), a great change had taken place, although not so much as he, or rather Rashíd-ud-Dín, who quotes him, would lead us to believe. Be this as it may, the statement, that "the river Bihat and the Chandrá [Chin-áb] flow *west* of Multán," and that all five rivers, *viz.*, A'b-i-Sind or Indus, Bihat, Chin-áb, Bíáh, and Iráwah or Ráwí, thus reversing facts, "unite with the Sutladr or Sutlaj below Multán at a *place* [sic] called Panch Nad—which for a *place* is an impossible name—is incorrect. It is clearly shown from various statements in history, that the Sutlaj continued for a long period after his time, and subsequent to the investment of Uchchh two centuries after, to be a tributary of the Hakṛá, at the time that the Panch Nad or Five Rivers used to unite with the Hakṛá, at Dosh-i-A'b."[558]

The second transition was when the course of the western branch of the Mihrán or Hakṛá, with which all the other tributaries had previously united, namely the Rá'in branch, or the branch which flowed in the Rá'in or Rá'iní channel, was diverted, by whatever means accomplished, and directed more to the westward from near Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro, and cut a new channel for itself much farther to the westward than the gap in the lime-stone hills where Bakhar and Rúṛhi were afterwards founded. I say much farther westwards, because, if it had only been diverted into about its present course, Alor or Aror need not

557 Always mistaken for "Táríkh-ul-Hind," even by its translator. See note 79 page 186.

558 The only other construction that can be put on this statement is, that by the Sutlaj he meant the Hakṛá or Wahindah, with which the Sutlaj united some miles lower down than the Panch Nad, for the Hakṛá or Wahindah is never mentioned by Bú-Riḥán separately. If this assumption is correct his place called Panch Nad, would refer to the Dosh-i-A'b.

The Istakhrí, who visited Sind and Multán about the period that the diversion of the branch of the Hakṛá is supposed to have taken place, says: "there is a river of Sind called the Mihrán. It passes the borders of Samand [سمند of the old 'Arab map] and Aror from the neighbourhood of Multán, and then flows on to Manṣúriyah," etc. He says nothing of any recent change, which he could not have failed to have heard of had it occurred before his time, causing, as it did, the ruin of the ancient capital, and other vast changes. It is evident, therefore, that this diversion of the river took place subsequent to his travels in this part. The inscription, and the date contained therein, in the shrine of Khwájah ká Ṭhán near Bakhar, noticed farther on, does not refer to the date the stream was diverted westwards, but to the period, when the A'b-i-Sind or Indus, being joined by the Sind Rúd or Panch Nad, which had deserted the Hakṛá, gained fresh power, and found its way into the channel of the diverted branch of the Hakṛá, and then, changing its course, began to cut its way through a depression in the lime-stone hills near where Rúṛhí and Bakhar were afterwards founded.

have gone to ruin in consequence; for then, instead of the river flowing about a mile or mile and a half *east* of that city, *if we go by the present channel of the Ấb-i-Sind or Indus*, it had only left it to pass four miles and a half on its west; for the river is now only six miles from the ancient channel, and water could have been conducted to it without difficulty.[559] There can be no doubt, therefore, that the diverted channel must have taken a course much farther west of Aror than at present, and probably ran towards the depression called the Sind Hollow,[560] or certainly into some other channel to the north and west of where Shikár-púr now stands, before it bent towards the south again, and entered the then channel of the Ấb-i-Sind or Indus, between Ruṛhí and Sihwáṇ of the present day.[561]

559 After the branch of the river had been diverted, according to the tradition, Dilú Rá'e directed his people to turn the river into its old channel, but it could not be done. If the face of the country had been then as now, and the river as close as at present, this could easily have been effected—and, in fact, it has recently been done—for now the bed of the Indus is twenty feet higher than the bed of the old river. See following note 562.

560 Hughes, in his "Gazetteer of Sind" says (p. 770): "The Jacobabad and Briggs wah canals in Kashmor taluka were formerly used chiefly to fill what is called "the Sind Hollow," an old bed of the Indus traversing the Kashmor and Thul talukas. * * * They are now closed up. The tract between the Sind Hollow and the river Indus is much cut up with *dhands* (flood hollows) and *dhoros* (old river channels)." See the extract from Dr. Kennedy's work given in note 311, page 311.

561 See page 457. A short time after the Istakhari's account, just referred to, we find the Masálik wa Mamálik giving the names of three great rivers, the Mihrán, the Sind Rád, that is what was also called the Panch Nad, three days' journey from Multán, and the Jand Rúd or Samand Rúd, which that work states united with the Mihrán Rúd, that is the Ấb-i-Sind (see notes 304, page 305, and 548, page 475), below the junction of the Sind Rúd; and that Basmid or Samid, Jandúr, and Multán, are all on the *east* side of the Rúd-i-Multán, which Ibn Ḥaukal calls the Mihrán Rúd (the Ấb-i-Sind), and all three places are said to be each one *farsakh* or league from the river Mihrán (the Ấb-i-Sind). Ibn Ḥaukal says more, namely, that the junction of the Mihrán Rúd (Ấb-i-Sind) and Sind Rúd (Panch Nad) takes place below Multán and *above* Basmid, and yet, soon after says, that Basmid has two walls, one on each side of the Mihrán (Ấb-i-Sind), from which, just before he said it was a *farsakh* distant. I believe Ghauṣ-púr to stand on or near the site of Basmid.

Bú-Riḥán, whose account follows the above-mentioned works after an interval of between eighty and ninety years—he finished his work in 422 H. (1031 A.D.), but he never passed farther east or south than Láhor and Multán—says, that "Alor or Aror is situated on the Mihrán, which passes on the *west* of that town." If this is correct, it shows that when he wrote, the western branch of the Hakṛá had then been diverted from Aror, for before that event happened, the river passed it on the *east*. The word 'west,' I may mention, is not contained in the recently printed text of Bú-Riḥán's work.

Whether the tradition respecting the Musalmán merchant, Saif-ul-Mulúk, and his causing the diversion of the river from near Aror, be true or not—but I believe all traditions contain more or less truth—it is certain that, after all, it was not such a difficult task to accomplish;[562] and, in connexion with this tradition, we have the place of abode of the merchant, and the tombs of his two sons still pointed out near Multán, and they are still existing, or were so, at least, in the last century. Another curious coincidence, which does not appear to have been taken into consideration along with this tradition and the existence of these tombs is, that the supposed remains of the dyke raised by the Musalmán merchant, or a dyke remaining at the very same place, was existing a few years ago,[563] the situation of which lay about twenty-six miles east

562 Referring to the danger of diverting the course of the Indus, by cutting the canal noticed under, Captain W. Baker, Superintendent of Canals in Sind, wrote, that "there would be reason for apprehension lest the channel of supply, excavated as it would be through a soft soil, should be so widened and deepened by the action of the torrent as to drain off more water than could be spared from the Indus, or, perhaps, transfer the main stream of the river, with its fertilizing effects, *from its present to one of its ancient channels.* * * * There is no permanency in the bed of the Indus, which is always cutting one or other of its banks and throwing up shoals on the opposite one."

Lieut.-Colonel W. Scott, the Superintending Engineer, also wrote: "At present the water is mere overflow, and runs so gently over the surface as to cause no danger, but let a body of water, 10 or 12 feet deep, pass through the same country, even if the ground was hard below (which it is not—it is merely hour-glass sand) and I should certainly expect the cut to increase far beyond our power of control. "See" Report on the Eastern Narra," pages 4 and 27.

563 About the same time, the then Collector of Ḥaidar-ábád, in a letter dated 31st October, 1850, wrote to the Commissioner of Sind on the existence of a *band* or dyke which prevented the water from entering the lower part of the channel, and at the same time submitted a sketch of the country, where the *band* was said to exist, by a native of Sind, who was formerly a revenue official under Mír Ṣúb-dár, one of the Amírs of Sind, and respecting which, the Collector, Captain Rathbone, observed that it was "perfectly accurate after the fashion that all native papers of the kind are, totally destitute of all proportion." He continues: "It appears from this, and the report of my informant, that the Narra branches off from the Indus near the village of Ghosepoor [Ghauṣ-púr] which is built on the site of an ancient city [Basmid of the old writers], and lies in the territory of Bhawal Khan. *The bed of the Narra is said there to be in places a hundred and twenty miles broad.*"

The Collector of Shikár-púr, however, after examining what was considered the right locality, wrote, that the *band* or dyke referred to by Captain Rathbone lay close to the village of Birha, and that it was formed of earth and brushwood closely rammed together, 600 feet in length, 38 feet broad at the top, and with a height of 22 feet, the highest water mark in its rear being 15 feet, and the breadth of the ravine [old channel?] below the *band*, about 200 feet. "I could discover," he says,

of Aror, and about eight miles north-west of the Rá'ín channel, the "Rainee N." of the maps, and twenty miles in the same direction from the old channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, close to Mitharo or Mitraho, and about fifty-four miles below the point where, as I have previously described, the Hakṛá separated into two channels after having, farther up stream, been joined by the tributaries constituting the Panch Nad or Five Rivers. The "island" mentioned to the Collector of Ḥaidar-ábád by the native Revenue official, refers to the tongue of land which now exists, but greatly changed in the course of years, lying between the two channels entered in the Indian Atlas map as the "Ghoorelehwah" [Ghúrí ke Wá-hah?—The connection of this vitiated name with that of Fatḥ Muḥammad, Ghúrí, of the native official, will be noticed], and the "Rainee N." The first branches off a little north of "Retee" [*retí*—'sand'] of the map, and passes east of Khair-púr Dehṛ ke; and the second branches off a little north of Wanjh-rúṭ, the "Winjrote" of the same map, which it passes on the west, both channels running about south-south-west, and the tongue of land in question lies between. Two miles east of this latter channel, the main channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, mis-called, "the old bed of the River Wundun" in the same map, branches off.

The native official likewise stated, as reported by the Collector of Ḥaidar-ábád, that "*the bed of the Narra*," as he called it, at Ghauṣ-púr in

"no *band* one *koss* long and with a breadth of 40 *guz*, as described by the Collector of Haidarabad. * * * In the first place, the waters, a portion of which the *band* confines, are those of the Gotekee or minor *leht*, and it in no way interferes with the flow of the Ahmedpoor or principal one, which used to find its ingress into the Narra chiefly by the Rainee channel," etc. He then adds, that "the causes of obstruction to the Khoonum Leht [*Kohan*, old; *leṭ*, 'overflow' or 'flood'] from Ahmedpoor, I am credibly informed, lie in the construction along the banks of the Indus, within Bhawul Khan's territory, of extensive embankments, whereby the Khoonum Leht is prevented from encroaching into the adjacent tracts," etc., etc.

The *band* near Bihra [Bhírá], however, was not considered to be the one referred to by the native revenue official; for the Commissioner of Sind subsequently wrote, that "it is still doubtful whether the obstruction is an artificial *band*, or a change in the course of the Indus."

Here they were, so to say, all right, and yet all wrong. The *band* referred to by the native official was situated about twenty miles farther east than Bhírá, as described above. The "Khoonum Leht," here mentioned, flowed for some distance in the depression which was once the channel of the Panch Nad when it united with the Hakṛá at Dosh-i-Áb, but altered in the course of ages of inundations.

I here append a facsimile of the map or sketch of the native official, with a correct tracing of the country he refers to from actual survey, from which it will be seen that, barring his drawing, it is correct as to the bed of the Hakṛá and Panch Nad near Ghauṣ-púr, and the direction in which the *band* was said to lie.

the Baháwal-púr territory (thirteen miles south-south-east of Miṭhan Koṭ, and about forty-one south-west of Uchchh) was, "*in places, about a hundred and twenty miles broad,*" and, that "*in that part the name it is known by is* "*Toorkuree,*" only taking "*the name of Narra much lower down.*" Now it will be seen from my general map No. 1, and confirmed by the one-inch to the mile Survey map of the Baháwal-púr state, that a vast tract of country extending from Ghauṣ-púr, above mentioned, to near Birsil-púr east-south-east, one hundred and ten miles in breadth, and about one hundred and forty in length, is literally seamed with banks and channels showing the action of the Panch Nad (including the Áb-i-Sind or Indus) and the Hakṛá, at different times, in effecting their junction; and the subsequent changes in the channel of the latter, caused after, or about the time, of their final separation, and through changes brought about by the Sutlaj betaking itself to a new channel, which caused a change in its place of junction with the Hakṛá.

From all that has been adduced, it is evident that a *band* or dyke had been in existence in the locality indicated from by-gone times, and repaired or renewed from time to time as required; and the situation ascribed to it quite agrees with the traditionary account.[564]

[564] It will be well to give the traditions respecting the diversion of this branch of the river by means of a *band* or dyke, as I have not related it in the separate notice of the river.

"Saif-ul-Mulúk is the name of a great and rich Musalmán merchant, who in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrat brought about the ruin of Alor. The tract of country then dependent on it, was ruled by a Rájah—for the power of the Musalmáns had waxed weak in these parts at that time—who was called Dilú Rá'e, who was a great tyrant, and deflowerer of maidens. The merchant arrived near Alor with his merchandize, which was of great value, laden in vessels on the river which was then navigable from a great distance upwards, down to the great ocean (Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, gave directions respecting the navigation. See note 189, page 243); and he had also along with him a beautiful hand-maid named Badí'-ul-Jamál. Not content with plundering the merchant of a considerable portion of his goods, the Rájah also demanded that the hand-maid should be given up to him. Finding what a tyrant he had to deal with, the merchant resolved, with God's help, to make a bold endeavour to escape from him. He asked to be allowed three days' grace—some say eight days—after which he would comply with the demands made upon him, and deliver up the damsel. In the meantime, by means of his wealth, having got together a number of artizans and numerous labourers, he set to work day and night to raise a great *band* or dyke, up stream, above Alor, and by making a new channel, to divert the waters of the Hakṛá or Wahind farther westwards towards Bakhar [it does not mean from this that Bakhar was then in existence, but to the place where it was afterwards founded as may be seen from the reference to Síw-istán. Perhaps the merchant, who was a dweller not far from the confluence of some of the principal rivers, had witnessed how easily a change might be effected in such a level tract of silt and sand]. This diversion

Burton ("Scinde:" Vol. I, p. 202), who saw a good deal of Sind when employed in the Survey, says, "the province is a sloping surface

he effected; and on awaking in the morning of the day on which the days of grace expired, instead of a broad and deep river running near Alor, what did the tyrant discover, but its bed full of mud, and some muddy water. The river had left it, and was running towards Síw-istán and the Lakhhí mountains, and the merchant and his vessels had been wafted thereon far beyond his reach, and Alor ruined.

The diverted river, lower down, betaking itself to the nearest depression, got, in all probability, into the channel of the Kumbh of the Chach Námah.

According to another slightly different version, the merchant was on his way to Makkah; and after his return from thence, by another route, he took up his residence near the *kaṣbah* of Rattá, which is said to have been at one time a great city, and there he was buried. It is added, that, by this hand-maid, Badi'-ul-Jamál, he had two sons, one Rattá, the other Mattá, and that the tombs of all three are at this place, known as Rattá-Mattá to this day, after his two sons.

The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí contains this tradition with a slight variation. It says: "Below the city of Alor, or Aror [that is, that the city stood higher than the river, which was at a little distance from it on the east] the river constituting the Panj Áb flowed, which is likewise called Hakṛá, Wahindah, and Wahán, indiscriminately, which sends its waters into the great sea. Dilú Rá'e governed the territory between Alor and Muḥammad Túr, * * * From the merchants who brought their merchandize by the river from Hind, on their way to the port of Dewal, he levied one half as toll." Then the demand is made by the Rájah for the possession of the merchant's hand-maid; and the merchant obtains three days' grace, and the author continues: "During this period he collected a number of skilled men, who, in the piercing of mountains, exceeded the renowned Farhád, and were able to close a breach in a rampart like that of the Sadd-i-Sikandar (or Alexander's Wall). He bestowed on these men whatever they desired, gold, gems, valuable cloths, and the like, his object being to throw up a strong embankment on the river above Alor, and divert the waters in the direction of Bakhar. Night after night these strong workmen laboured to excavate a fresh channel and throw up an embankment, and thereby turned the river aside towards Sihwáṇ and the Lakhhí Hills, and with such force, that the merchant, through God's mercy, was speedily carried away beyond the reach of the tyrannical Rájah." The latter is said to have commanded his people to turn the river back again into its old channel, but was told by all, that now that the water had flowed elsewhere, it could not be done It did not strike them possibly to remove the *band* or dyke, but, perhaps that would then have been useless, the river having cut a new channel for itself.

I may mention here that this tradition is universal in these parts up to the present time; and, in the reign of Akbar Bádshá h, descendants of this very merchant are represented as being then living. After Bakhar and its dependencies, in 982 H. (1574-75 A.D.), fell into the possession of the Bádsháh, after the death of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán (who held it independently after the fall of the Arghún power in Sind), consequent on the disputes which had arisen between the officials sent from the court to take possession, "it was determined in 983 H. (1575-76 A.D.) to make the Nawwáb, Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, *jágír-dár* of Bakhar; and, in the first month of that year, Muḥammad Ṭáhir Khán, son of Sháh Muḥammad, *a descendant*

of silt and sand, through which the Indus cuts its varying way with a facility that passes description. *The erection of even a few feet of brickwork built up in the bed of the Indus as it still flows, might divert the stream into another channel,* cause the decline and downfall of a metropolis and twenty towns, convert a region of gardens into a silt

of Saif-ul-Mulúk, and two other officers, on the part of Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, entered Rúṛhí, and sent a copy of the imperial mandate to Kísú Khán, then holding the government, and residing in the fort of Bakhar." It appears that Tarsún Muḥammad had subsequently left Muḥammad Ṭáhir in charge, because, when Tarsún Muḥammad Khán came to Nág-awr, where the Bádsháh then was, when he was subsequently dismissed to proceed to Bakhar, some of the ministers of the Bádsháh represented, that "it was not expedient that *a descendant of Saif-ul-Mulúk should be left in charge of a frontier province.*"

Rattá or Rattá-Mattá is described at the close of the last century, in the Survey record I have been quoting herein, as "a large *kaṣbah* or market-town three *kuroh* (a little over five miles) north-wards of Jaṭú-í (which was the chief town of one of the twelve *mahálls* or sub-districts of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah* in the time of Akbar Bádsháh), *and here is the tomb and shrine of Saif-ul-Mulúk, who is famous among all people.*"

According to the tradition, it is predicted that the Hakṛá is to burst the *band* or dyke of Saif-ul-Mulúk, become a perennial river once more, and empty itself into the sea. Burton, in his humourous relation of the legend of the "Seven Headless Prophets," in his work on "Scinde," gives the prophecy as follows:—

"Dyke of Aror be burst, and flow
Hakro perennial to the main:
Swim ye fish, ye lillies grow
Where Sammahs plough the sultry plain."

He adds: "Now the bund or embankment of Aror had, hundreds of years before the time of Jam Tamachi [third of the Sammah Jáms of Sind], been thrown across the Indus [he is mistaken here: the *band* was across the Hakṛá, as the verse mentions] by the masonic prowess of an honourable husband," etc., etc.

The same prophecy appears, as related by a devotee of the "Mamoi" sept, in the "Gazetter of Sind," but was not properly understood. It is:—

"When broken shall be the bandh of Aror,
And the water shall flow over Hakrah,
Where will be the fishing of the Sammah?"

This does not apply to any village called "Hakrah," but to the river, thus:— "The *band* or embankment of Aror shall be broken, and the water shall flow [once more] in the channel of the Hakṛá; and then where will the Sammahs' fishing be?" Meaning that it would be spoiled.

I am unaware whether the two stones set up by Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar in the bed of the diverted branch of the river, are still in existence, or whether, if they are, any inscription is legible; for he is said to have cut an inscription on them. If we could find an inscription we might obtain further information on this interesting subject. See also note 517, page 452.

desert, and transfer plenty and population to what a month before was a glaring waste. As regards the ancient course of the Lower Indus infinite has been the speculation, the theorization, the dissertation, the argument, and the contradiction upon this much vexed subject. But listen to the voice of reason, as proceeding from one Dr. Lord," etc., etc. See Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," also the statement of the Greek, Aristobulus, quoted at pages 469 and 470.

Postans, too, in his "Personal Observations on Sindh," says (page 18) respecting the Indus: "At Sakkur, Rori, below Hyderabad, and at Jerruk, rocky barriers interrupt on the western bank its progress at those particular spots, but elsewhere it has full liberty to choose its constantly changing course, *through an under soil so light and friable, that it cannot withstand the action of such a mighty rush of water even for one hour.* * * * The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery."

Such I have myself heard many times, as all must have who have passed up and down the great river. I have often in the course of a single day, seen many acres of land, trees and all, suddenly fall into the river with a great roar, and such I have witnessed several times in one and the same day.

It is very certain that what the merchant is said to have done in ancient times, would, if now carried out, be sufficient to divert the course of the present Indus, consequently, the feat ascribed to Saif-ul-Mulúk, with the means of paying for the labour, say, of a thousand men during the space of three days and nights, was not impracticable. To have commenced the excavation of a new channel above Aror, and to have erected an embankment with the earth excavated, strengthened with brushwood, and the like, was as feasible then as now. The portion of a new channel once opened, the river, on being let into it, would soon cut a channel for itself, or take to the first depression it met with in its course; and, in this instance, it made its way some distance to the westward of the lime-stone hills at first, and, subsequently, near to them, but still to the westward of where Ruṛhí and Bakhar were subsequently founded, namely a little west of Sakhar of modern days. In course of time, the Panj Áb or Panch Nad having ceased to be a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah at Dosh-i-Áb, in inclining westwards lower down, got into the channel of the diverted or Rá'in branch of the Hakṛá; while the main river itself, through the loss of the Sind Rúd or Panj Áb or Panch Nad, was not able to supply it, or to a very small degree; and when the Hakṛá subsequently ceased to be a perennial stream, the Rá'in, or diverted branch of that river, only received

water] from the overflow of this newly-founded Panch Nad from the direction of Ghaus-púr.[565] The Panch Nad having thus got into the lower part of the diverted Ká'in channel, soon enlarged it, and inclining towards a gap in the lime-stone range, flowed through it between the high ground on the east on which Rúṛhí was afterwards built, and the peninsula on which the town and fortress of Bakhar were founded. Neither of these two places were known, or ever referred to, in history in the time of the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznih. Máṭhilah[566] (the Máṭhilo

565 See note 581, page 503.

566 Máṭhilah or Máṭhilo was one of the twelve *maḥálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and the place here mentioned was its chief town. This was one of the six fortresses of Sind, mentioned elsewhere, standing on mounds, the heights or extent of which mounds were increased in the reign preceding that of Chach. It is now a small town on an eminence; and in the neighbourhood are, or were, the remains of many ancient buildings, and groves of enormous *pípal* trees, called in the Panj-áb territory, *bohaṛ*—the *ficus religiosa* of botanists. See note page 246.

Another of these six fortresses was Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí, the ruins of which were still existing some fifteen years ago. After the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs it still continued to be a place of strength and importance; and, in the reign of Akbar Bádshah was the chief place of a *maḥáll* of that name in the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Multán *ṣúbah*. The site indicates that it was once a place of importance and strength; and it lies about five miles north-east of Sabzal Koṭ, and three miles from a station on the line of Railway, called Walh-har. The mound on which the town of Síw-ráhí stood is about three quarters of a mile round about, and rises about thirty feet above the surrounding country; and it is said that some three hundred or more wells belonging to it, faced with masonry, but in a dilapidated condition, could still be seen in the *jangals* surrounding it. The remains of the fortress, which adjoins it, is about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and the walls rise to the height of about fifty feet. The bricks found here are of the same description as those found at Wanjh-rúṭ, described farther on, together with fragments of stone carvings, beads, and other ornaments. Here likewise have been found numbers of pottery balls, similar to those discovered at Bahman-ábád, of considerable size, as large, in fact, as a man's head. These were the missiles discharged from the ancient war engines called *manjaníḳs*, balistas, or battering rams, such as were used by the 'Arabs under Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the conquerer of Sind.

I regret to find that this place, like Wanjh-rúṭ, and many others I fear, has been invaded by Railway Vandals, who have been pulling down the walls of the place for "ballast," as they term it. It is a pity that there was no "Act for the preservation of Ancient Buildings" in "Young Egypt" as there is in Old Egypt, so that Railway excavators might not be allowed to demolish the most ancient buildings to put money in their own pockets. There is one thing, however, to be noted, and that is, that this line of Railway appears to have been carried, for part of the way, at least, through the depressions formerly the channels of the rivers herein described; and in case of a sudden or extraordinary change in the courses of the Indus or its tributaries, such as have taken place in bygone times, there is a chance that a good portion of it would be washed away. See note 554, page 479.

of the Sindís), only thirty-seven miles to the north-eastwards of these places, which was captured by Abú-l-Ḥasan, the general of Sulṯán Maudúd in 440 H. (1047-48 A.D.), appears to have been the strongest, and most important place in that immediate locality. If Bakhar had been in existence, the importance of its position must have been such as to render it impossible to pass it by without notice of any kind.[567] But these places—Bakhar and Rúṛhí—are never mentioned, even up to 573 H. (1177-78 A.D.), when Sulṯán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, sovereign of Ghaznih invaded Guzarát by way of Úchchh, nor even in 578 H. (1182-83 A.D.), when he marched into Lower Sind from Multán, and annexed Debal and the territory on the sea coast. If these places existed at the time, which I do not believe they did, they were of no account. In fact, Bakhar is not mentioned in history until the time of Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, 602–625 H. (1205-6-1227 A.D.), at which time it had grown into a strong fortress, but it was on a peninsula west of the river, and not an island, as I shall show. It may have been fortified by the Malik, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Aetamur (Ai-Timur,) who held Úchchh and its dependencies, which included Sind, under the above named Sulṯán, and was the first feudatory of that territory after its subjugation by him. This Malik was killed at the time of the Sulṯán's defeat at Andkhúd in 601 H. (1204 A.D.), and Malik (afterwards Sulṯán) Náṣir-ud-Dín Ḳabá-jah, was made feudatory in his stead.

The fortress of Bakhar and its town continued to be situated on a

It will be noticed that this ancient place, as well as Máṭhilah, Úbárah, Bhaṭí Wá-han, Ma'úh, Jachch Wá-han, Rám-kalí, Ghauṣ-púr, and several others, all lie between the great depression in which the waters forming the Nárah now flow, which, in ancient times, was the channel of the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Muḥammadan travellers, and the channel of the Hakṛá of which they were tributaries. The whole of this tract contains, or did contain, numerous vestiges of the remains of ancient fortified towns; and every here and there the soil was strewed over with the fragments of kiln-burnt bricks and other pottery.

See the amusing piece of "history" contained in the "Gazetteer of Sind," respecting this part "1400 years ago," page 677.

Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí has been "identified" by Cunningham in his "Ancient India." He says (page 254): "The Sogdi or Sodræ, I would identify with the people of *Seorai*," the actual position of which, he says "is unknown!" See also note 361, page 366.

567 If it did exist, the new channel flowing past it tended to make it a place of importance.

Burton ("Scinde" Vol. II, p. 250) says, "The channel [present] could not have existed in Alexander's day without attracting the attention of his historians. The Moslems connect the change, by tradition, with a time subsequent to their conquest of Scinde."

peninsula for some considerable time after this period, for some two centuries probably, but in the course of time, consequent on the increased volume which the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, now included in the Áb-i-Sind, had acquired, presently to be noticed, the force of the current washed away all the softer portions of the rocky strata on which the fortress stood, on the west side, by forming a second channel, leaving it an island, but larger than at present, and separated from the town.[569] The action of the current still continuing, in the course of years the other small islands near it were formed, one of

Eastwick (p. 29) referring to the same subject, says, nothing can be made of Arrian's account. Certainly not by attempting to trace the movements of Alexander according to the present courses of the rivers of these parts, but it may be different if the movements are traced according to the *ancient courses* of the rivers as I have here explained them. See also note 530, page 461.

568 With reference to Rúṛhí more particularly, Captain G. E. Westmacott, of the 37th Bengal N. I. (in "the Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1841), who wrote on the spot, says, "Roree, or more correctly Lohuree [I have already given the derivation of the word and the vernacular form of writing it in note 121, page 209], the ancient Lohurkote [?], is a town of considerable antiquity, and is said to have been founded [this is of course local tradition, not history] with Bukur about the middle of the seventh century of the Hijerat." He is here quite wrong, and did not know that the fortress of Bakhar was invested and captured in 625 H., or twenty-five years before the middle of the seventh century of the H. He is just a century too late. He, however, gives some interesting particulars which tend to corroborate what I have mentioned respecting the action of the river. He says: "The strata of the rock is horizontal, and exhibits marks everywhere of the action of the river, which must have risen formerly at least fifty feet above its present level in season of floods, and washed the foundations of the houses. In the sandy bays, creeks, and hollows abandoned by the stream, date and peepul trees grow luxuriously, and rocks worn by the water, and shattered and broken into gigantic masses, were submerged at no very remote period. Along the base of the hills, on both banks of the river, the land bears the appearance of having been under water [when the Panj Áb poured through the gap]. The remains of a stone and brick wall, or quarry, built evidently, to oppose the encroachments of the river, runs along the edge of the precipitous ridge which supports the town, and under it is an extensive cavern." The buttresses are evidence that the river has worn away a great deal, or they would never have chosen to build dwellings in such a position.

Burton ("Scinde," Vol. II—250) also remarks, very pertinently: "In ancient days, when the Indus—say geographers—washed round the entire shoulder of the Sukkur Hills, it was, you may be sure, bleak and barren enough. Presently the stream shifted its course to the present channel, "cutting away the looser strata of the limestone ridge, and leaving the harder masses, one of which forms the island, and others the hills on the Sukkur side of the river. Bukkur, with the moat which nature thus threw round it, and the least assistance of the mason's art, in days when howitzers and mines were unknown, must have been a kind of Gibraltar. See previous note 567.

which, Khwájah Khiẓr's island, on which is the Khwájah ká Ṭhán, history distiuctly shows was part of the main land on the Ruṛhí side up to nearly two centuries and a half *after* the conquest of Sind by the Arabs.

What I have here stated is corroborated by a singular coincidence, which will enable us to arrive at the approximate period when the Ab-i-Sind, Panj Ab, or Panch Nad had already cut a channel between Ruṛhí and Bakhar, thus separating them from each other. In the little island of Khwájah Khiẓr,[569] above-mentioned, there is a *masjid* whose

569 Khiẓr or Elias, sometimes confused with the Prophet, Elias, and said to have been the Wazír of Kai-Ḳubád, the ruler of Í-rán Zamín, is stated to have discovered and to have drank of the fountain of the water of life, and consequently, will not die until the sound of the last trump at the judgment day. Khwájah Khiẓr, for this reason, is also called the *Zindah* or Living Pír; and it is out of this that the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," when referring to this island, makes out the shrine to be worshipped by the Hindús as a river god under the name of *Jinda* Pír. This is after the fashion of turning every *masjid*, or place of *sijdah* into a "*mazjid*." Khwájah Khiẓr is also accounted, in consequence, the patron saint of the waters or rivers, hence Muḥammadans of Hind are in the habit of offering him oblations of lamps and flowers, placed on little rafts, and launched upon rivers, particularly on Thursday evenings (the Friday evening of Musalmáns, as the night precedes the day) in the fifth solar month, August. It is at this time that the festival of the *beṛa* or raft is held, when a raft is launched upon the waters in honour of Khwájah Khiẓr.

The legend respecting the island of Khwájah Khiẓr or Khwájah ká Ṭhán is, that a shepherd named Bájí, whose hut was situated where one of the quarters of the town of Ruṛhí now stands, observed one night a bright flame burning at some distance from him; and under the supposition that some travellers passing that way had kindled a fire, he despatched his wife thither to obtain a light. She went, but the light vanished as often as she attempted to approach it. She then returned and related what she had seen to her husband, but Bájí, thinking she was frightened, did not credit what she told him, and went himself to procure a light. He found, however, that what she had told him was true; and he concluded that it must be some miraculous manifestation. Filled with awe, he thereupon erected a *takiyah*, *ṭhán*, or devotee's station there, turned devotee, and gave himself up to the care of the spot. Shortly after, the river is said to have changed its course, and to have encircled the ground on which the *ṭhán* of the Khwájah stands.

This island lies a little north of Bakhar, but the channel separating it from the fortress is narrow and not difficult to cross.

With regard to the date, 341 H., which is undoubtedly correct respecting the shrine of Khwájah Khiẓr, it is certain that the branch of the Hakṛá was diverted from near Aror sometime before this date; and, in all probability, the river had shifted from the westward of the present Sakhar more to the east, and had begun to cut its way between the present Ruṛhí and Bakhar, before the island of Khwájah Khiẓr was detached from the main land. From all accounts I believe this branch was diverted, and this great change took place about the year 335 H. (946-947 A.D.)

appearance bears evidence of its antiquity, and in the *masjid* is an inscription, of which the following is a literal rendering :—

> "Know, that when this fabric was raised,
> Khiẓr's waters encompassed it round about,
> This pleasing hemistich Khiẓr wrote :—
> In the 'Court of God' the date is found."

This, according to the *abjad* system, gives the date 341 H. (952-53 A.D.), which is just two hundred and forty-eight years after the conquest of Sind, and two years previous to the death (but some say it happened in that year) of 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Núḥ, seventh of the Sámáni rulers, who was killed through falling from his horse whilst playing the game of Chaugán or Polo, when the sway of the Khiláfat over Sind was merely nominal, and part of it and Multán were in the possession of Ḳarámiṭah rulers, subsequently expelled by Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznih.

Such a place as Sakhar is not mentioned in history down to the time of the Sayyid, Mír Ma'ṣúm, styled Bahkarí, because he was a native of the Bahkar district, and one of the historians of Sind. He was an official under the Mughal government in the reign of Akbar Bádshah, and, after twenty years' service, was allowed to retire to a *jágír* conferred upon him in that same district in 999 H. (1590-91 A.D.). In relating events of the year 416 H. (1025-26 A.D.) he certainly mentions Bakhar, and shortly after Sakhar, but this certainly refers more to what afterwards became known by those names, in the same way as he refers to Ṭhaṭhah which was not founded for centuries after that period, and as he himself relates; and moreover, histories written before his time do not once refer to them. In proof of this, he does not seem either to refer to Sakhar as a new town, but to what had previously been known as Bakhar, as if, after the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, as the river is here styled down to modern times as well as Áb-i-Sind, had cut for itself another and second channel, and severed the fortress from the main land, the severed town had become Sakhar.[570] What the

[570] Another fact worthy of notice is, that the channel which separates Sakhar from Bakhar is not more than one quarter of the breadth of that separating Bakhar from Rúṛhí, where the river flowed from the first, when it found its way through the gap in the rocky hills. The breadth of the former channel is about 100 yards and the latter 400. Neither was the depth of water so great in the former as in the latter; and, lately, the former channel has been widened, in order to lessen the violence of the current in the larger channel.

Eastwick says, that just by the place where Clibborn's house stood, "The river is exceedingly deep, and a whirlpool is formed by the opposition which the remains

meanings of the words may be I cannot say, but it is evident that there is some connection between Sakh-ar and Bakh-ar, or as occasionally written, Bhak-ar, but not correctly I think. Mír Ma'súm is stated in history to have died and been buried "*at Bakhar*;" and his tomb still remained in 1848 (and is still there probably, if not desecrated by Railway Vandals), at the foot of the lofty *manár* or tower of his own raising,[571] in the Sakhar Cantonment, in what is known as "*old Sakhar*," and near which is a great mound, said to mark the site of the *koṭ* of the former Rájahs of this part of Sind.

From this it is evident, that what was known as "old Sakhar," was really the remains of the town of Bakhar, separated from the fortress when the Panj Ab or Panch Nad, formed the second channel. We are told, as far back as the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, that when hard pressed on the investment of Bakhar by the Wazír of Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, his rival, in 625 H. (1228 A.D.), Ḳabá-jah had to evacuate the city or town, and retired to the fortress.[572]

of an ancient building makes to the headlong waters. When the river is low this building can be distinctly seen, and is another proof, and one far more irrefutable than the inscription of Khwájah Khiẓr, that the stream migrated hither from Alúr."

In another place he says, that Sakhar "contains no trace of Hindú architecture or worship."

571 Mír Ma'ṣúm founded many buildings, both here and at Rúṛhí, indeed, the founding of *masjids* and religious buildings, may be said to have been his hobby; and, moreover "he ornamented them with his own designs in stone; for, in making chronograms and cutting inscriptions, he had no equal, and also in the elegance of his letters. When he accompanied the embassy to Persia, at every prominent stage, all the way from Hind to Tabríz and Iṣfahán, he recorded the fact on the *masjids* and other buildings. The inscriptions over the gateway of the fort of Agrá are his work, and also those of the *Jámi' Masjid* of Fatḥ-púr, and other places."

Respecting one notable inscription I shall have something to say hereafter.

Mír Ma'ṣúm also set up two stones in the bed of the diverted channel of the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind, near Aror, to mark the former course of the stream, with an inscription to that effect. He also left behind him many foundations for pious and charitable purposes.

Eastwick mentions a small domed building, which, in his time, formed part of the Agency at Sakhar, built by Mír Ma'ṣúm, with the date 1008 H. thereon, and another, opposite it, with the date 1006 H.

572 When Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh (the hero who crossed the Indus on his charger, fully armed, in the face of the whole Mughal host, in the rapid part of the river between Níl Ab and Kálá or Ḳará Bágh), had escaped from the toils of the Mughals, he shortly after entered Ḳabá-jah's territory of Multán and Uchchh, which then comprised Sind as well, on his way into 'Iráḳ by Lower Sind, Mukrán, and Kirmán. One of his Amírs made a night attack on the camp of Ḳabá-jah, who was hostile, which was pitched near Uchchh on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind, a *farsakh* (three miles) from that place, and overthrew him. Ḳabá-jah

If Bakhar had then been an island, and he had the control of the vessels on the river as stated, he might have defied all the efforts of the enemy as long as food lasted; while, if it had been at all like what it was when Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, son of Sháh Beg Khán, Arghún, re-built it anew, there was not standing room for an enemy's force, however small, at the foot of the walls, and from which position only a few men could attack it, at a time when artillery was not in use. The breadth of the fortress and the island of Khwájah Khiẓr together is but five hundred and two yards.

I may also add, that Sakhar is not noticed in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, although Bakhar, Rúṛhí, and Aror are. The chief place of the *maḥáll* or sub-district of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the *ṣúbah* of Multán, to which it belonged, was Bakhar itself. It is also quite certain that when Humáyún Bádsháh, Akbar Bádsháh's father, invested the place for some two years, there were not so many islands existing as there are now.

effected his escape by getting on board a vessel, and made for his strongholds of Akar and Bakar, as Rashid-ud-Dín, in the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, writes the names, which, he says, were *on two jazírahs*, which word means both peninsula and island, in the A'b-i-Sind. The Jahán-Kushá'e however, says, that Akar and Bakar were *two fortresses on one island or peninsula.*

It will not be amiss now to give some extracts from a few old travellers respecting Bakhar, Sakhar, and Rúṛhí or Lúṛhí, and also show a few of the wild theories entertained by some modern "authorities" on the subject.

Ibn Baṭúṭah is the first eastern traveller that we know of who visited Bakhar, the place not having been in existence in the time of the still older ones. He was in Sind in 734 H. (1333-34 A.D.), just a century and a quarter after the death of Ḳabá-jah, and sixty-seven years before Amír Tímúr invaded India. All he says is that "Bakar," as he writes it, is a handsome *city*, divided by *an arm* of the Sind river." From thence he went on to Uchchh and Multán.

In the time of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, about eight or ten years only after the death of Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar, Mr. Joseph Salbanke, who made a journey from India through Persia and Turkey in 1609, in the fourth year of that monarch, says: "*Reuree* is a towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deal also in merchandize, as cotton cloth, indico, and other commodoties, and are a peacable people to deal withall.

"*Buckar* stands towards *Lahor*, where we received kind entertainment of the Governour. Sword blades are very good chaffer in this towne: my-selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my sword, the blade being worth a noble in *England*. Close by this citie of *Buckar* runneth the River *Damiadee* [See the old map, page 297, also that at page 321], which within eight days journey runneth into the Riuer of *Synde*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the countreys of *Guadel* and *Guzerat*. On the Riuer passe Barkes of fortie and fiftie Tunnes, by means whereof, there is traffique into diuerse parts of *India*." "*Sucker* is situated on an Iland [*sic.* he appears to have mistaken Sakhar for Bakhar and *vice versâ*, as what follows clearly indicates] in the Riuer, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers,

Mír Ma'ṣúm states, in his History, that when Sh̲áh Beg K̲h̲án, the Argh̲ún Mugh̲al conqueror of Sind, first went to inspect Bakhar, after

which serue the country round about. At *Sucker* we stayed [in the town: not in the fortress, certainly] four and twentie days for a safe conuoy to *Candahar*, and passed to *Candahar* in twenty days," etc., etc. See my "NOTES ON AFGH̲ÁNISTÁN" etc., note ¶, page 674.

Another traveller, Nicholas Whithington, "left in the Mogols country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612," in the "Tractate" written by the former, states, that "Goods may be conveyed from *Agra* on camels to *Buckor* in twenty days, which is on *Sinda* Riuer, thence in fifteen days aboard the ships."

If we can place implicit faith in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, we shall find, that Bakhar town joined the main land in his time. He says respecting the province [*sarkár*] of Bakhar, that, "the chief city, which is called *Buckar Suckar* [according to this the names were not used singly then] lies upon the River *Sindee* or *Indus* * * * *Haagichan*, the kingdom [!] of the *Baloaches*, to the west of *Tata* and *Buckar*, confines west upon the kingdom of *Lar*, subject to Shabas [Sh̲áh 'Abbás]. *Indus* windeth itself into the eastern side of it: it has no renowned City."

From these different statements it appears that Sakhar, or old Sakhar, really formed part of the *sh̲ahr*, *baladah*, or city, or town of Bakhar, when the latter joined the main land, as I have before demonstrated from the situation of Mír Ma'ṣúm's tomb.

The "river Damiadee" of Salbanke, can only refer to the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, when it flowed in one of the old channels between Dijí Koṭ and the present channel referred to at page 458, and the Sindy," of course, is the Hakṛá.

Mandelsloe says, that "*Bachar* or *Bukar*, lies *on both sides* of the River Indus." He was in these parts in 1639.

Now let us see what wild theories have been entertained respecting Bakhar, and its neighbourhood, centuries before it became an island, and even centuries before any river passed near it.

Vincent, from whom others copy, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," goes back to Ptolemy. He says, "The author (Ptolemy) means Bekher [as Dr. Vincent spells it] for the site of the tribe of Sogdi or Sábracæ," but Vincent himself says: "*I* take Binágara for Bekher. * * * Craterus was detached into Arachosia and Drangiana from the island of the Sogdi, but he appears to have again rejoined the main body." Then again, referring to Purchas, he says, "*Bekher* is equivalent to the capital Mansura and the island. Suckor or Sunkar is a town on the island." I am sure Purchas never made such a statement that "Mansura was the capital, or that Bakhar was Mansúriyah. While the writer knows all about Ptolemy, he does not appear to have known who founded Manṣúriyah or when, he seems to know nothing of Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, nor of Alor the ancient capital of Sind.

Tod (p. 334) says, "The island of Buk'har [in other places he styles it "Rory Bekher"—perhaps they were quite different places in his imagination] on the Indus, is a place celebrated in Alexander's voyage." He also supposes that "*Sangra*" is "a stream branching from the Indus," and that it branches off at *Dura*, seven miles north of "Buk'har;" and that it must be the *Sankra* [sic] of Nader Sh̲áh's treaty with Muḥammad Sh̲áh Bádsh̲áh. Such nonsense as the above may be allowed to

he had reduced Ṭhaṭhah, and all Upper Sind had been ceded to him, it was then an island. On his approaching it from Chándú ká, he was met by the governor he had sent thither previously, at the *kaṣbah* of Shakar (as it is written in two out of three copies of his work consulted, and *Sakar* in the third); and it was just after this, that the Sayyids of Bakhar voluntarily left it, and were assigned places of residence in the *kaṣbah* of Rúṛhí.

When Sháh Beg Khán, subsequently, in consultation with his son, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, resolved to repair and add to the fortifications of Bakhar, the old fort of Aror, and other buildings there, were demolished for the sake of the kiln burnt bricks to furnish materials for the purpose, together with numerous buildings, which, in former days, had been erected by the Turks and Sammahs. The fortifications then added to and repaired were still standing in 1007 H. (1598-99 A.D.).

Mír Ma'ṣúm likewise states in his History, that Humáyún Bádsháh received the envoy of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, "at the *baladah* of Bakhar," which must have been on the main land even then, because the Bádsháh never set foot in the fortress. When we read in that History of the garrison making sallies on Humáyún Bádshah's investing forces, and that all that he required was siege materials to effect its capture, the conviction will again present itself, that the fortress of Bakhar must have still been connected, in some way, with the main land, as a great number of vessels, which the Bádsháh did not possess, would have been required to carry on a siege, as well as to convey siege materials.

rest on its own merits, except to notice that the author of the "Gazetteer of Sind" tells us, that "Bakhar district must not be confused with the island of *Bukkur* [sic]," thus pretending that there is a distinction between the two names which does not, and never did, exist. The same writer also refers to a *singular* "sanad" granted to the Saiyads of *Bakhar* [sic] in A.D. 1711, by the Emperor Jehándar Shah, still in existence [what a long time has elapsed!] as showing *his connection* with the Government of Sind. How wonderful! It did not occur to the writer that the Mughal Empire of Dehlí included Sind, and was *de facto* included in it, until the disaffection of the Kalhorahs in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.). Had he studied the history—the true history—of these parts, he would have found that Sind continued to constitute a part of the Mughal Empire until ceded to Nádir Sháh by treaty in May, 1739. See also page 677 for one of the rich specimens of Gazetteer History contained in that work.

Postans ("Personal Observations") says, that Sakhar "is better known to the natives as Chipri bunder;" and Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 521), following Postans, says: "Sakar or Sakhar, is better known to the natives as "Chipribandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial." Of the derivation of "Chipri" I am unaware.

But I am anticipating, and must return to the discussion of the state of the rivers at other epochs.

The western branch of the Hakṛá was thus diverted from the vicinity of Aror more to the westward, and that branch only; for we know from the personal knowledge of a contemporary historian, the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, that in 624 H. (1227 A.D.), Wanjh-rúṭ on the Hakṛá was a flourishing place, and the chief town of a district, extending eastwards to the Bikánír border. When the author reached Uchchh from Khurásán in the above year, having come down to that place from Ghaznih by way of Banián in the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, by boat on the Bihat, he was made Ḳáẓí of the forces under Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah's son, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Bahrám Sháh, and Principal of the Firúzí College at Uchchh. At this period the camp was pitched before the gate of the *kaṣbah* of Ahráwat (اهراوت - Uhar-oṭ, possibly); and the whole of Ḳabá-jah's fleet, and boats, on which the baggage and followers of his army were embarked, were moored in front. Soon after, the author went over to the winning side—to the enemy's camp—as soon as the Dilhí forces appeared; and the first of the great feudatories to whom he presented himself was Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajẓlak Khán, a personage, he says, "of sufficiently formidable aspect, and his form of magnitude," who then held the district of Wanjh-rúṭ of Multán; and after Uchchh and Bakhar fell, he was placed in charge of the territories dependent on them, which included the greater part of upper Sind. The district of Wanjh-rúṭ depended on the Hakṛá; and that river continued to flow past the town, and through the district dependent on it, after the western branch was diverted from Aror, and to flow much as it had previously done towards Manṣúriyah. This state of things continued up to, and for some seventy or eighty years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals in 643 H. (1245 A.D.).

Wanjh-rúṭ, improperly called "Bijnoot" and "Vijnôt" by those who did not know the correct name of this place, was still in existence a few years since. It stood, in ancient times, before the Hakṛá or Wahindah ceased to flow, on the east side of that branch of the great river which passed Aror on the east, and was afterwards diverted, as already related, about twenty miles lower down. Its situation was in the *do-ábah* or delta between that branch and the main channel, about forty miles below the junction of the rivers, forming the Mihrán of Sind, at Dosh-i-Áb, on the south-west, and is now rather less than eight miles east, inclining slightly south-east, from the present Khair-púr Dehṛ ke. The changes in the river caused it to go to decay centuries since, although Síw-ráhí or Síw-rá'í, which was, probably, a more

ancient place, was still the chief place of a *mahall* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad division of the *sarkár* of Multán in the time of Akbar Bádsháh.

At the period I refer to, a few years since, the site of Wanjh-rúṭ comprehended a collection of mounds of a blackish colour, ranging from twelve to twenty feet in height, consisting of the remains of pottery, fragments of charcoal, and great bricks, such as have been found at Bahman-ábád and in ruined sites higher up, along the banks of the rivers, and at Bahrám ke on the Ghárah, and in the ancient towns of Hindústán. These bricks range in size from fifteen to eighteen inches long, from nine to twelve broad, and from five to six thick. The site extends for about half a mile in length and half that in breadth, and is about a mile and a half in circumference. The base thereof has been silted up to some four or five feet in height by alluvial deposits, caused by the changes in the old channel of the river, and the action of water during the lapse of centuries. There are also a number of mounds beyond the site, marking where suburbs probably stood. In the centre of the place there are the remains of a Hindú temple of some kind, built chiefly of sand-stone, the nearest point from which such is now obtainable is Jasal-mír. Only a few fragments of stone carvings remain which can tend to the identification of the style and date of the building. Some very small silver and copper coins have also been found, but the figures thereon were too defaced to make anything of them, and also beads, and fragments of other ornaments. The natives for years have been carrying away the stones and bricks for building purposes; but now, I am told, the Railway Vandals have appeared, and have been demolishing the site as fast as possible, and other ancient remains, for "ballast" for a Railway! See note 41, page 169, note 464, page 429, and "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 669.

The next or third transition was caused by the great flood, which overwhelmed the whole of the northern parts of the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, as already described at page 392, which occurred between the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, and the invasion of Hind by Amír Timúr, that is, between 643 H. and 801 H., about the years 720 to 725 H. (1320 to 1324 A.D.). It was at this period that the Bihat or Jihlam and Chin-áb, having altered their courses considerably, united a short distance—a few miles— below Shor or Shor Koṭ, whereby that place became placed in the fork between the two rivers, and in the Chin-hath Do-ábah. That fort is, doubtless, that which Amír Timúr refers to in his account of the passage of the united rivers below the junction, and the surging and uproar caused by the meeting of the waters, (see page 279); for the Tájzik word *shor*, signi-

fying 'disturbance,' 'tumult,' 'uproar,' and the like, was probably the origin of the subsequently named, Shor or Shor Koṭ.

By this change in their courses, the two united rivers above-named moved some fourteen or fifteen miles farther westwards than before, and abandoned the Ráwí altogether; and instead of passing Multán on the east side, and which had been previously in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, they passed it on the west side, and thus placed it in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but Uchchh was thereby placed in the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah.[573] The united Bihat and Chin-áb now united with the Biáh—with which the Ráwí still united[574] on the east side of Multán, but much lower down than before—a little to the north of Jalál-púr in the south-west corner of the Multán district as now constituted, about forty miles below that city, and some thirty miles above Uchchh. The united Ráwí and Biáh had consequently to run between twenty-five and thirty miles to the south-westwards to unite with the Chin-áb and Wihat; and, soon after, a little lower down, these four united with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus thus forming a new Panch Nad or Panj Ab near Uchchh on the west, and deserting the Hakṛá for good.

It was at this period, I believe, if it had not previously done so, that the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind threw off a branch farther westwards, between Rúján and Kashmúr,[575] which flowed in the channel which

573 When Abú-l-Faẓl wrote the A'ín-i-Akbarí, Uchchh, through other changes, had been thrust out of the Do-ábahs entirely, and became Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab, or outside the *do-ábahs* embraced between these rivers; and Uchchh was still thus situated when the A'ín-i-Akbarí was completed; while Multán, through a change in the Ráwí, was then in the Bári Do-ábah as at present.

574 Before this, the Ráwí had united with the Chin-áb before the junction with the Biáh, and nearer to Multán on the east, which part is still known as *ṭaraf*-i-Ráwí.

575 Ibn Baṭúṭah makes some remarkable observations in confirmation of this. Respecting the Ab-i-Sind, he says, that he came down the river, and on the 1st of Muḥarram, 734 H. (11th September, 1333 A.D.), reached the junction forming the Panj Ab. Then he says, that "here commences the territory of the Sulṭán of Hind and Sind; and from thence it is necessary, that a description in writing should be sent of persons arriving on the frontier, to the Amír of the province of Sind stationed at Multán." From the junction he proceeded to Jaṭú-í [in the original *Mss.* consulted written جناني or جتاني for جتوي], in which are located a people called al-Sámirah [Sumṛah?] who have been dwelling in that part from the period of the conquest of Sind in the time of Amír Ḥajjáj. From thence he went to Síw-istán, and makes *no mention* of Bakhar *in going thither*, but, coming from Sind on his way to Multán, he came to Bakhar, which he says is "a handsome city (or town) divided by *an arm* of the Ab-i-Sind. *Where was the other arm or arms, or main channel? and how did he reach Síw-istán without passing Bakhar, as he appears to have done?* I conceive that he went down by the channel flowing farther west; but, if not, he certainly refers to another arm or channel of the Ab-i-Sind,

passed more directly westwards towards Sháh-púr and Uchchh, in the part known at present as Kachchhi, and west and south of Khán Garh (now Jacob-ábád), and from thence towards Khairo Garhi and Shadád-púr, receiving between these two places the waters of the streams from the hills on the north, north-west, and west, which hitherto had made their way towards the Manchhar lake, and the Lakhhi range of mountains. Then issuing from the lake, and bending more towards the south-south-east towards Naṣr-púr, and near that place deserting its former channel running in the direction of Badin—one of those intervening between the Puránah Dhorah or Old Channel and the present channel of the Indus—the stream turned to the southwards to unite with the sea not far beyond Shakar-púr, where the remains of an ancient town still exist.[576] Other, but minor channels, running southwards or branching off from the main channel, there must have been then as now, and these I need scarcely refer to here, save to one larger than the others which passed east of the town of Jarak, and from thence towards Sámúi-Nagar, before Ṭhaṭhah was founded, about 740 H. (1339-40 A.D.).[577]

Thus did the river called the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, which, when the old 'Arab geographers and chroniclers wrote, consisted of the Wihat, Chin-áb, Ráwi, and Biáh, desert the Hakrá or Wahindah altogether, but the Sutlaj—which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel, and has been incorrectly called "the Western Nyewal"—and the Ghag-

and that certainly flowed in the Sind Hollow, or some distance west of Bakhar. From the latter place he went on to Multán by Uchchh, which, he says, was on the Áb-i-Sind.

576 The ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist in this neighbourhood. There is a mound at a place called "Kakeyja," in one map, and "Kakeja" in another, thirty miles south-east of Jarak. Another ruined site is at "Katbaman" of the maps, twenty-four miles east-south-east of Jarak; a third at "Shah Toorail," nine miles north-north-east of Badín, and rather less than two miles from the recent west bank of the Gúní branch of the Indus; and a fourth collection of ruins at "Nindimanee," five miles east of Muḥabbat Dero. These I believe to have been in the southernmost parts of the *Bet* or delta mentioned in the operations of the Arab leader Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim. See note 187, page 234, and note 538, page 468.

Close to where the Fulailí and Gúní branches of the Indus used to unite, the ruins of large buildings and fragments of broken bricks and pottery covered the ground for miles.

577 Mír Ma'ṣúm says, in his History, that when Sháh Beg Khán attacked Ṭhaṭhah the first time on the 11th Muḥarram, 926 H. (2nd January, 1520 A.D.), he came from the northward by the Lakhhí Hills, and took up his position on the banks of the Khán Wá-hah, three *kuroh* (about five miles and a quarter) north of the city; and, that in those days, it was the main branch of the river, but there was water to the south likewise, in another channel.

ghar and its tributaries, along with the Chitang, continued to unite with the Hakṛá as before.

The movement to the westward of Multán of the Wihat and Chináb appears to have affected the Níl Áb, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus likewise, and their junction with it tended to its inclining farther westwards to near 'Ali-púr and Siṭ-púr downwards, forming a new channel for itself, but a considerable distance above the point where it had before united with the Hakṛá, thus deserting altogether its former channel by Ghauṣ-púr in which it flowed to unite with the Hakṛá at Dosh-i-Áb; while, lower down than that point, this new Panch Nad or Panj Áb, entered and appropriated the channel of the western or Rá-in or Rá-íní branch of the Hakṛá, a little above Bakhar, and then nearly dry in consequence of this desertion of the main stream above the point of separation of the Hakṛá branch, and passed on towards Rúṛhi and Bakhar.

In the meantime, between this great transition (brought about mostly, if not entirely, by the great flood in the northern part of the Panj Áb territory) and the preceding one, the delta between the sea-port of Debal, and the principal mouth of the Great Mihrán or Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, below Badín, had been gradually increasing from the deposits washed down; and, at the same time, the territory of Kachchh or Kachchh Bhuj, as its name, signifying 'new,' 'crude,' 'newly-formed,' 'alluvial,' etc., which hitherto consisted of several rocky heights lying along the sea-coast with a *ran* or vast marshy tract on the other side, was being gradually increased by these deposits from the Hakṛá and what had been brought down by the Loní river and its affluents.

The river Sutlaj which for a long period of time—since the last great change or transition—had flowed in the channel by Uboh-har (the "Western Nyewal" of the maps) still continued to be a tributary of the Hakṛá, but affected by the same causes that had led it previously to alter its course westwards from its older channels, caused it now to take a course still more to the westwards on leaving the hills near Rúh-paṛ, and then to bend to the south-west again, and to form a new channel for itself about midway between the Uboh-har channel and that of the present Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, which, instead of uniting with the Hakṛá near Márúṭ as before, flowed in this new channel some sixteen miles or more to the westwards of that place, and with a tortuous course, to a point or position near which the present town of Baháwal-púr stands, and which is said to occupy the site of an ancient city. Passing east of it, it bent towards the south-west again; and some twenty-two miles south-south-east of Ghauṣ-púr, and between Khán-púr and Khair Gaṛh, about thirty-five miles below Diláwar or Diráwar,

united with the Hakṛá, instead of higher up stream as it had formerly done.[578]

Having lost such a large volume of water through the desertion of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, the Hakṛá had, with some difficulty, continued up to this period to be a perennial stream, and on this account, when it (including its tributary the Sutlaj)[579] reached near to Kaṇḍhárah or Kaṇḍháro and Wanjh-rúṭ, near where the Hakṛá, as long as the Panch Nad continued to unite with it at Dosh-i-Ab, sent off the branch towards Aror (which had subsequently been diverted towards the lime-stone range, which at first it passed on the north and west), it now, likewise, separated into two channels, the western-most or minor of the two, entered the channel of the Rá'ín or Rá'íní or old diverted channel, and struggled on towards Aror.[580] During seasons of inundation, the overflow waters from the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, as far north as Ghauṣ-púr above which the ancient junction used to be,

578 This is the period referred to in the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, which says, that "That part of Sind which is *now flourishing* [when written in 1621 A.D.] was a mere waste at the period of the rule of the Sumṛah's, between 700 H. (1300 A.D.) and 843 H. (1439 A.D.), owing to the decrease of the Ab-i-Sind, namely the Panj Ab [including the Ab-i-Sind], which from Bakhar [as it is therein spelt] downwards, is called the Bahmín [the old Panch Nad as before described]. No water flowed towards those then waste parts. * * * The chief town of the Sumṛahs was Muḥammad Túr." The writer refers here to the period when the Sammah tribe was in a flourishing condition; and it must not be supposed that by the Panj Ab or the Sind that the Ab-i-Sind or Indus is referred to, because he immediately adds respecting it, the diversion of the stream passing Aror on the east, and relates the tradition already narrated at page 484, namely, "Below the city of Aror [the city was built chiefly on the skirt of the rocky hills, but its suburbs probably extended some distance farther east] the river of the Panj Ab flowed, which was likewise called by the names of Hakṛá, Wáhindah, and Wá-han, and other names, for it changes almost at every village it passes. After fertilizing the country the river unites with the ocean."

The dates given by the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí above, are totally wrong even by its own statements, otherwise, when did the Sammahs come into power? The Sumṛahs acquired power in Lár, Debal, or Lower Sind about 261 H. (874-75 A.D.), and in 738 H. (1337-38 A.D.) they fell, and the Sammahs rose. Their power lasted, independently from 752 H. (1351 A.D.) to 927 H. (1520 A.D.), when the rule of the Sammahs was subverted by the Arghún Mughals. See the latter part of note 315, page 317.

579 The Hakṛá having lost its last chief tributary in losing the Sutlaj—for the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries, could not alone, except in time of floods, reach much beyond the points where in former periods the other rivers used to add their waters to it—it from that time, may be said to have ceased to flow.

580 This seems to be what Salbanke refers to as the river Damiadee, or very much like it. Since he visited Bakhar, no doubt many changes, that we know not of, may have taken place. See note 572, page 493.

found their way into the old channel, which still remains in the form of a great depression;[581] and this overflow, uniting with such water as continued to run in the old diverted channel east of Aror, subsequently united with the main channel of the Hakṛá near Sayyidah. This second or minor branch is what appears in our maps as the "River Nara," and "Western Narra," locally called Nárah—Snake or Snake-like—from its tortuous course.

Such was the general state of the rivers from near the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Hindústán, until about the period of Bábar Bádsháh's invasion of the country of the Panj A'b in 925 H. (1519 A.D.).

The fifth great change or transition occurred when the Sutlaj, the

[581] By this depression the "Khoonun Leht" of the Collector of Shikár-púr referred to in note 563, page 482, finds its way into the old channel. In his "Report on the Indus," Wood says, respecting that portion of its course between Miṭhan Koṭ and Bakhar—Ghauṣ-púr, mentioned above, lies nearly due east from the first-named place—that, "neither on the east or west banks of this division is there an outer bank, and the consequence is, that the country here is largely inundated. In the Mizarry districts [he refers to the tracts west of Miṭhán Koṭ, inhabited by the Mazárí Balúchís], the floods of 1837 fell twenty miles back from the river [this overflow was towards the old channel I have before alluded to between Rújan and Kashmúr]; but, in ordinary seasons, twelve is the more usual measure of the width. On the opposite bank [the Ghauṣ-púr side], the inundation about Subzakote reaches to the edge of the desert [that is to the channel of the Hakṛá.]

A little above Miṭhan Koṭ, he says, that "in the month of May, the breadth of the Indus was 608 yards, while the Chenab or Panjab was 1776 yards, and almost twice as deep—all canals cut *from* the Sind [Indus], and surplus waters pour into the Chenab."

If we draw a line from Multán westwards towards the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then from those places down to Ghauṣ-púr, 107 miles south of the former and 86 of the latter, and near which is said to be the site of an ancient city, which I believe to have been Basmíd, we shall find what a great depression exists in the part where the Sindhu or A'b-i-Sind and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind or Panch Nad had formerly flowed. Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basírah 409, and the Derah of Ghází Khán 440 feet; while Baháwal-púr is 375 feet, 'Alí-púr 337, and Ghauṣ-púr but 295. In this depression the Sindhu or A'b-i-Sind, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, flowed when they were tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and the country all along the east side of the present course of the Indus as far down as Bakhar and Aror, with the exception of around Kashmúr on the opposite side, where another depression turns westwards towards the Sind Hollow—indeed it constitutes a portion of it—is higher than on the west side, but slopes towards Bakhar; but, on the other hand, there is another depression westwards, which begins about forty-two miles north-north-west of Bakhar, which runs away towards Shikár-púr which it passes on the north and west, runs down towards Mehar, and meets the depression from the direction of Shadád-púr and Khairo Gaṛhí where the "Sind-Hollow" depression turns southwards. See note 575, page 499.

most erratic of all the rivers in this part, instead of flowing in a south-westerly direction on leaving the hills near Rúh-paṛ by Chām-kaur, and running by Faríd Koṭ, Maktí-sar, and Bágh-sar, towards Bahá-wal-púr to unite with the Hakṛá, as it had previously done, turned sharply towards the west on issuing from the hills, then turned more towards the north-west, near Lúdhiánah, towards Fil-úr, and united temporarily with the river Biáh at Loh-Wál or Lohi-Wál, when the united streams lost their respective names and became known as the Harfarí, Núrní, or Nílí. This united stream after flowing for about twenty-one miles, again began to separate between Ḳaṣúr and Debál-púr, and, soon after, separated into three, instead of into two streams, as they had previously been. The Biáh, it must be remembered, continued to flow in its own independent channel, which it had never left within the range of history, except to change, as it probably did, from one side to the other and back again in the space constituting its bed, which hereabouts is from eighteen to twenty miles broad; and on this fresh separation it still continued to flow in it as before under its own name. The middle branch of the three, above referred to, was of minor importance with respect to the other two, and was then known as the Ḍanḍah,[582] which ran almost parallel to the Biáh, by Mailsí and Lodh-raṇ towards Jalál-púr. The third turned more to the south on separating, passed Ajúḍḍhan, or the Pák Pattan, or Holy Town, ten or twelve miles on the east and south, and regained its name of Sutlaj. These three branches having flowed apart for just one hundred *kuroh*, or one hundred and seventy-five miles,[583] again converged towards each other, the Sutlaj passing near Baháwal-púr on the north, re-united with the middle branch or Ḍanḍah, and then with the Biáh once more, about five miles to the westward of Jalál-púr above-mentioned, and formed the Ghallú Ghárah or Ghárah,[584] all three branches thus losing their old names for this new one.

Thus the Ḍanḍah and Sutlaj having re-united with the Biáh and become the Ghárah, with a considerable volume of water, pushed farther westwards from the place of junction, and met the united Bihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwi. They thus formed a fresh Panch Nad or Panj

582 The meaning assigned to Ḍanḍah by the people of this part has been previously mentioned.

583 The middle branch did not flow apart quite so far, as it united with the Sutlaj *before* it again united with the Biáh, as already stated.

584 Some persons have supposed that Ghárah means 'mud,' 'silt,' etc., but such is not the case, this word is written گهارة and گهارا, while gárá گارا means 'mud,' 'earth mixed as mortar,' or 'earth prepared for potters.' See also note 73, page 183.

Ab,[585] without the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus being included as it had hitherto been; and such was the general state of these rivers as known to Abú-l-Fazl when he wrote the A'ín-i-Akbarí, but this formation of the Gharah had taken place nearly a century before he finished his work; for when Mírzá Sháh Husain, the son of Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, overcame the Langáh Jat ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1525 A.D.), he made the Ghárah the boundary between their respective territories.

By this fresh movement in the courses of the rivers, Uchchh was removed from the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah into the tract known as Berún-i-Panch Nad, that is, outside the Five Rivers. The united streams flowing in one channel under the name of Panch Nad or Panj Ab for about eighteen or twenty miles, or much more, allowing for the windings, and subject to minor changes more or less every year, united with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus a little below Sit-púr and Uchchh; and by this junction the Panch Nad then extended almost as far above Uchchh as the Panch Nad of the present day extends in the opposite direction below that place.[586]

Such was the general state of the rivers, as here described, up to about ten years before the close of the last century, or just one hundred years since.

The fifth, and so far, last great transition, up to the present time,[587] began towards the close of the last century, when the Bíáh, at last, deserted its ancient channel for the first time since it is heard of in history; and this was occasioned, apparently, through the Sutlaj again altering its course still farther westwards. On issuing from the hills of the Siwálikh, instead of passing close to Lúdhiánah, it left it between seven and eight miles on the north by Fi-lúr and 'Alí Wál (the scene of General Sir Harry Smith's brilliant victory over the Sikhs), and from thence keeping to the northwards of west, united with the Bíáh at Harí ke Patan, or Harí's Ford, some fifteen or sixteen miles farther west than before. On this the Bíáh deserted its channel, and instead of inclining westwards—as all the other rivers had more or less done, but the Sutlaj to the greatest extent—it took *a totally contrary direction to the east*, deserting the channel it had flowed in for

585 This was the first occasion that any of the waters of the Sutlaj formed part of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, except, when as a tributary of the Hakrá, it united with that river lower down near Khán-púr and Khair Garh, and it had never reached so far *west* before, "within the range of history."

586 See page 302.

587 The earthquake of 1819 appears to have caused considerable change near the sea coast, but whether its effects were felt more towards the north it is impossible to say, as there are no particulars available.

upwards of a thousand years, and combined with the Sutlaj, between the last independent channel that that river had flowed in before it deserted the Hakṛá altogether—the "Great Dhandah"[688] of the Revenue Settlement Reports—but rather nearer to the latter old channel. Both the Biáh and Sutlaj thus lost their old names entirely, and again became known by the names they had borne some two hundred and seventy-five years before, as has been previously explained (and as they had flowed when Abú-l-Faẓl wrote),[689] namely, Hariárí, Núrní or

[688] See page 504.

[689] Nothing will show the extent of the changes effected by these alterations of the rivers more than Abú-l-Faẓl's description of the *sarkárs* or sub-provinces of Multán and Bakhar (or Bhakkar, as he writes it) of the Multán *ṣúbah* or province. At the time he wrote, certain *mauẓa's*, or villages and their lands, dependent on the Kuhroṛ *maḥáll* or district, lay then in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah, that is, between the Biáh and the Sutlaj, when they flowed independently. Multán itself was in the Bárí Do-ábah as now, but the *maḥálls* of Uchchh, Ubárah, Bhaṭí-Wá-han of the Bhaṭís, Jamsher of the Bhulídí and Dúdá-í, of the Balúch tribes of these names, Díwaṛáwal of the Dehṛ (Diṛáwar of the present time), and Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí of the Dehṛ, the *mauẓa's* of Fatḥ-púr, the *mauẓa's* of Kuhroṛ, Mahlúl [?] of Ghází-púr, Raprí, Ráj-púr, and Dúd Khán (the names of which seem to have been changed subsequently, and the people of which are not mentioned), Ma'úh (Ma'úh Mubárák of the present time), Márúṭ of the Bhaṭís, twenty-one miles N.E. of Mauj Gaṛh, and Mhanḍ or Mahanḍ, and Síṭ-púr, were all Berún-i-Panch Nad. Of these Dúdá'í, Fatḥ-púr, Síṭ-púr, and probably Jamsher, lay *west* of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. Up to the last great change in the last century, Síṭ-púr, and some of the others, probably under altered names, still lay *west* of that river, and Berún-i-Panch Nad; while now, Síṭ-púr is in the Sind-Ságar Do-abah *east* of the Indus, and in the Muẓaffar Gaṛh district as at present constituted.

Uchchh, Ubárah, Bhaṭí Wá-han, Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí, Ma'úh or Ma'ú, Márúṭ, and the others, still remain Berún-i-Panch Nad, but, on the *east* side of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus.

Then again, the *maḥáll* of Jaṭú-í, then Berún-i-Panch Nad, and belonging to the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, was, like Síṭ-púr, *west* of the Ab-i-Sind before the last great change, but now, Jaṭú-í is also in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and *east* of the river.

Máṭhilah *maḥáll* of Bakhar *sarkár* still remains east of the Ab-i-Sind; and also the other *maḥálls* of that *sarkár*, of which, on that side also, were Alor or Aror, "with its fort," and Bakhar, with its "strong fortress."

Máṭhilah appears in Blochmann's text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, as ماچله, instead of ماٹهله, and many other names are incorrectly printed. In the printed text of the Akbar Námah the word is written Mátílah and Máthílah.

Wade and Mackeson passed down the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah in 1832-33 [they, too, call it by the incorrect name of "Satlaj"] and they state, that "Chakra [Chá́char] four *kos* N.W. of Ghauṣ-púr," was ten minutes ride from the Indus, and Miṭhan Koṭ was three miles beyond (or west) of its then right bank. The place where they crossed from "Chakra" was then almost immediately below its junction with the Panch Nad, the newly formed Panch Nad referred to in the text above.

Nílí, as far down as the vicinity of Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, and Ghallú Ghárah and Ghárah below, as far down as the junction with the other rivers, as described at page 372. In this new channel, subject, of course, to the yearly fluctuations, minor so far, caused by the yearly inundations, the newly formed river flows at the present day.

From the period of the fourth to the last transition here noted, the Chin-áb, above its junction with the Bihat, also altered its course, but not to any great extent. It used then to pass near Massan on the east, and so continued for sometime; but, during late years it has passed about midway between that place and Jhang-i-Siálán; and the junction with the Bihat, at the period referred to, took place just ten miles lower down than at the present time, and both rivers (united) have, since then, worked a little more to the westward. Near their junction with the Ráwí, however, the change has been greater. In 1695 the rivers united a little to the north-west of Siḍhú kí Sará'e; but near the close of the last century, when the Biáh and Sutlaj united; the junction of the Ráwí with the Bihat and Chin-áb took place midway between Dandí Wálah and Sargáni, not so far west as at present.

The junction of the new river thus formed by this union of Biáh and Sutlaj, likewise caused a change in the course of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus. When the Survey was completed from the record of which I have herein largely quoted, the latter river passed close to Jaṭú-í, 'Alí-púr, and Siṭ-púr on the east; and it is since that period that it began to incline farther westwards from a point about fifteen miles below the Derah of Ghází Khán, abandoning the channel by Jaṭú-í, 'Alí-púr, and Siṭ-púr, and united with the new Panch Nad or Panj Áb between Rájan-púr and Miṭhí dá Koṭ, about thirty-four miles south-west of Uchchh, and which it had not previously done within the range of history. During inundations its redundant waters still found their way into its ancient channel by which it used to unite with the Hakṛá, now become a great depression only; but, lower down than Ghauṣ-púr, in that part of the depression east of Aḥmad-púr, passing Síw-ráhí, Sabzal Koṭ and Ubárah, and from thence into the Rá'in channel, this overflow formed the river, which from its tortuous course (when flowing), is locally styled the Nárah, or Snake, or Snake-like.

Thus, while the once mighty river, namely, the Hakṛá, or Wahindah, forming the "Mihran of Sind," or "Sind-Ságar," which received as its

They also say, that "Panjnad pours its waters into the larger stream between Gumbheer and Muhar, the latter village being close to the eastward of their confluence." Miṭhan Koṭ was also then completely surrounded by water during the period of the inundation. "*MS.*" Report.

tributaries the waters of all the rivers from the Chitang to the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, through the loss of most of its tributaries, and the failure of others, ceased to flow—although even now, in time of great floods above, its waters have occasionally reached the ocean—the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind,or Indus, now become a mighty river by the accession of five of those tributaries, flowed towards the south-westwards, changing at times and forming new channels to be again abandoned, ever changing more or less. It may be said without exaggeration, that there is little of the vast, sloping, alluvial tract of Sind, below the parallel of Uchchh, and extending from Birsil-púr of Jasal-mír to Shadád-púr of Upper Sind, a space of four geographical degrees in breadth, that the Hakṛá or Wahindah and the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, have not, at different epochs, within about the last fifteen hundred years, flowed over; for the whole extent is literally seamed with their channels of lesser or greater age, in all and in every direction.[590]

[590] It seems that the new Railway—the Southern Panjab Railway—will run for great part of its way, close and parallel to the old channels of the Ghag-ghar and the Hakṛá, and will stand a great chance of being flooded. We may also be sure, if steps have not been taken to prevent it, that all old sites will be destroyed for "ballast." A sharp eye should also be kept on the finding of antiquities and hidden treasure in such places.



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